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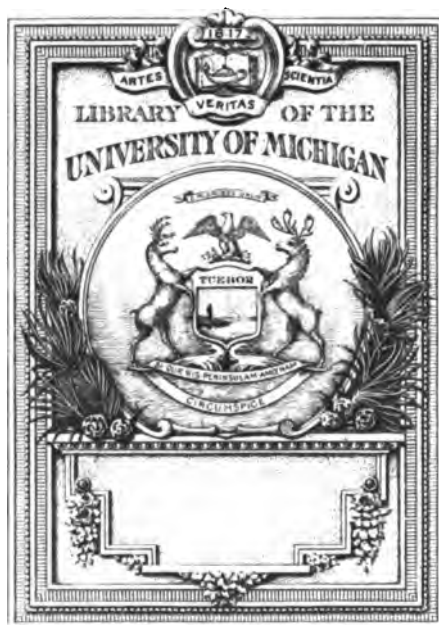
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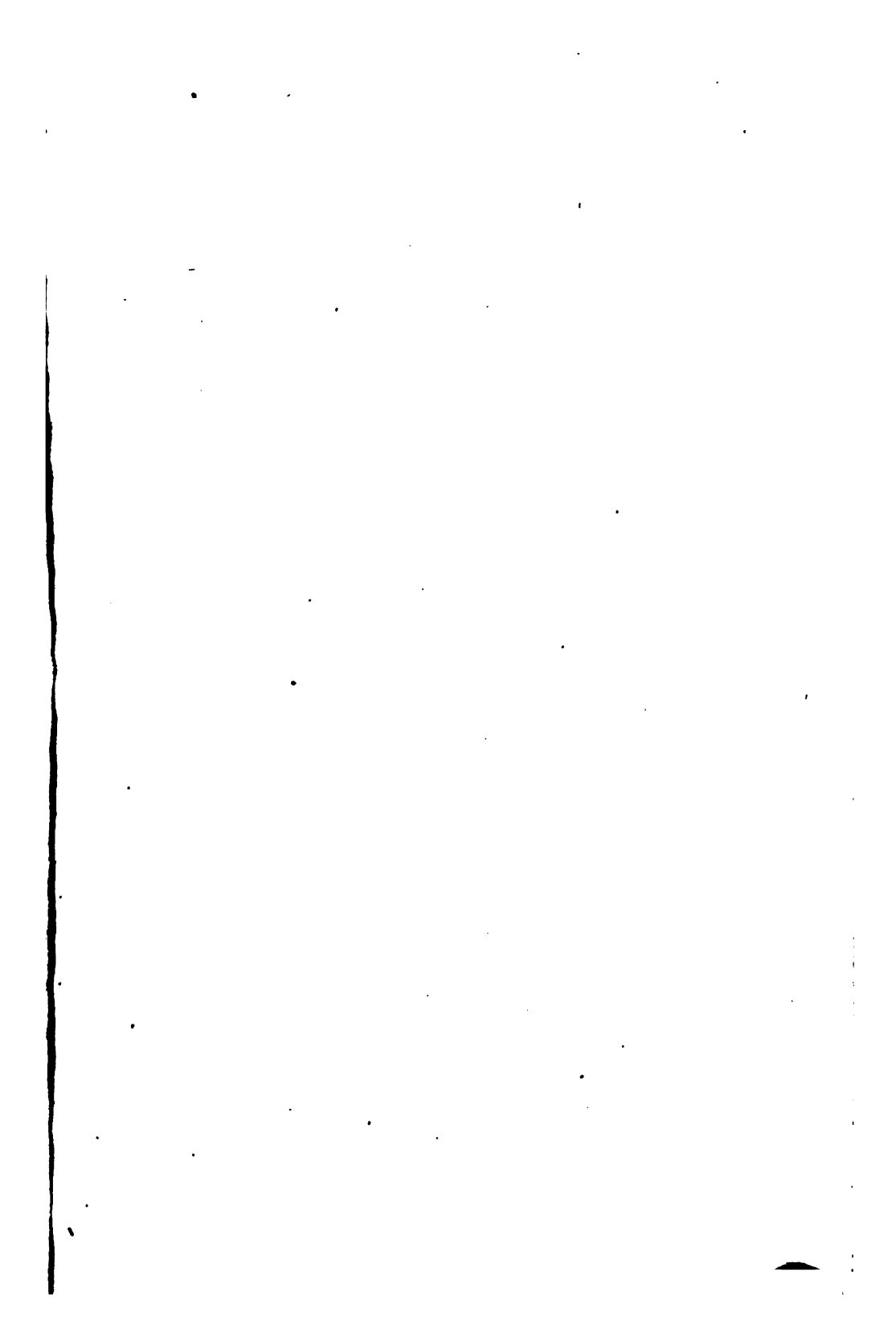
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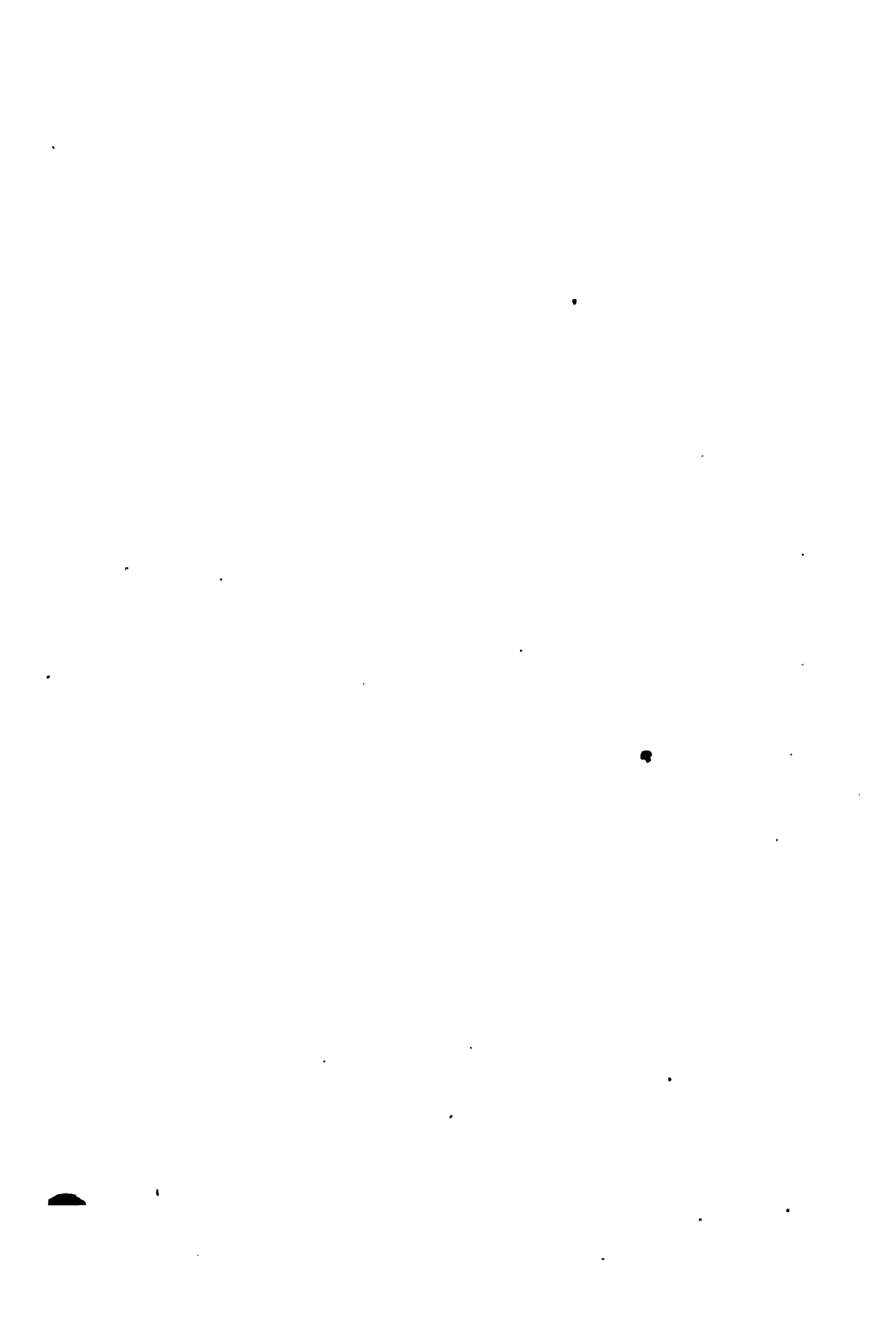
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reformed church review

THE
MERCERSBURG
QUARTERLY REVIEW,

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Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.—*Anselm.*

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THE
MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1854.

ART. I.—SPIRIT OF THE AGE.*

IN obedience to your call, I am here this evening to share with you in your first anniversary festival in this city, in honor of the distinguished Scholar, whose name as a Society you bear. And you will allow me first of all, to congratulate you in view of the circumstances of promise and hope under which we are assembled, and your deliverance from the dangers and anxieties incident upon your transplantation to this place. For one, whose hopes have been long and largely invested in the College with which you stand connected, as also in the Societies subject to her maternal care, their history for the last four years has been to me the object of untiring ~~yea~~, increasing solicitude. I have rejoiced with their friends, as it passed through its brighter phases, and have shared in the common despondency which attended its darker transits. And now that the night of uncertainty is past and the day-spring of a prosperous future has begun to arise, I may be permitted to render with you, my tribute of rejoicing, and praise to the merciful Dispenser of all our prosperity—that wise Restorer of order and harmony, out of the deepest discords of confusion and noise.

Yet to one whose home is in the past history of your Society, the greetings of this evening are not unmingled with the gentler sentiments of sorrow. For how can he forget his part-

* An Address delivered before the Goethean Literary Society of Franklin and Marshall College, at its first Anniversary in the city of Lancaster, Pa., on the 29th of August, 1853.

ners in the joys and sorrows of other days. How, amid the festivities of this occasion, is his spirit prone to steal back within itself, and wander away to the scenes made glad by the communion of those who now are scattered and far away. To me, this very anniversary meeting is largely freighted with melancholy associations. For with the rapidity of thought, it bears me over a nine years interval, and places me where then I stood surrounded with countenances lighted up with joy, a witness to the laying of the corner stone of the proudest monument of your history as a Society. And even now I seem to be there, and live over again the happy 28th of August, 1844. That was a day of gladness to us. To *us*—you will allow me to say; for though I was but an adopted son of the Goethean Society, I found her an affectionate mother, and I early learned to love her. To us it was a happy day. For we reached its rejoicing through the labors of many a weary day and anxious night. Even now again I seem to see those youthful laborers, as relief after relief toiled out their allotted hours, that the sweat of their own brows might attest their zeal and self-sacrificing energy. I wander again in that overshadowing and now deserted grove; I listen to the entertainments of that day; and I hear once more the click of the builder's hammer. But now methinks, all is quiet and desolate. And I may not leave that much loved spot, without once more paying my tribute at his lonely grave, to the memory of the loved, but *not* lost—the lamented Dr. Rauch.

Gentlemen: This page of your Society's history stands graven upon the hearts of that generation of her membership. You may have valued that edifice, for its beauty, its convenience, and the honor it reflected upon the Goethean name. But they *loved* it as the fruit of their toils, the monument of their sacrifices and the glad consummation of their cherished hopes. You will not, therefore, think it strange, that they still delight to ponder over the history of that deserted hall, and lament the necessity which required you to abandon it. As a homestead becomes doubly dear in virtue of the almost sacred associations of earlier years, so that hall is to them, as the home of their youthful affections.

We would not have you suppose, however, that these feelings of attachment to the associations of other days, bespeak a reprobation of the policy which has transplanted Marshall College and her Societies to this city, as unwise and extravagant. The sacrifices which have been incurred, were not only unavoidable in their circumstances, but are to be regarded as the necessary results of their expanding history. The essential interest is preserved—is more than preserved; and finds itself conducted to an advanced stadium in its onward progress. The substantial living *idea*, is that for which we are at all times bound to be concerned, in all institutions. This, in obedience to the laws of a growing history, must ever actualize itself in the world, in the form of some outward organization; and appropriate to itself such instrumentalities as may be necessary for its *living* activity, from the general store-house of nature. The outward form of organization is always, however, conditioned by the stage of development to which the idea or inner life, may at any time have attained. Hence the form is never commensurate with the idea, unless all historical progress has been completed, and absolute perfection reached. At any given period then of this evolution, the outward form is expected to subserve the life as a temporary instrumentality merely, to be thrown aside or superceded by a higher form of organization, as this may be rendered necessary by its fuller development. Any institution of whatever character, involves an idea including all that can ever be evolved, and in most cases vastly more than is ever realized in fact. At first, its outward organization will correspond with its infantile state. As this is transcended—as its powers are drawn out, the existing appliances become inadequate to its wants, and an organization commensurate with its growth and expanding faculties, becomes indispensable. The infantile must give place to a more mature and developed form, else must the institution itself suffer injury for want of facilities to give exercise to its extended powers of activity.

Marshall College, as also her literary Societies, in the earlier phases of their history, found the organization under which

they then existed, for the most part commensurate with their powers and necessities. But as these in a short time far outstripped in their growth, their outward circumstances—it being found impossible to secure means and instrumentalities adapted to their increasing inward resources and outward difficulties—it became most painfully apparent to their friends, that they must fall back and languish in their infantile state, and thus fail to accomplish the mission manifestly allotted to them, or in their attempt to advance in the prosecution of this, without the necessary means, meet with a most disastrous failure and final overthrow. They were cramped by the want of an organization equal to their powers and responsibilities; and this want could not be met under the circumstances by which they were held bound. They were like a frail bark cast into the midst of a stormy ocean, where no resources of skill and experience could compensate for its weakness, and its insufficiency for the wild waves with which it was tossed. It must either put back at the expense of its intended enterprise, or rush forward to inevitable destruction. Though that bark may be endeared to us by many an association of toil and anxiety—by many a season of rejoicing and many a realized hope, yet would it bespeak weakness to refuse its exchange for one better suited to the necessities of its mission. As a Society, together with your twin sister, you have it to lament for the sacrifice which is required of you; for you resign the noblest monument of your labor and spirit of enterprise. Yet are you enabled to rejoice in the possession of all that they reveal—the spirit, the resolution, the all concluding and living idea, raised superior to your former embarrassments, with facilities for the ultimate realization of all, may we not hope, to which in vain you might else have striven to give expression.

But it is not meet that I consume your time in leafing over the history so familiar to you all. We rejoice together in the position which you occupy this day, and as is now more befitting, let us turn for a short season to the contemplation of a subject, which, while it will afford us an opportunity for the practical application of the principles, and mode of thought in

which you have been instructed, will also prove suggestive of the duties which devolve upon you, as candidates for the active relations of life. You will allow me accordingly to offer for your consideration, a few thoughts bearing upon the character of the times in which we live, and the dominant tendency which has come to obtain around us in the world, in the form of the *Spirit of the Age*.

To arrive at a correct judgment of the significance of any given phase of history, it is necessary that it be contemplated in its relations to the general stream in which it flows. And this general stream too, must find its meaning in the unity of its ultimate tendency and design. The world from its beginning to its end, is the embodiment of a comprehensive plan, concluding and gathering all things in one. Its movements and counter-movements, its ebb and flow, its gentler meanderings of peaceful life, and the torrent waves of its revolutions, are all held tributary to an onward progress—all steadily minister to the accomplishment of its controlling idea and intention. At times indeed does the sun seem to go back upon the dial plate. History seems to flow back upon itself and lose all power for onward movement. But yet is not such its real character. Obstacles may be thrown into its channel, and retard for a while the progress of its waters. But this very delay, is but the accumulation of its powers—the gathering of its energies, before which at length, the hinderance must give way or be overwhelmed and destroyed. At such times the waters may overflow their banks, and spreading far inland work sad devastation and ruin, but so soon as the conflict is ended, and the opposition surmounted, do they rush back to their allotted channel and course onward to their ocean home.

History is the ever growing revelation of God's will concerning humanity. This revelation, however, as we discover it in the world around us, finds its occasion only in the disturbing element of sin. But for this, no place could have been found for it in its existing form. God's designs in his creation would have been reached without the painful experience to which humanity is, and to the end of time will be subjected.

But, sin rushing in upon it with its deranging and ruinous power, disturbed the inner harmony of its being, and tore it from its right relations to itself, and its God as the source of its life. Death was the immediate and dreadful result, and the full realization of this with all its horrors, was avoided only by the regeneration of that life in the person of our Saviour Jesus Christ. In Him—and eternal praises to his adorable name—was our human life raised from its degradation to the enjoyment of its intended communion with God. He was the perfect revelation of the Divine will towards man. He is the perennial fountain from which emanates the stream of true history, which flows forth to reanimate the world and cleanse it from all its pollution.

Humanity as thus redeemed, goes forth into the world to leaven it with its own sanctified life, and purge out the corruption of sin. This involves a process, and this process is what we mean by true history. In assimilating it to its own image, it must come into immediate collision with it, and grapple with it in the midst of its corruption. Hence we have conflict; for they are antagonistic interests. The steady progress of assimilation is ever and anon interrupted by obstacles interposed by sin, and these must not be avoided, but seized hold upon and demolished. Thus do we find the onward flow more or less retarded, until its energies may be brought in sufficient measure to bear for the destruction of these evil impediments. The surmounting of these, constitutes the historical problem of the age to which they belong. These vary in magnitude, and in the amount of historical force necessary to overcome them. Many resist with a feebler power, and the stream of history bears them away with but little agitation; others again make a stubborn and determined opposition, rallying to their support mighty agencies at their command in the evil world, and thousands of deluded advocates. Here is progress for a season held in check. The stream is thrown back upon itself and recoils in confusion from its contact upon the impediment. But still steady to its heavenly mission, its mighty powers are brought gradually into requisition, until at length the evil is

overmastered, and yields amid the crash and destruction of a revolution, while ruin and death mark the triumphant course of a victorious history. In such an event do we discern an epoch. Such was the overthrow of the old Roman civilization—such the Reformation of the sixteenth century—such the founding of our American liberties.

As just remarked, redeemed humanity, as the vitalizing energy of all true progress in the world, enters in the accomplishment of its mission, *into* the world in the midst of its corruption. It plunges to the very depths of its misery, that it may rescue it from the wildest of its wanderings. Its relation to the life of the natural world, must not be conceived of as an outward force acting upon it, but rather as having entered into this, so as to become to it a vitalizing principle. Its action is like leaven, transforming the whole mass into its own image, and purging out all uncongenial elements. As these foreign elements are brought under the eradicating power of this divine principle of history, conflict is the immediate issue; and in proportion as the action of this principle grows in intensity, does the conflict grow fiercer until its mastery is fairly gained. It must be borne in mind that human nature, in the inner temple of its life, is the scene of this strife. Now the dominant tendency of this nature, as it reveals itself in the form of thought, feeling and corresponding action—in a word, its *animus* in the midst of the conflict, is at any given period what we mean by the Spirit of the age.

With this definition we are prepared to enquire, *What is the Spirit of the age in which we live, its historical relations and significance?*

The present period must not be supposed to hold a fortuitous relation to the history of past ages. It is but its proper out-birth and natural fruit—the legitimate result which has thus far been reached, in the ever advancing solution of the problem of human life. So too the Spirit of the present age is not something accidental. It is rather the legitimate state of thought and feeling to which the world has been conducted by the conflict carried on in its bosom, between its own

natural corrupt life, and the redeemed humanity which has been brought to a living union with it, by the incarnation of the Second Person in the Trinity, and which is progressively transforming it into its own holy image. To solve the proposed question satisfactorily, we must take a very cursory retrospect of past history, marking well its under current, and the steady advancement of this towards the goal of its ultimate design.

The terrible result of man's fall was not only to break up the inner harmony of his nature, but as already said, to sunder it from its right relations to the source of its life and being. Thereby did he deny his allegiance to his God; and instead of peacefully revolving in the lawful orbit of his being, round his beneficent Creator as his true centre, he seized the reins of government in his own rebellious hands, and sought to order his own steps. Self-will came to be the rule of his actions, and self, the great centre around which he would have the whole world besides to move. In this attitude of rebellion, self was arrayed as the rival interest over against God. This was treason not only against his Creator, but equally against the constitution of his own nature. For only as humanity rests humbly and freely as a dependent upon God, is it true to its own inward necessities and law. To reclaim it from this false position both to its Maker and the inherent law of its own being, was the problem, the solution of which we have seen to be the burden of an advancing history.

This state of alienation from God involved for man the most abject slavery; standing as he did subject to the most imperious demands of allegiance and yet stripped of the last vestage of ability to comply. The law of his being which was but the will of God concerning him, even reiterated its threatening challenge to obedience, while he possessed no power to give a favorable response. In vain did self struggle to escape from its dominion, or seek to establish its antagonistic claims. This was the false position—this the bondage to a violated law—this the spiritual slavery from which he was to be redeemed.

Freedom, however, in its true sense, does not involve ex-

emption from the authority of law ; this is rather its very first integral element. Only as the demands of the law of our being are fully met can we be said to be free. Our bodies, for illustration, are never free, never healthy, never exempt from pain and suffering, only as every organ acts in most rigid obedience to its controlling law. Let but the organic law fail of its demands in any particular, and the whole system suffers from the derangement—sickness and death will be the inevitable consequences. The planet as it wheels its majestic rounds in the infinitude of space, and ever rejoices in its unfettered freedom, finds this very enjoyment in the most unvarying obeisance to the glowing centre of its motion. Sundered from its lawful and necessary relation to this, all is confusion, all disharmony, all wild unmeaning bondage. In every department of created existence does this principle hold, that authority is indispensable to freedom to the extent to which, in its several departments, it may be capable.

Deliverance then from this bondage of a blind self-will and restoration to the attitude of obedience to the organic law of our nature, is the first step towards human freedom. And this precisely is the course which we find the stream of history to have taken, as it flowed in the beginning from its living source, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Prior to his advent, the whole order of the world was preparative—all tended to make man sensible of his helplessness and bondage, and prepare his stubborn spirit for the introduction of that divine principle of life, which was to constitute the positive element of all future history. When then this divine leaven was incorporated in the lump of humanity, its first out-goings were in the direction of emancipation from the slavery of self, and restoration to obedience to the will of God, as this was embodied in the law of this redeemed humanity of Christ. This tendency was not, however, confined to the institutions of religion, strictly so called. It extended itself abroad also into the department of government. This was inevitable. For if Christianity would authenticate its claim as the world-religion, it must penetrate as deep and reach as far as the ruin from which it would deliv-

er man. Not that the state must be subject to the outward domination of the Church, but that inasmuch as the life of true history is none other than our nature raised to its true relations to its author, in proportion as this would leaven the whole mass of the human world, must it enter as the controlling element into every department of its life. Government consequently gave evidence of the regenerating power of the Christian life in the course of a few centuries after its revelation in the world, and ever since has its development exhibited the presence of this new principle.

The first settled tendency then, after Christianity attained a proper consciousness of its contents and mission, was in the direction of discipline. And accordingly did the institutions of both Church and State take their shape. In the department of government, the form was that of monarchy. Nor was this a fortuitous occurrence. Human nature was at this period in its infancy, and as a consequence, incapable of self-government. Just as in the case of the child. If left without the restraints of the family and the school, his growth would be in the direction of self-will, and insubordination to all authority, whether human or divine, and would never reach the ability of self-government. It is only as the perverse tendency of his nature is held under constraint, and self reduced to the attitude of submission to higher authority and law, that he will ultimately be prepared, as he passes the limits of his minority, for the enjoyment of this prerogative. So too as regards the State. What the family and the school are to the individual during his minority, government is to humanity as a general life, during the like period of childhood.

It was about the period of the introduction of modern civilization, when the old Roman culture gave way before the tide of barbaric life, as it rolled in from the north, that the necessity of this disciplinary tendency of history became most palpably apparent. If the world was not to recede, and the toil of ages be forever lost—if humanity was not to be lost to the last sense of responsibility, and given over to the unending conflicts of individual and selfish caprice, it must be brought

under the control of some powerful institute, which could reduce its lawlessness to subjection, and gradually school it in the principles of self-restraint and obedience to authority. This institute we discover in the department of religion to have been the Church ; in that of government, the monarchy. And it was by the co-operation of the two, that ultimately the wild and discordant elements of the world's life were reduced to order and led onward in the direction of true history.

We must not be surprised at the severity and even tyrannical rigor with which the lessons of subordination were inculcated. Learned they must be, at any cost, as the indispensable prerequisites to human liberty. And the miseries of the age are attributable not so much to the spirit of the history of the times, as to the mad and determined opposition of blind lawlessness. The individual must yield to the historic progress of the age, or be crushed beneath its resistless power. Hence was it that government assumed an arbitrary character, which made a reaction necessary in after times.

I repeat it, we must not be surprised at the severity and even cruelty with which the governments of the times were characterized. Even in our own times the principle involved, is approved, and in this age and country finds a practical illustration. The laws of our government are imperious in their demands, and insist upon obedience with the severest of sanctions. Life itself is held to be a subordinate interest. And the government of these United States, mild and humane as it is, will not hesitate to assert its majesty and the supremacy of its laws at the expense, if needs be, of millions of treasure, and rivers of human blood. So too in the family ; the child that submits not to the authority therein lodged, lays himself obnoxious to the severest penalty which it is in its province to inflict. The reduction then, of the elements of unbridled lawlessness, as they confronted the institutions of past history, called forth that terrible rigor which the historic page narrates, and it is not saying too much when we declare that milder measures would not have been adequate to the task.

But the lawful design of all government, is to conduct hu-

manity to the enjoyment of that freedom which is God's merciful provision for man—to prepare him at last for self-government. Humanity, as redeemed in Jesus Christ, and which we have already seen to be the life of all true history, is in its very nature *autonomic*, and the design of its progressive workings is to conduct the world to this very estate. All necessary force will be employed to assert its just and righteous claims; nor will it hesitate to surmount opposition at the expense of human life and liberty. But as soon as this is accomplished, then is it the right of the individual to rise superior to the outward restraints of his pupilage, to the extent precisely to which he is prepared for the enjoyment of this liberty. But unfortunately, poor fallible man is the instrument employed for the assertion of the claims of history; and finding himself in the attitude of dominion, the selfish principle still unhappily clinging to his nature, makes him slow to act in obedience to the very laws of which he has been appointed the executor, and accordingly seeks to hold his position of authority even after the design of his elevation has been accomplished. Thus throwing himself in turn, in the way of the history he ministered to promote; and as a necessary consequence, creates the necessity for a reaction, which in its assertion must overwhelm him with revolution and destruction. Such an assertion of the rights of the individual against undue restraint, we witness in the reaction which took place in the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

We have said that obedience to lawful authority is the first element of human freedom. But this is by no means the measure of its full idea. It is but one side of the living fact, and in its isolated character does violence to the rights of individual man. Together with this then, must be a clear perception of the righteousness of the demands of law, and a full and unconstrained consent—a yielding from free choice. The slave may obey his master through fear of punishment, yet is he not free. A citizen may order his steps in obedience to the law of the State—may abstain from theft, from rapine and murder, only through fear of the penalty, but this does not

make him a freeman. He is a slave in the broadest sense of the term, for he finds no room for the exercise of his free choice. He only is free who obeys from a just sense of the righteousness of the demand, and because this demand meets the full approval of his own pleasure.

The individual will has its rights, and these must not be ignored if man would be free. As soon as he is prepared by proper discipline for self-government, it is his privilege to enter upon its enjoyment, and to restrain him in this direction is to make him a slave. Such restraint was exercised, which opened the way for the reaction already alluded to. This movement was at first confined to the religious world, but being in its nature truly historical, it gradually extended itself over into the department of civil life, and here too the rights of the individual are asserting their claim to respect. But unfortunately in both departments of life we have an exemplification of the fact that extremes elicit each other. Instead of seeking to enjoy individual rights in consonance with the claims of objective authority, the growing tendency is to cancel the claims of this last altogether and elevate self-will once more to the position of a rule of action. Remembering as man does, the goadings of oppression to which he was helplessly subjected, he seems to imagine that all objective rule is alike tyrannical, and the tendency, we say, is to cast its claims aside. Like the wayward youth escaping from the restraints of his minority, instead of approving his disciplinary training, even though this may have been severe and even extreme, and recognizing its wholesome precepts as the just rule of subsequent conduct, he rushes over to the opposite extreme, and seeks to escape from all obligation, save only his own willful pleasure. No former oppression, be it never so tyrannical, can justify the rejection of law and authority to the extent that the constitution of our own nature demands.

From the commencement of this counter movement in history, to the present time, the tendency is in the direction of this extreme, which we may call libertinism. Its spirit has acquired new strength as it has progressed, until in the present age it

has assumed the palpable form of bald individualism, or in other words, *radicalism*, whose aim and effort are to bring all institutions subject to individual caprice, and to measure all right and rule by the standard of private opinion. This is attended with its natural concomitant, a spirit of negativism, which, with its fanaticism, ever stands ready to wage war upon every thing besides which yields not to its ridiculous demands. It is in its own nature rash, unthinking and precipitate, and seeks to carry its ends in the midst of confusion and excitement. It substitutes private notions for past experience, and recklessly seeks to repudiate all obligation to past history, as though it were not in fact the very capital which gives it any weight or right indeed to exist. Just as reasonably might the mathematician affect to turn with contempt upon the elementary branches of his science, and seek to repudiate his knowledge of the multiplication table, as something that is weak and puerile, and whose assistance he no longer needs.

It will be impossible at this time, to attempt anything more than a very cursory notice of the indications which are discoverable in the world around us, of this lamentable tendency. The recent revolutionary movements on the continent of Europe, are here fully in point. It must not be supposed that because the reactionary movement set in several centuries since, that all nations are equally prepared for self-government; all are not equally advanced in the march of civilization and enlightenment. And until each one reaches the age of majority, it were wise to content itself in the state of pupilage. I am well aware that at the time these revolutions broke out, they were by many regarded as altogether hopeful—as the harbingers of universal emancipation, and the speedy elevation of man to the eminence of freedom, to which God is gradually conducting him in the process of the world's history. But a careful examination into their true spirit will readily expose their premature and radical character. They were not the outbirth of the true spirit of liberty, else would their overthrow have been vastly more difficult. The very fact that the movement for the most part was only partial—that it commanded

in the several countries in which it showed itself, no more power and energy than were exhibited, proves conclusively that their disciplinary training was not yet complete. And this may be fearlessly affirmed. For if it be true that God is in history, and that it is but the revelation of his will as regards man—if it be true that the design of this history is to reclaim man from the miseries of spiritual bondage and elevate him at last to the capability, as well as to the enjoyment, of self-government, how is it possibly conceivable, that the ultimate affirmation of this design can fail, after all preparatory progress has been completed. Dare we impiously say that God has begun to build, and is not able to finish—that his arm may lead man to the very portals of the temple of liberty, but there grows impotent, and has no power to conduct him in? No verily. Had these nations accomplished their disciplinary training, and been prepared for self-government; so sure as there is truth in history as the work of God's providence, and strength in his right hand, would they have been lead, triumphant over all their enemies to the enjoyment of this Heaven intended portion for man. God was not in this revolutionary movement, hence its failure. Its advocates felt the weight of rigorous discipline, and were captivated by the harmony and beauty of *our* free institutions, and sought to make our privileges their own, but they were like the youth in his teens aspiring to the prerogatives of manhood.

How very different was the reformatory movement of the sixteenth century? When the chord of true liberty, in matters of religion, was then struck, it vibrated in the hearts of the great mass of the religious world, and finding themselves waked up to a sense of the lawful rights, for the enjoyment of which they felt themselves prepared, no opposition sufficiently potent could be commanded to repress their uprisings. It was a world historical movement. God was in it, and it overwhelmed all opposition. So also in the American Revolution. There was no self-will, no rebellion against the rights of law and just authority. At first indeed, there was no disposition on the part of the colonies, to sever their allegiance to the mother

country. The effort was to secure redress for grievances, and deliverance from oppression; and could these have been secured, they doubtless would have been content to remain in dutiful allegiance. They asked not exemption from the restraint of law, but deliverance from the abuse of power. And it was not until all their remonstrances had failed, all their protestations of loyalty had been mocked, that they felt constrained to resort to the alternative. Submission to law, not as a matter of coercion, but of free choice, has ever characterized the American people, and this is the ground precisely of their fitness for independence.

Not so the revolutionists of Europe. The true spirit of liberty had no place among them. They quarreled not with the abuse of power, but with law itself, both human and divine. They embodied no religious element, without which, any movement must be unhistorical. They sought room, not for the exercise of free choice in their obedience to law, but rather the elevation of their own self-will to the dignity of a rule of action. Their spirit was altogether negative, destructional; and in their assault upon the existing powers, they aimed at the indiscriminate destruction of true authority, as well as of its abuse. They had, it is true, a vague dream of liberty, and were fired with its love, as they contemplated the happy and peaceful condition of these United States. But they made their observations from a distance, and from an unfavorable position, and wildly imagined that every one was at liberty to consult his pleasure as regards his own conduct.

This state of things found its practical workings in France. Like an avalanche did the popular will overpower the government; and in a very few days from the commencement of the revolution, was the way opened for the full realization of the dream of liberty. But we all know the history of the Republic. Scarcely was it established when the wild spirit of radicalism revealed itself with such formidable demonstrations of power for future evil, that it speedily became apparent to her calmer statesmen, that the alternative was not between a republic and a monarchy, but between a reign of terror, as once

before experienced by that unhappy people, and a well regulated empire. We, as a people, were loud in our denunciations against the conduct of the present Emperor, and the title of traitor was upon every lip ; but history is now unequivocal in its assurance, that it was a master stroke of political wisdom, to save the nation from being deluged with fraternal blood. And certainly if France was not prepared for a popular form of government, much less were the other nations which put forth their simultaneous efforts.

Kossuth too, in his wild and ungrateful career in this country, gave the most palpable evidence of his fanatical spirit, in seeking to make his crude notions of international policy, the rule of universal action ; and no doubt the want of power was the only barrier which restrained him from proposing terms of peace to the whole world.

But we are not without indications of the presence of this extreme tendency in our own country. The facility with which the most visionary schemes gain a hearing and enlist advocates, is not a little significant in this direction. It would seem to require but a bold presumption and a boisterous tongue, to command influence, and measurably at least to further the wildest project. It cannot be said of us as a people, that we are altogether unthinking, but unfortunately we act before thinking ; and not unfrequently, as recent experience has proven, are subjected to the mortification of retracing our head-long steps. Our citizens, it is to be regretted, have recently exhibited an unwonted spirit of fanaticism in this particular direction. Excitement seems to be the order of the day—discontent with that which is old and established, and an insatiable craving after something new and strange. Ours is emphatically an age of progress, but progress under the conduct of individual will and aggrandisement. There is a thirst for adventure and speculation, and a disposition to wander away from old and fixed landmarks. There is also a rapidly growing disposition to divest government of its prerogatives, and invest the popular will with accumulated power. To the extent precisely that these changes are effected, does our gov-

ernment lose its representative character, and approximate a pure democracy. And it were well for us to bear in mind, that an absolute democracy, is an absolute mob. The popular outbreaks of late so frequent; the increase of crime; the wild and unlawful expeditions for territorial aggrandizement, such as those directed against the island of Cuba; the recklessness which is manifested in large measure with reference to our pacific relations to foreign countries; and besides these, the unrighteous tampering with the Heaven ordained institution of capital punishment; the fanatical furor of ultra-abolitionism, warring alike against Church and State, and refusing fellowship with all who will not make the abolition of southern slavery, the first article in both their political and religious creed; then that shameful exhibition of human weakness, made to challenge the attention of the wide world, under the title of "Woman's Rights," whose deluded votaries seem to forget not only that nice sense of delicacy which makes woman the object of our warmest affection, but equally their own tender sex, and the design of God in their creation; as also that wonderful and mad infatuation—"spiritual rappings"—destroying the peace of homes, and crazing the brains of many of its pitiable subjects; and scores of indications besides which might be mentioned, all go conclusively to show the one-sided tendency of the age—the disposition to give the reins to private will and caprice over against the settled principles of past history, and the actual demands of the law of our nature.

In the department of the Church, the indications are no less portentous. Individual opinion seems to be regarded as the tribunal of ultimate appeal, and indeed the actual measure of all revealed truth. No matter what was the judgment of past ages touching the doctrines of Christianity, all must now square with the views and notions which seem to commend themselves to each man for himself. Herein precisely consists the cause of the increasing growth of heresy around us—the denial of the cardinal doctrines of our holy religion, and the reduction of this with all its glories and confounding mysteries to the measure of the finite understanding. It is not necessary to

cite instances in proof of this growing defection from the truth, with all its concomitant results, as revealed in the terrible evil of the sect system. We need but be familiar with the religious prints of the day, to be certified by their admissions and lamentations, their enquiries and conjectures, that this tendency holds to a much more alarming extent than is perhaps generally supposed. Wide spread insubordination to everything like Church authority, gives additional evidence of the correctness of our allegation. So completely is this regarded as a proper subject for private judgment, that when, in many cases at least, this last is found to be in conflict with the fancies of the individual, he never stops to enquire as to the correctness of his position, or even the probabilities against him, but in the spirit of the most lawless radicalism, sets it at defiance, and seeks out a congenial fraternity among the thousand and one conflicting sects with which Christendom is cursed.

But our remarks have already exceeded their intended limits, and it must now suffice to say, in conclusion, that the most unhappy feature in the radical tendency of the age, is, that it seems not yet to have reached its culminating point. Things seem to be growing worse, and if we may judge from the signs of the times, we have just reason to be apprehensive for the future, with reference to both Church and State. The tendency will necessarily run its course—it will strive its utmost against the truthful progress of history, until this last shall have accumulated sufficient force to assert its rights, when, it is to be feared, it will surmount this unnatural and sinful obstruction with the devastating power of a revolution. The ultimate issue, however, *will* be truthful—*will and must* be in accordance with the requirements of a Heaven directed history. But it is seriously to be feared, that the overcoming of this evil, may yet pour forth rivers of blood, and fill the world with sighs and tears.

Chambersburg, Pa.

S. N. C.

ART. II.—THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE
FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF ITS ACTION.

WHATEVER may be thought of the so-called "Mercersburg" Theory of Historical Development in its specific details, we do not see how the truth of the general idea, which forms its foundation, can be questioned. If it is, one of two positions must of necessity be assumed: First, that Christianity is not a new life brought into the world in the person of Jesus Christ; or secondly, that, though it be such a life, it is not governed in its action by the law of life.

If the first position be assumed, the question arises, what then is Christianity? This question must not be evaded by statements of what Christianity *does*. For it is not enough to be acquainted with it phenomenally; we must also be able to declare what it is *essentially*.^{*} Its consequences and effects are richly worthy of study in their proper relations, but even to a correct apprehension of their true character and of the manner in which they were produced, a knowledge of its essential nature is absolutely necessary. And besides, we must be able to define this with some certainty, in order to discover

* "The theological position of the present may be considered especially favorable, for a proper appreciation of the truth in the case of the important inquiry here brought into view. It has been but too common heretofore, to proceed on some particular conception of Christianity, as Primitive, Catholic, Protestant, &c.; by which, as a matter of necessity, a single historical stadium, arbitrarily bounded according to the pleasure of the inquirer, has been made to stand for the idea of the whole; thus causing certain phases of the system, its divinity for instance, or its humanity, its doctrinal, or its ethical, or it may be its æsthetic character only, to represent the general life of which each could be said to form but a single side. Now, however, as the result of our historical cultivation itself, we stand on higher ground. We are able to take a comprehensive survey of Christianity as an organic whole, under all the aspects in which it is presented to our view, in its origin, and throughout the whole stream of its development, down to the present time. In this way it is made much more easy than before, to reach the true life-centre of the whole, and to recognize the beating heart from which all has been formed, and that still continues to animate all perpetually in its several parts."—*Prelim. Essay* (translated from the German of Ullman,) to the *Mystical Presence*, pp. 14, 15.

and point out that element, which belongs to it distinctively* and alone, and thus vindicate its claims to being not only better and purer than all other forms of religion, but also the only and absolutely true religion. Unless this can be done, its character as divine and perfect cannot be maintained, and it sinks into the category of other religious systems, better than them, it may be, in some respects, but differing from them only in degree, not in kind and nature.

We are justified, therefore, in pressing with all earnestness upon those who deny that Christianity is essentially and distinctively a new life, the question: *What then is it?* If the reply be, It is a new and perfect system of doctrine revealed by the Son of God, we answer: It does indeed involve such a system of doctrine, but this does not constitute its essential and distinctive character. Christianity is not *essentially* a system of doctrine. If it were, it might be communicated and received by the mere process of instruction. Its first, and most direct, and principal effects would be intellectual; and its highest end would be attained, when it had won from society and the individual an acknowledgment of its theoretic truth. *Orthodoxy* would then comprise the result of its influence upon the converted, and the sum of its demands upon the unconverted. It might reasonably be expected too, that it would have been revealed, if such were its essential nature, in a more scientific and doctrinally systematic form. But the Scriptures have not such a form. If compared in this respect with mere

* "When we speak of the distinctive character of Christianity, it implies the idea of something general as well as particular in its constitution. As general it is *religion*, as particular it is the *Christian* religion. But these two conceptions, in this case, are bound inseparably together. We cannot so abstract from Christianity its particular specific character, as to leave the general idea of religion behind. It must exist under the specific form which belongs to it, or it is nothing, a mere abstraction, destitute of all reality. Christianity is not religion in the first place, with something added to it to make it Christianity; but as religion itself, it is, at the same time, in its inmost ground this particular form of religion, exclusively complete in its own nature, and different in all its parts, by the spirit which pervades the whole, from every other religion. As thus individual and general at once, it claims to be the absolute truth itself; not a religion simply, as one among many, but the one, universal, all perfect religion of humanity in its widest sense. Essential and specific here flow together, and cannot be kept asunder."—*Preliminary Essay to the Mystical Presence*, p. 15.

human writings, (treatises on theology or moral philosophy for example,) they will be found inferior. They make no pretensions to any such character. They abound not in formal logical propositions and metaphysical distinctions. They exhibit truth not in an abstract, doctrinal, but in a living, practical way, and make no account of mere theoretic ideas. The history of the Church, too, from the days of the Apostles to the present time, contradicts the theory that the essential nature of Christianity is to be found in its doctrines. That which is essential to it must be permanent, unchangeable, and always harmonious and consistent with itself. But under no other aspect does Christianity appear in history, more fluctuating and unsettled, than when regarded merely as a system of doctrinal truths. Creed is seen conflicting with creed, theological system opposing theological system; and even of those doctrines which distinguish Christianity most broadly from other systems of religion, and which we now consider fundamental articles of faith, some had no visible, well defined existence in the Christian creed, until long after the Apostolic age.

We recur then again to the question, If Christianity be not essentially a new life, what is it? Is it *law*? Does it distinctively and essentially consist in ethical precepts, in its being a new and perfect system of morality? The Scriptures at once furnish the answer: "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified in His sight." Under the aspect of law too, as well as under that of doctrine, Christianity loses all characteristic difference between itself and other religions.* It

* "Viewed either as doctrine or law, the universal difference of Christianity from other religions, whether Pagan or Jewish, is not suffered to appear. As a doctrinal system merely, though it might be more perfect in its kind, it would not differ specifically from the schools of the heathen world; as a law, though with higher and more excellent requisitions, it would still be specifically of one class with Judæism and the religion of Mohammed; an exalted, purified Judæism only, not a new order of religion, with a principle altogether its own. In both cases we should be at a loss to explain, how it could become the ground of a complete regeneration of the human life, the source of a new order of world history altogether; how it could give birth to characters and forms of thinking, such as we meet with in Paul and John; how, in one word, it could produce the Christian Church with all

differs from them, and from the moral systems of Socrates or Confucius, for example, not in nature but in degree only, and there is a possibility of improving them, or other systems into Christianity, by a process of suppression, revision and addition. Our Saviour stands in the same general class with human philosophers and philanthropists,—above them in some respects, as the promulgator of a purer morality, of precepts which commend themselves more strongly to human consciousness, but still on no inaccessible height. There is indeed, regarding Christianity under this light, a natural possibility not only of his being reached, but excelled by some future law-giver. The same remarks will apply to the theory which makes Christianity to consist essentially in doctrine. Our Saviour would stand in the same general class with Moses and the Jewish Prophets, and His own Apostles. Nor will it do to attempt to evade the force of this argument by referring to His divine character; for we are speaking, it must be remembered, not of the constitution of His person, but of what constitutes the essential and elemental substance and ground principle of Christianity, and the distinctive difference between it and all other religious and moral systems.

Moreover, by regarding Christianity as essentially an ethical system, the true significance and value of the atonement are entirely destroyed. Our salvation then depends on our own actions. We must stand before the bar of God clothed not in the glorious robes of Christ's righteousness, but in the tattered and filthy rags of conformity to the law. We must be justified not by faith alone, but by works. And the declaration is falsified: "By grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast." The principal object, too, of our Saviour's mission must then have been to perfect the Jewish law by depriving it of its particular character as formed for a single nation, and adapting it to the wants of the world. But

that it includes, not simply in the form of thought and precept, but in the way also of actual power and effect."—*Preliminary Essay to the Mystical Presence*, p. 24.

no such idea of Christianity can be entertained, by any one who really understands what is comprehended in the declaration: "By grace are ye saved through faith." To all who, having been "delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God," in foretaste and hope, would yet go back to the slavery of this legalistic, Judaistic* view of Christianity, we may well apply the words of Paul: "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, * * before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified? This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or the hearing of faith? Are ye so foolish? Having begun in the Spirit are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" &c. The end which Christianity has in view is one which no ethical system can possibly accomplish. The change it seeks to produce, is far broader and deeper than any change of moral principles and conduct, however complete and thorough.

The question thus again comes up for solution: *What is Christianity?* Does it essentially consist in *feeling*? It cannot. For under this view, also, it would possess no exclusive specific character, no distinctive difference between itself and other religions. Besides, feeling, though more internal, and more deeply connected with our whole nature than either doctrine or law, is altogether subjective, and can have no existence whatever apart from the individual subject. If feeling, then, were its ultimate, essential element, Christianity would possess no reality apart from the individual Christian, no actual objec-

* "Christianity is also *Moral Law*. If, however, it were law only, or law essentially even, it would not have transcended the order of the Jewish religion; it would have been at best a reformed, generalized Judaism only, bringing with it no freedom or life, but leaving men still under the curse of sin and guilt. Law, however refined, always remains law, something over against a man, an outward *shall*, whose nature it is to exact, accuse, condemn, and kill. Spirit only and love can animate, and both can spring only from personal life. By the all prevailing principle of love the law was fulfilled in Christ's life; and now with the communication of Christ's spirit, the spirit and power of the same active obedience are received at the same time. Thus the law comes to be written in the heart, and loses its character of mere outward authority in that of a spontaneous impulse belonging to the inmost life of its subject. Christianity has by fulfilling it taken it out of the way."—*Preliminary Essay to the Mystical Presence*, p. 41.

tive truth, no existence in and of itself. Its truth would be merely relative; its existence and character would be dependent on the individual subject; it would have its seat in, and in a great measure be the product of his natural life, which being essentially corrupt and sinful, can neither produce nor maintain any pure and holy feeling. Moreover, such feeling presupposes, and is based upon knowledge. For we cannot intelligently possess right feelings towards God, unless we know that He exists, and what His attributes and character are. Regarding Christianity as consisting essentially in feeling, we are, consequently, compelled to fall back upon doctrine as forming its ultimate ground, the fallacy of which position we have already shown.

The question then remains still to be answered: *What is Christianity?* What other replies might be given to this question we will not stop to inquire; for they would all necessarily resolve themselves into one or the other of those* which we have already noticed. And if we have succeeded in showing their fallacy, we have also thus proved negatively that

* "As might be expected, these different views of Christianity appear in close relation with the various forms in which the *idea of religion* itself has been held; for as it is taken to be the absolute truth of all religion, it must of course participate in its essential character, whatever this may be supposed to be. Viewed as doctrine accordingly, it finds its support in the conception of religion as a mode of knowing God, its prevailing definition, especially among the orthodox, in the period preceding Kant. Its next character, that of law, corresponds with the theory by which, in conformity with the philosophy of Kant, all religion was resolved into a mere postulate of morality. In its evangelical form, as the power of a divine redemption, it rests on the idea of religion as a state of feeling or immediate consciousness. But the relation of man to God in religion does not spring either from his understanding, or will, or feeling separately considered. It includes all at once in the totality of his personal life. On this view, therefore, is based lastly that apprehension of Christianity which makes it to be the union of God with humanity, and under this form only the source of all light and holiness and salvation."

"The first three views which have been described have severally their measure of truth; but the full truth requires their comprehension, in a living way, under the last. Hence, also, this last to be genuine and right, must incorporate in itself the other less perfect conceptions. Christianity can be properly regarded as the union of God and humanity, only where due account is made at the same time of its doctrinal, ethical, and soteriological character, and all is made to rest on its original, inalienable nature, according to which it is no matter of thought or logic merely in any form, but action, history, and life."

* * * * "That which forms the specific, distinctive character of Christi-

Christianity is essentially a new life. The positive proof of this, it is not our purpose to attempt to exhibit systematically. This has already been done, in other numbers of this Review, by abler pens than ours, as well as discussed in all its relations, and with great clearness and vigor, by Drs. Nevin and Schaff, in treatises familiar to the majority of our readers.* We will confine ourselves, therefore, to merely throwing out a few thoughts in defence and illustration of the proposition, and then pass on to the consideration of the second part of our proposed subject.

As LIFE, Christianity involves all that is claimed for it, by the theories to which we have alluded. It comprehends the elements of doctrine, law, and feeling, but is wider and deeper than them all. In the process of unfolding itself, it pervades and thoroughly transfuses our whole nature, and by its

anity, is not its doctrine nor its morality; nor even its power of redemption; but the peculiar constitution and religious significance of its Founder, as uniting divinity and humanity, truly and perfectly, in his person. Doctrine, law, and redemption rest on this as their basis."

"As doctrine, Christianity addresses itself to the understanding of man, as law to his will; in both cases, as something outward and mechanical, rather than as having power to produce a living piety. In the character of redemption, it reaches to the heart and unfolds in a much higher degree its true life-giving, dynamic nature; but viewed only in this light, it is still but imperfectly apprehended, as an inward state or mere matter of feeling. Its complete sense and full objective value are reached, only when all is referred to the person of Christ, in which God appears united with humanity, and which by its very constitution accordingly carries in it a reconciling, redeeming, quickening and enlightening efficacy. Thus apprehended, Christianity is in the fullest sense, organic in its nature. It reveals itself as a peculiar order of life in Christ, and from him as a personal centre it reaches forth towards man as a whole, in the way of true historical self-evolution, seeking to form the entire race into a glorious kingdom of God. From this centre all takes its full significance; doctrine becomes power; law is turned into life; redemption and reconciliation find a solid objective basis on which to rest. The natural and the human, sanctified by union with the divine in Christ, are sanctified also for all who partake of His spirit and life. Christianity thus neither deifies the natural as such, nor yet opposes it as evil; but purifies and transfigures it, and restores it to its true divine destination."—*Preliminary Essay to the Mystical Presence*, pp. 18, 19, 48, 44.

This Essay, written by Dr. C. Ullman, Professor in Heidelberg University, and translated from the German by the Rev. Dr. Nevin, is well worthy of study, as a masterly, though very compact discussion of "*the distinctive character of Christianity*."

* As possibly some of the present readers of the Review may not be acquainted with the works referred to above, we annex the titles, hoping that

operation upon and through the intellect, will, and affections, it exhibits itself under the forms of doctrinal views, ethical principles and holy feelings. Under the aspect of a *life* too, Christianity is seen to possess an element exclusively peculiar to itself, one which forms a specific and characteristic difference between it and all other religions. It is not merely *a* religion but *the* only religion, perfect and absolute. Christ ranks not with Confucius and Mohammed, with Moses and Isaiah and Paul, distinguished among them only as the revealer and promulgator of a more excellent doctrine, the giver of a more perfect law, the advocate of purer and more holy feelings, and *thus* the object of higher regard. He stands entirely above and beyond them as the source of a new life, the head of a new humanity, the bestower of a new nature, the founder of a new order of things, the author of a new creation.

It is only as a life that Christianity is consistent with itself in history. As doctrine, as law, as feeling, or anything else than life, it appears often self-contradictory. But when regarded as a new life, brought into the world in the person of Jesus Christ, flowing forth from him, and seeking through the agency of the Holy Spirit, to incorporate itself into the world, and to transfuse it with its power, its true identity appears. Under the most various circumstances, in every age and nation, it is seen to be still the same, ever homogeneous, and consistent with itself, as an individual is the same through all the changes of his life.

Under no other view than that of a life, can Christianity attain its own end, unless the depravity of man be denied.

they will obtain them, and receive from their *study* as much pleasure and profit as it has afforded the writer :

"*The Principle of Protestantism as related to the present state of the Church.*" By Philip Schaff, D. D. Chambersburg, 1845. pp. 215.

"*What is Church History? A Vindication of the idea of Historical Development.*" By Philip Schaff, D. D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co., 1846. pp. 128.

"*The Mystical Presence. A Vindication of the Calvinistic or the Reformed doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.*" By Rev. J. W. Nevin, D. D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co, 1846. pp. 256.

"*Antichrist: Or the Spirit of Sect and Schism.*" By Rev. J. W. Nevin, D. D. New York: John S. Taylor, 151 Nassau Street, 1848. pp. 90.

Through the disobedience of Adam sin entered as a constituent element into his life, and through it extended its influence over his whole nature. As the head of the human race, he comprised in himself all humanity, which necessarily therefore became corrupt in him; and consequently all, who participate in that humanity, participate in its corruption. We inherit Adam's nature, *because we inherit his life*. It is life that forms the bond of our union, the essence of our relation to him. His life lives in us as his children, transmits to us his nature, and moulds us after his likeness, not only as regards body but also spirit. If, therefore, we do receive from him a corrupt nature, it must be because we receive from him a corrupt *life*. And as every individual by birth receives Adam's life, and through his life his nature, the Westminster Catechism rightly declares, that "we sinned *in Adam* and fell *with him*."

No partial change, it is evident, could relieve man from this situation. No mere enlightening of the understanding, or new revelation of truth; no inculcation of ethical precepts, or promulgation of a new law; no change of feeling, however great, could in themselves avail anything. Nor, in fact, could these changes be thoroughly effected in man, without a corresponding change being first wrought in his nature. For the feelings, the will, and the intellect are, in their character and action, dependent upon and intimately connected with the nature of man; or rather, they are but different sides or functions of that nature, and therefore altogether determined by it in the respects just mentioned. The change, therefore, which is required in man is one which, starting from the inmost depths of his being, must subject his entire personality wholly to its power, and thus be co-extensive with sin itself. It is our life which is the fundamental principle of our nature; and from which, through the operation of its own free inherent action, and according to its own normal law, our nature is unfolded. It is this, which, externalizing itself in individual forms, gives to them their nature and determines them from the cradle to the grave. It is life which forms the channel of communication and bond of union between Adam and his descendants. We

receive his corrupt nature in and through the reception of his life.

The renewing of human nature must begin, therefore, with its *life*. As in Adam, their head and source, the waters of human life became polluted, and carrying with them that pollution, imparted it to all his children, so it is necessary for the work of regeneration, that a new life should flow forth from an unpolluted fountain, which, pouring itself into sinful humanity, should cleanse it from the taints of evil, and restore it to its original purity.

To accomplish this end the Saviour came from heaven. He constituted himself the head of a new humanity, as Adam was of the old. He assumed into union with His divinity our fallen nature, in all respects as it was in Adam, sin excepted;* and

* Heb. 4: 15, also 2: 14—18.—We have referred to these passages as warranting the view we have expressed above—though, like all other great truths of Christianity, it rests not so much on particular texts of Scripture as upon its general tenor and spirit. A consideration of these passages as well as of the difficulties in which their position involves them, in regard both to the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness, is highly necessary on the part of those, who, to save the sinlessness of the Saviour's nature, (a point we hold as strongly as they and which is in no way inconsistent with the idea that Jesus assumed fallen humanity,) maintain that he took upon himself our nature as it was *before* the fall. What end could be gained by such an incarnation? How could he restore that which had never fallen? And what benefit could we receive from any righteousness or dignity, which our Saviour bestowed on human nature as it existed before the fall. We now stand in no relation to it. It is not *that* nature that we inherit; and any gift that might be bestowed upon it, or any elevation it might receive, could not inure to our advantage.

We do not see how any one can read the passages of Scripture referred to, bearing in mind the context and the scope of the inspired writer's argument, without feeling that they teach that the Saviour assumed *fallen* humanity in all respects as it is in us, sin excepted. How otherwise could the assumption of human nature be the ground for exercising confidence in Jesus, as the writer makes it to be. The assumption of our nature by him as it was before the fall, would never lead us to "come *boldly* unto the throne of grace," but rather to fear that we would *not* "obtain mercy," nor "find grace to help in time of need." How could a being possessed humanly of the vigor and power of our nature as first created have personal experience, (for that evidently is the Apostle's meaning,) of our weakness and infirmity as fallen creatures? How could he be said, in this sense, to "be touched with a feeling of our infirmities?" Or how could it be truly declared, that he "was in *all points tempted like as we are*, yet without sin!" We are told (Isaiah 53: 4,) "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows." But this cannot be strictly and entirely true, unless he assumed our fallen nature; for the weakness and infirmity of our fallen nature is the source of many of our griefs and sorrows—humanity as it existed before the fall was afflicted with no in-

thus he gave it, not only the sinless character which originally belonged to it, but also a degree of positive righteousness and holiness of which the innocence before the fall was only the shadow and prototype. *This was the object of the incarnation.* Humanity, as comprehended in Christ the second Adam, was cleansed, restored, and elevated. The Saviour's death upon the cross delivered us from the guilt and punishment of sin, but did not in itself purify and renew our nature. This was accomplished by his assuming it into union with his divinity, and in his own person sanctifying it, and enabling it to overcome the power of sin. In him humanity is raised to incorruption, as in our first parents it was made subject to corruption. And thus as we "sinned in Adam and fell with him," so we fulfill all righteousness in Christ and are raised to newness of life

firmities and burdened with no sorrow. It may be asked, by way of opposition, how *could* our Saviour assume fallen humanity and yet remain without sin, since both the fall and its consequences are the fruit of sin? But it may be asked with the same degree of reason, how *could* our Saviour suffer death, since death is the fruit of sin? To these questions faith answers in the words of Paul: "*This is a great mystery.*" Let us not try to be wise "*above that which is written,*" but at the same time, let us not prevent ourselves from being wise in "*what is written,*" by halting at difficulties which have their source in the weakness of the natural understanding.

Still stronger is the argument in Heb. 2: 14—18. "Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself *likewise took part of the same*; (surely no one will affirm that Adam's children are partakers of his nature as it was *before* the fall; to do so would be to deny in toto the depravity of man,) "*that through death*" (which was not involved in our original nature, but belongs to it only as fallen) "he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil, and deliver those who through fear of death were all their life-time subject to bondage." "For verily he took not on him the nature of angels," (as well might he have done so, so far as standing in any real connection with humanity as now constituted goes, as to have assumed the nature of Adam before the fall) "*but he took on him the seed of Abraham.*" (It surely will not be said that Abraham and his descendants possessed our nature as originally created.) "Wherefore in *all things* it behooved him to be made *like unto his brethren*, that he *might be* a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people: For in that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is *able* to succor them that are tempted." The suffering that is here referred to, it is evident from the passage itself, is not that which the Saviour endured on the cross, but that which he endured in temptation, and through the weakness of the fallen nature which he voluntarily assumed; and so the ability spoken of is not his absolute power as divine, but his ability and willingness, as one who had personal experience of similar infirmities and sorrows, to sympathize with us and help us. "*Therefore let us come boldly unto the throne of grace.*"

It is hardly necessary for us, we trust, to say that we fully believe that our

with him. Christ has become the head of a new purified humanity, as Adam was of a sinful one. And as, by inheriting Adam's life in the process of natural generation, we are born into a corrupt nature, so by receiving the life of Christ in the process of spiritual re-generation we are re-born, into a holy nature. And thus to become Christian is not to have a change wrought merely *upon* us, but *in* us, and regeneration is really, and in fact, to "be born again," not the mere giving a new direction and character to our present natural life, but the actual reception of a new life.

This view the Scriptures clearly teach. Their language can be made to harmonize with none other, without violence. But in connection with the idea, that Christianity is *essentially* a LIFE, their declarations stand forth to the apprehension, clear and

Saviour was "without sin, holy, harmless, and undefiled," and no inference can be deduced, as we think, by any fair reasoning, from the view expressed above, inconsistent with that belief.

After writing the foregoing, it occurred to us to ascertain what Calvin might say on the passages just referred to, and accordingly taking down his commentary, we found with no little pleasure a full corroboration of our interpretation. He says on Heb. 2: 14: (We give a free rendering of extracts from the Latin, and for the faithfulness of our translation we are willing to be held to a strict accountability,) "This is the conclusion of the foregoing, and at the same time a fuller statement of the cause, than had been briefly given before, why it was necessary for the Son of God to participate in the *same* nature *with us*, and by enduring death, deliver us from it. The passage is worthy of close attention, because the Apostle *not only* asserts the actual humanity of Christ, but *also* because he shows the result which thence flows down to us. *The Son of God was made man*, he says, *that he might be a participant of the VERY SAME condition and nature with us*. On verse 16, Calvin says: "The Apostle wishes to find in the person of the Son of God a brother on account of *his mutual possession with us of a common nature*. Wherefore he is not satisfied to call him a man, but says that he was descended from human seed, and expressly names *the seed of Abraham*." (Calvin could never have used such language had he not believed that the Saviour assumed our fallen nature. Mankind now cannot be said, except by the most extreme Pelagian, to be possessed of the "very same condition and nature" which Adam possessed before the fall. Neither could our Saviour's assumption of Adam's unfallen nature be any ground for regarding the Saviour as "*our brother*," in the sense in which Calvin uses the term. Moreover, our Saviour is not said to have taken Adam's nature, but that of *Abraham* is expressly named; and *Abraham* surely did not possess human nature as it existed before the fall.)

On verse 17, Calvin says: "In regard to the human nature of Christ, two things are to be considered: the essence of the flesh, and its affections and passions. Wherefore the Apostle says, that he not only put on *the very fleshly nature of man*, ("*carnem hominis ipsam*")—terms which could never be applied to humanity as it existed before the fall,) "but also all the affections and passions which are peculiar to men. * * * Moreover, the Apostle teaches,

unambiguous, requiring no tortuous or far-fetched explanations to exhibit their meaning: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." "In him was LIFE, and the *Life* was the light of men." "For the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father and was manifested unto us." "I am the way, and the truth, and the life." "This is the record, that God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son." "He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life." "The bread of God is he that cometh down from heaven, and giveth *life* unto the world. If any man eat of this bread he shall live forever, and the bread that I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world. I am that bread of life." "He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." "Because I live ye shall live also." "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." "These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have *life* through his name. For if there had been a law given, which *could have given* LIFE, verily righteousness should have been by the law." "But *thus* was manifested the love of God, that God sent His only be-

that Christ was subject to human sufferings, in order that 'he might be a merciful and faithful High Priest,' which words I interpret, that he might be merciful and *therefore* faithful. For compassion is especially required in a Priest, whose office it is to appease the anger of God, to comfort the miserable, and raise up the fallen." * * * "Therefore, however often any kind of evils whatsoever distress us, let it be a consolation that nothing befalls us which the Son of God did not experience in himself, so that he is able to sympathize with us." (How could this be true, if the Saviour assumed humanity as it was before the fall, without weakness or infirmity, but full of the joyous vigor in which it was first created?) * * * "Being about to expiate our sins, he put on our nature that he might have the price of the reconciliation in our *flesh*, and in fine, that by the RIGHT OF A COMMON NATURE, he might introduce us into the sanctuary of God."

Would Calvin have written in this style, had he believed that Christ assumed, not our fallen nature, but that nature as it was originally in Adam? And what becomes of the charge against Rev. Dr. Nevin of being the author of a *new* heresy, for believing that the Saviour assumed fallen humanity, "yet without sin." If guilty of heresy he has at least one of the "Fathers of the Reformation" to keep him company. How many more of them, as well as of other "Fathers," we know not. See also Ursinus' Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism, Williard's translation, p. 85; as well as the Catechism itself, answer to the 16th question.

gotten Son into the world, that we might LIVE *through Him* ; as it is written, the just shall LIVE *by faith*. For the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

So, in full accordance with the foregoing, our existence in a sinful state is characterized in the Scripture as death ; not merely because of the eternal punishment which will be inflicted in the future world upon transgressors, but also *because the principle of sin is the principle of DEATH*. Sin opposes constantly the true life in which originally we were created, is antagonistic to it in all its relations and tendencies, and finally prevents it from realizing its proper end. It finds its own natural and legitimate consummation in the entire negation and destruction of all that is truly in our life as it came from God. Thus the principle of sin is really and in fact the principle of *death*, causes us even in this world to be wholly subject to the process of death, and literally fulfills the declaration of Scripture, that now, while on earth, *we are* (not hereafter shall be) "dead in trespasses and sins."

So the believer is represented as raised from death, by regeneration, and gifted with a new *life*, as actually and fully so as in a state of sin he is subject to death : "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound, that as sin hath reigned unto death, *even so* might grace reign, through righteousness, unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." "That like as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." "Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but *alive* unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." "Yield yourselves unto God, as those that are *alive* from the dead." "For the law of the Spirit of *life* in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of *sin and death*." "For to be carnally minded is *death*, but to be spiritually minded is LIFE and *peace*." "I am crucified with Christ : nevertheless I live ; yet not *I* but CHRIST LIVETH in me : *and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God*, who loved me and gave himself for me."

The change which is produced in the believer is called in

Scripture "being born again." Natural birth consists in the reception by an individual of the life of that sinful humanity, which Adam, as the head of the human race, embodied within himself; so spiritual birth is the actual reception by the believer, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, of the life of that sinless nature which Christ, the second Adam, the head of a new, regenerated and sanctified humanity, embodies in himself. Man is the agent in producing this birth in the one case; in the other the Holy Spirit.* For "as many as received him, to them gave he power to become" (or as the same word is translated immediately below) *be made* "the sons of God, who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, but that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit." "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." Thus, not merely in reference to the resurrection, (which indeed in Scripture is always spoken of as connected with, and being the final triumph and fruit of our spiritual life,) but also to the whole process of our salvation, is it true, "that as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be *made* ALIVE."†

* There is no ground for the charge which has been brought against this view of regeneration, that it virtually ignores the existence and excludes the agency of the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, the existence and action of the whole blessed Trinity is recognized by it. The love of the Father is the moving cause; the life of Christ, the "Word made flesh," the active element or principle, and the power of the Holy Ghost, the agency by which the work is wrought. But in the view which is thrust forward as a substitute, namely, that the new life which the believer receives, is the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, our Saviour is excluded from all participation in this part of the work of salvation.

It must be borne in mind too, that only through the medium of Christ, and that too of his humanity as lifted up and sanctified by its union in his person with his divinity, can we be brought into actual communion with either God the Father, or God the Holy Ghost. Any view which makes us to receive the Holy Spirit, except through the medium of the "Word made flesh," is pantheistic.

† The word "all," here, is not to be understood in a distributive but collective sense, meaning not every individual, but the whole, the general totality, not the universal sum of mankind. The new humanity which exists in Christ Jesus, as its head, comprehends mankind in a general, not in a universal way. It comprises potentially only, every individual of the human race, but not so in actual fact. Very many exclude themselves by their unbelief, from being ever comprehended in the new creation in Christ Jesus, and thus *not* being in Him are *never* made alive by Him.

"For the first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a *quickenings* Spirit."

This life, like natural life, is given to us at first, not in full vigor and maturity, but in the form rather of a living principle, which develops itself by a gradual process. This process of growth must continue throughout our whole existence on earth. It is constantly opposed by our own natural sinfulness and the evil influences of the world. And as, consequently, we can possess this new life in its fulness and perfection only after death, it is sometimes spoken of in the Scriptures as being given to us in the spiritual world, and as the "promise of eternal life."

It may be thought by some, that we are discussing an admitted truth, so prominently does the doctrine, that Christianity consists essentially in the reception of the life of Christ, as the head of a new humanity, by the believer, through the agency of the Holy Spirit, seem to stand forth in the creed of all who claim to be orthodox Christians. But it will be found, not unfrequently, if a fuller statement of the doctrine be required, that the community of life with Jesus is resolved into a mere community of feelings, views, and principles, a reception, not actually of the *life* of Christ, but only of his doctrines and precepts. In opposition to this, we contend that Christianity is really and in fact, a new life incorporated into humanity in the person of Christ; and from him, as its head and source, it flows down into those who believe, through the agency of the Holy Spirit, causing them thus to be "*born again*," "*re-generated*," "*re-created*" in Christ Jesus. "*Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold all things are become new.*"

* * * "Many who count themselves orthodox, it is to be feared, come short of the truth here altogether. They get not beyond the old Ebionetic stand-point; but see in Christianity always an advance only on the grace of the Jewish dispensation, under the same form, and not a new order of grace entirely. Greater light, enlarged opportunities, more constraining motives, a new supply of supernatural aids and provisions; these are taken to be the peculiar distinction of the New

Covenant, and constitute its supposed superiority over the Old. But is not this to resolve the Christian salvation into a merely moral institute or discipline? If the whole evangelical apparatus—including Christ's priestly work, the atonement, his intercession in heaven, and the gracious influences of his Spirit—be regarded as an outward *apparatus* simply, through the force of which, as lying beyond himself, the sinner is to be formed to righteousness, the case is only parallel at best with the theory, that turns the work of redemption into a mere doctrine or example. We should have at most, in this view, an exaltation only of the religion of the Jew. Christ would be to us of the same order with Moses; immeasurably greater, of course; but still a prophet only in the same sense."

"In opposition to all this, we say of Christianity that it is a LIFE. Not a rule or mode of life, simply; not something that in its own nature requires to be reduced to practice; for that is the character of all morality. But life in its very nature and constitution, and as such, the actual substance of truth itself. This is its grand distinction. Here it is broadly separated from all other forms of religion, that have ever claimed, or ever can claim, the attention of the world. 'The law came by Moses, but GRACE and TRUTH by Jesus Christ.' " * *

* * * * "Christianity then is a Life, not only as revealed at first in Christ, but as continued also in the Church. It flows over from Christ to his people, always in this form. They do not simply bear his name, and acknowledge his doctrine. They are so united with him as to have part in the substance of his life itself. Their conversion is a new *birth*; 'not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.' (John 1: 12, 13.) 'That which is born of the flesh, is flesh.' As such, it can never rise above its own nature. No cultivation, no outward aid, no simply moral appliances, can ever lift it into a higher sphere. This requires a new *life*. 'That which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit;' all else necessarily comes short of the distinction. All else, accordingly, is something lower than Christianity. John 3: 1-8."*

* "The Mystical Presence." pp. 213, 214, 218.

Without further argument, we assume the proposition that Christianity is Life, and pass on to the question: *By what law is its activity governed?* The obvious answer is: By the *Law of its own nature*,—the *Law of LIFE*.

That this is the case, we may infer from the analogy of all God's operations in the universe. If we consider His works, we will find in them harmony, not only of results, but also of modes of action. The principles which govern the different spheres of his creation, are few and general. He has to exhibit his wisdom rather by the simplicity than by the complexity of his arrangements. The same disposition of powers is at once the source of harmony and variety. Thus the planets wheeling at unequal distances and with varying motion round the sun, the satellites which attend their course and wheel round them in turn, and the comets which sweep past us with almost inconceivable velocity in their flight to or from the centre of our system, and are lost to sight, for centuries it may be, in unknown realms of space, all obey the same general law. Their orbits and velocities, various as they are, are all the result of but two counteracting forces. So too the law, which guides and determines the oak, from the time when it first bursts its acorn-prison, until, centuries after, it stands with giant dimensions spreading its branches; for the shadow of its boughs is generically the same with that which controls the growth of the violet or the rose. The analogy of nature, therefore, leads us to believe, that if religion *be life*, it is governed by the Law of life.

This, of course, does not imply that there will be no difference between the law of the old and of the new life. On the contrary, the analogy of nature teaches us this also. The lion and the lamb are subject to the same general law of life, and yet it assumes in each a specific difference of the most marked character, making them entirely different in physical conformation, in instinctive feeling and in habits of life. This principle is still more strikingly exhibited in the difference which exists between animal and vegetable existence. The general law of life operates in both these spheres, yet so specifically

modified in each as to make them, notwithstanding their apparently close approximation in some instances, to be entirely and most widely distinct. The analogy of nature, then, teaches us: *That Christianity, being essentially a new Life, must be governed in its action by the Law of Life, specifically modified in accordance with its own specific nature.* This results from the necessity of the case. If Christianity be *Life*, it *must* be governed by the *Law of Life*. If it is *not* governed by the *Law of Life*, it *cannot* be *Life*.

The truth of this will become more obvious by contemplating Life as it exists in any of the spheres of nature. It is always found inseparably connected, and identical in character with the Law, which it obeys. If its Law be changed, its own nature must undergo a corresponding change. Any other position is self contradictory. Imagine, for instance, that the Life of vegetable, were made subject to the Law of animal existence, in that case, it would remain no longer vegetable life, but become animal, and the individual forms which were subject to its action, would not be vegetables, but animals. Or, suppose, that the life which animates the lion, were made subject to the law which controls the life of the lamb, the lion would necessarily lose his proper life and nature, and assume the life and nature of a sheep. Or, to put the case in another form, suppose that something which had always been regarded as belonging to the vegetable or animal kingdoms, were proved not to be governed by the law of life, under any of its forms, but to be subject solely to the law of chemical affinity, or of cohesive attraction, could it any longer be included in the spheres of vegetable or animal life? And why not? Because the law which controls it determines its character and nature. We cannot believe anything to be alive, which is not subject to the law of life. The law of its life is the very ground of the existence of that which lives. This proposition appears to be self-evident, and one would suppose it would be *universally* admitted, and yet it is gravely controverted by some who assume to be lights in theology!

We are also lead to the conclusion, that Christianity is gov-

erned in its action by the law of life, by a consideration of its effects upon nature, and of the manner in which it produces that effect. Man does not cease to be man, by becoming Christian. In the true meaning of the term, he becomes not less, but more fully man. His human nature is not destroyed, but renewed, restored to its original type, and elevated to a higher sphere, than it of itself could reach. The change wrought by Christianity is, therefore, *super-natural*, as transcending the power and lifting us above the influence of our sinful nature, but not on that account *un-natural*. In one sense, it is most truly and emphatically natural. It violates none of the laws properly belonging to our nature, but fulfills them. It restores to them their original freedom and harmonious, efficient action, and through them, as thus renovated and restored, it carries the believer forward and upward to the end for which he was created. The process by which Christianity acts, therefore, is in full accordance with, and subject to the *original law of our nature*, or, in other words, the *law of life*.

The question now arises : What is this law of life ? We answer, that of GROWTH or "ORGANIC DEVELOPMENT." The signification of these latter terms, as employed in natural science, is well ascertained ; and the idea which the writers of the so-called "Mercersburg School " intend to convey by their use, they have frequently and clearly stated, especially Drs. Nevin and Schaff. Yet as, in some instances, those terms may have been inaccurately employed, and as moreover their true meaning has frequently been grossly misunderstood, and *most* grossly misrepresented, it may not be amiss briefly to dwell upon them.*

If we contemplate the law of life, as it exhibits itself in the

* While we could easily adduce proof that the meaning of these terms, in some instances, has been wilfully and maliciously misrepresented, we are convinced that, in other cases, they have been misunderstood through ignorance. And where ignorance of their theological force exists, there is probably like ignorance of their signification, as used by writers on Natural Science. It will scarcely be credited, and yet it is the fact, that a Professor in a flourishing Theological Seminary, belonging to one of the largest religious denominations in our country, gravely professed his inability to perceive any essential difference between the law that holds together the particles of a stone, and that which unites the parts of a living body.

natural world, we will find a marked difference between it and other laws of nature. First, we observe a principle at work, which collects and holds together particles of matter, with more or less force, according to circumstances. It produces no change in the nature of those particles, but merely brings them together into local contact. Thus the materials which form a block of granite, continue as fully quartz, feldspar, and mica, as in their separate state. This power is usually called cohesive attraction.

Somewhat higher in the sphere of nature, we discover another and more powerful law: that of chemical affinity. The union produced by this law between particles of matter is more intimate, than that produced by the activity of the other law. The substances, which it amalgamates together, frequently lose their individual peculiarities, and form a compound possessed of qualities which belonged to none of those substances in their separate state. Thus from the union of two gases, each, in its own way, injurious to life, the one a supporter of combustion, the other itself combustible, there results a liquid, not unhealthy but healthful, and neither combustible, nor a supporter of combustion,—water. The process by which the law of chemical affinity, as well as the law of cohesive attraction, acts, is altogether mechanical. The law, in both cases, is merely a blind force acting upon material particles in an altogether outward way, throwing them oft times into definite forms, yet still not really transfusing those particles with its own power, nor working in and through them, as the organs of its own action. It has no power of self-organization. Thus though the law of crystalization arranges the particles which compose the crystal into a well defined symmetrical form, yet its action is altogether outward and mechanical. There is no self-organizing power exhibited in the process. The connection of the material particles is altogether external, depending entirely upon chemical or cohesive attraction, and not upon any organic relation. The parts of the crystal do not become the living media, or organs, through which the law of crystalization exerts itself. They are not found acting themselves as

transfused internally with the law, as well as being acted on. They are separate and each one in itself complete. For, if the crystal be crushed, though its symmetrical form will be destroyed, the fragments will still retain all the qualities which they possessed, when united together as a single crystal. Hence the sphere, which these and similar laws control, is called *in-organic* nature.

But still higher in nature we recognize the existence of another law,—the *Law of Life*. This law acts, not in a merely mechanical way, but changes into accordance with itself the very inmost nature of that which is the subject of its action, and forms it into organs in which, and through which, as well as on which, its power is exerted. It does not merely heap up, or bind together material particles in an outward way into some definite shape, but transfusing them with its own nature and power, it *organizes* them into a living body, in which, and through which, as well as on which, it acts. Hence the sphere which is subject to the operation of this law is called *organic* nature. The relation produced between material particles is not that of mere local contact, or chemical transformation, but that of a *living union*. They are not merely the passive subjects of the law which controls them, but also its active media or organs, through which alone, in fact, the law finds external existence, and possesses actual power. They also themselves modify and control, to some extent, the action of the law to which they are subject; and thus a mutual, reciprocally determining influence, or relation, exists between them and the law, which has organized them. The different parts of the individual forms in which this law actualizes itself, have no importance or meaning in themselves, and are merely isolated independent parts. They properly exist only, and have importance only in their relation to the whole, of which they are the parts, and which, as products of common life, they unite to form. Thus, while each fragment of a crystal, when existing only as a fragment, is as fully pervaded by the law of crystalization as it was when united to a perfect crystal, the organ loses its proper character, and ceases to be subject to the law of organization,

when separated from the whole of which it formed a part. A branch of a tree, or a member of a body, for instance, is deprived of its living, organic nature when sundered from the tree or body to which it belonged. It is no longer an *organ*. The power which organized it, no longer controls and preserves it. It dies, and in time decays, and is dissolved under the operation of *in-organic* law, into the elements from which originally it was formed.

The force of the term "development," may also be easily determined. It is a universal property of life to unfold itself from within, by a self-organizing power, towards a certain end; which end is its own self-realization, or, in other words, the actual exhibition and actualization in outward form of all the elements, functions, powers, and capacities, which potentially it includes. Thus life may be said to be all at its commencement which it can become in the end. The oak of a thousand years is but the external actualization of that which the acorn potentially involved. But though life, by such a process, constantly unfolds and realizes itself, it can never become in actuality anything else than what, at the start, it is in possibility. "Thus, (to use an illustration of Dr. Schaff's,) though the acorn may grow into the oak, it can never become an apple-tree.* In all true development, we recognize three distinct processes :

* This illustration shows well the groundlessness of the charges sometimes made against this theory of development, that it acknowledges a possibility of change in the essential nature and substance of Christianity, and a possibility also of Christianity advancing beyond itself, and of carrying humanity forward to such a position that Christianity itself shall be left behind. The growth of the acorn involves no substantial and essential change in its nature; it is but the unfolding of that which truly and actually belongs to it. As regards its own proper constitution, the oak is the same, whether young or old, when it exists as the sprouting acorn or the giant tree. It can never advance beyond itself, nor in the process of its growth, ever change its own specific nature into that of some other tree.

So Christianity in its substance and its essential nature, being comprehended in a revelation of Him, who is the absolute truth, "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever," is also itself absolutely true, unchangeably the same, and incapable of advance or improvement. In the apprehension by the Church, and through the Church, by the world, of that which it comprehends and reveals, Christianity is alone capable of development. In this sense, however, it does, and must unfold itself constantly more fully to human apprehension (in regard to its doctrinal, ethical, liturgical, and all its other elements,) until finally its outward form, as externally actualized in the world,

first, that of destruction or abolition ; second, that of preservation, and third, that of improvement or elevation. The child is abolished as a child in the young man, and yet is preserved at the same time, and raised into a higher stage of life. . The temporary, outward form is abolished ; the substance, the idea is preserved ; not, however, by continuing to be what it was before, but by mounting upwards to a more exalted mode of outward existence." This process by which life unfolds itself, this progress of life towards its own realization, is what is meant by the term "*organic development*."

shall be a complete and perfect exhibition of its essential inward life and nature; and thus the Church shall be perfectly the embodiment and truly the likeness of Him who is its life and Head, and who has appointed it to be "His body." Humanity can never progress beyond Christianity ; for Christianity is the living revelation of Him who is the absolute truth, and therefore, itself absolutely true.

It is with surprise that we have seen the charges, alluded to above, made against Drs. Nevin and Schaff ; for certainly they have carefully guarded themselves on those points, as the following extracts from their writings will show :

"The idea of such a development does not imply, of course, any change in the nature of Christianity itself. It implies just the contrary. It assumes that the system is complete in its own nature from the beginning, and that the whole of it too is comprehended in the life of the Church, at all points of its history. But the contents of this life need to be unfolded; theoretically and practically in the consciousness of the Church. What it includes potentially and in principle or idea, requires to be actualized or made real in humanity, as a new creation in Christ Jesus. All this is something very different from such a "Fortbildung des Christenthums," as has been conceded to us by the rationalist Ammon. Christianity can never transcend itself. It can never become absolutely more than it has been from the beginning, in the person of Christ, and in the truth of the Gospel." "It belongs to its very nature, however, that it should not remain in the person of Christ, or the letter of the Gospel, but pass over into the life of the Church. This implies development. In its very constitution, the Church involves a process ; which will be complete only when the "new heavens" shall reflect in full image the "new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." "And still all this will be nothing more than the full evolution of the life that was in Christ from the beginning ; and the full power of which has been always present in the Church, still struggling through all ages toward this last glorious "manifestation of the sons of God." *Introduction by Rev. Dr. Nevin to Dr. Schaff's Prin. of Prot.* p. 20.

"It is true now indeed, that the Rationalists also talk much of an ever-advancing humanity in their sense. But they mean by this, an advance beyond Christ and the Bible. Every such conception we decidedly reject ; and affirm, rather that this would be no advance, but a relapse only to Paganism and Judæism. According to our view, on the contrary, Christ is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end ; and all true progress, as we have before remarked, consists simply, in a more full appropriation continually of his divine human life, and a deeper understanding of his word, which is the ABSOLUTE TRUTH and eternal life itself." *Dr. Schaff's Treatise on Historical Development.* p. 108.

That Christianity is life, and as such, must be subject to the law of life, or of organic development, we have already, we think, made sufficiently evident. We are led, irresistibly, to the same conclusion, by the manner in which Christianity exhibits itself, in its influence upon the world, both in the case of individuals and of mankind as a whole. Life, as we have already seen, has two universal and constant characteristics ; first, that of a power unfolding itself from within ; secondly, that of self-organization. Both of these characteristics, we can unequivocally recognize in the operations of the Christian religion. As a change produced in man, Christianity is not the effect of another force operating upon him, but the result of its own proper activity working itself out, according to the law of its own nature, to its own accomplishment. It appears first as the principle of a new and holy life, which, by degrees unfolding itself, struggles upward towards its own fulfilment. The process by which it thus unfold itself is *organic*. It exhibits itself in all its operations as a self-organizing power. It infuses itself *into* humanity, controls and modifies all its functions, and, giving it a character harmonious with its own nature, seeks through it, as the medium or organ of its activity, its own self-realization. Christianity is not a power which has its seat outside of humanity and acts only upon it. The change it produces is not merely external, nor is its mode of action mechanical. Like life under other forms, it dwells within its subjects, and works in and through them, as well as on them. As life, in the sphere of vegetation, takes up air, earth, moisture, and other elements, and organizing them according to its own specific nature, unfolds itself in them, and seeks through them to grow up into a plant or tree, its proper end ; so Christianity, infused into humanity in the form of a new and holy life, seeks thoroughly to pervade it, fills it with its own vivifying power, (as natural life pervades the body,) and taking up all its elements into itself, it strives to give to them its own pure character, and through them and in them, as its organs, it develops itself towards its ultimate end.

This view is fully sustained by Scripture. The Bible does

not represent Christianity as a change, sudden and at once complete, wrought *upon* the nature of man by a power which remains external to him, but as a progressive change, the result of a divine principle of life implanted *in* him, which unfolding itself in his person, in the end pervades his whole nature ; and which giving to him its own pure and holy character, finally raises him entirely above the condition of sin and death, in which he naturally exists. Thus the kingdom of heaven (in its relation both to the individual Christian and to humanity as a whole,) is likened to a grain of mustard seed, whose life, embodied at first in but a diminutive form, develops itself by a gradual process into a tree. The Church is represented, not as merely an aggregation of individuals, outwardly held together by the tie of a common interest, common views and feelings, but as a living body, formed indeed of individual members, but holding *as* members an organic, living relation to it and to each other, pervaded all by the life of Jesus Christ, and united to Him and to each other by the closest and deepest of all unions, a living union. It is only under this view that we can receive, without resolving them into uncouth and unmeaning figures, the beautiful and striking descriptions which abound in the Apostolic writings, of the Church as embodying the life of Christ, and of Christians, as members of His body. Thus only can the declaration of Paul be fully verified, that "if one member suffer, the other members suffer with it, and if one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." And thus only can it be, that those who believe, *are*, in fact, and not in a fiction of the imagination, "the body of Christ and members in particular." Again, Paul represents the Church as a "building," advancing towards its completion, not, however, by mechanical aggregation, but which, by a living power within itself, "groweth up into a holy temple in the Lord."

It seems to us to be utterly impossible for any one to read the descriptions of the nature of the Christian Religion and Church, which abound in the New Testament, and especially in the writings of Paul and John, and to give himself up unreservedly to their teachings, without being forced to the conclu-

sion, that Christianity *is* essentially a new and holy life, incorporated into humanity in the person of Christ Jesus, and that from Him, as its head and source, pouring itself into the world, it seeks there, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, organically to develop itself. Thus striving to transfuse our sinful nature with its own living and life-giving power, it infuses into it more and more of its own holy character, *re-forming, re-newing*, regenerating, re-creating it, until in the end, both humanity as a whole, then co-extensive and identical with the Church, and individual Christians who form its membership, being thoroughly purged from sin, "not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing," but "holy and without blemish," shall be changed from glory unto glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord, and be transformed into the perfect image of Him, who is the type and head of the new creation, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Here it may be well to notice the objection which, perhaps, may have occurred to the minds of some of our readers, that as the law of organic development exists in our sinful nature, and as the object of Christianity is the renewal of that nature, Christianity must be governed in its operation by a different and opposite law. This objection is founded on a mistaken assumption. The law of organic development is not peculiar to our sinful nature. It is found there not *because* sin infused it. On the contrary, it is the original law of humanity, by which humanity was destined to act, before sin entered the world, and through which it would have reached its true end, had sin not entered. According to this law, Adam would have attained in reality that which he possessed in possibility. He was created pure and innocent, yet, not positively, but only negatively righteous; for positive righteousness consists in the actual fulfilment of the law. The possibility in which he was created of becoming positively righteous, would have been developed into the actual exhibition and possession of such positive righteousness, had he obeyed the divine commandment. But by his disobedience, and consequent fall, he prevented this possibility from being ever realized, either in his own person, or in his descendants, by the efforts of humanity alone. Sin,

it is true, did not make him to be anything else than a man by the change it produced. It did not destroy his original nature, as such, nor entirely abolish the law which controlled it; yet still, entering as a new element into him, it perverted and polluted the one, and thwarted and disorganized the action of the other. Thus it gave to his life a different character from what it originally possessed, and rendered it impossible for man to fulfill the object of his creation. Humanity still struggles to develop itself, and to realize its proper objects; but evil, as one of its constituent elements, now infects it with its own character, turns its activities from their proper direction, and carries it irresistibly away from its true end to one that is false. Sin contradicts all the original, holy tendencies of man's nature at every point, and makes his whole existence, and all his exertions to be self-contradictory. His life, as now constituted, ends in death. His efforts to develop the original principle of goodness within him, tend only to the development of evil. Hence it is, that we behold the melancholy spectacle of humanity, in all ages of the world, struggling in vain, in the persons of men of giant minds and earnest spirits, to realize its destined end;—its very exertions to attain to virtue often sinking it deeper in sin; its search after truth involving it more hopelessly in error. Hence it is, that, in all time past, and even now, the mournful cry is heard, from those whose eyes are blinded to the beauties of the new creation in Christ Jesus: "Who will show us any good?" Herein is to be found the true inability of man to reach the end for which he was created, that sin opposes, and renders impossible (without the grace of Jesus Christ,) the development of the possibility which exists within him.

Here, too, is the necessity for the incarnation. It was necessary for the Son of God to embody in himself, as its generic head, a new humanity, in which sin would not exist as an opposing element. It is only in the sinless life, which flows down upon believers from Christ, its head and source, that the law of life, or development, is free from the contradicting element of evil, and possessed of full liberty and ability to unfold

itself within us in the form of righteousness. And in this freedom from self-contradiction consists the power of Christianity to triumph, finally, over all evil. True, sin opposes its development, but not as an inherent element, but as a principle external to it, standing over against it in its antagonism, and which in the end it will utterly destroy.

From this it will be seen also, that the objection, that all development necessarily involves the idea of limitation, or self-destruction, is entirely unfounded. The process of development, in our unrenewed nature, always involves this result, because of its inherent element of evil. But this is not the case with that life which we receive from Christ. No principle of self-contradiction inheres to it and prevents it from reaching its destined end. Christianity, therefore, will experience no decay, have no old age to paralyze its powers, no death to endure. The Saviour, comprehending in his own person the whole new humanity, for it overcame sin and death; and the blessed fruits of his conquest all receive, who receive his life. In Him this new humanity triumphed. Its life, derived from him "who knew no sin," is harmonious with itself, and works out, not like the life of unregenerated humanity, its own destruction, but its own fulfilment. It is true, it still meets with the principle of sin in the world, but, having once in the person of Christ, its head, overcame it, it goes forth to battle with it again and again, in the certainty of success, until after having defeated it under all its protean forms, righteousness shall triumphantly reign, as the principle of life, over all the world, instead of sin, the principle of death. Then shall the Church be purged from all the blemishes and schisms which now impair its unity and mar its beauty. Comprehending then, all humanity actually, as it now does potentially, it shall be indeed the perfect body of Christ, and He shall "present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing." Then there shall indeed be "one body and one Spirit, and we shall have all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ,

from whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."

Every other view of Christianity than that of a living and life-giving power, freely unfolding itself in the world by its own activity, and organizing for itself an outward form from the elements with which it is there surrounded, suitable to its own wants, and to the necessities of each particular age and nation, falsifies the history of the Church. If Christianity is not such a power so acting, then it must be a system fixed, determined and complete externally, as well as internally, in all respects. It must be not only one and identical with itself, but also the *same* unchangeably and in all particulars, in outward aspect, as well as in inward substance, in every period and country. From the start, it must have been fully and completely defined in regard to doctrine, to feeling, to ethical principles and practice, to worship, and to all the various modes in which its activity is exerted. For being divine, it must be perfect, and therefore, unchangeable in every particular essential to its nature. The changes which have taken place in the Christian Church, its government, worship, doctrinal views, and practice, consequently, must all be regarded as mere human changes, produced not at all by the action of the Christian religion, or any movement *in* the Church, but solely by the fleshly will of man. They must be looked upon, therefore, as altogether corruptions. And taking the Christianity of primitive times as our model of perfection, we must make that of the present age to conform to it outwardly and inwardly, and in every particular.

This is the very essence of Oxford Puseyism. We must, then, despising all that has been since accomplished, leap over the intervening chasm of eighteen centuries, back to the point from which Christianity started, and endeavor to make the Church conform in all respects to the aspect which it then presented.* This can only be ascertained by tradition, and here

* It is strange to see the tenacity and infatuation with which this is in-

then we become slaves to tradition in its lowest form. And in attempting to carry out this theory in practice, other serious difficulties meet us. For, first, there is much that was connected with the Christianity of primitive times, that we feel was not essential to it. How to separate that which was essential, from that which was not, becomes a most important question. Here the principle of tradition fails. It serves only to show what the form of the Church then was, but cannot distinguish for us, that which legitimately belonged to it, from that which was foreign to its life.

sisted on, in the very face of historical facts and scriptural declarations. Unceasing changes are rung upon the "perfect purity" of the Church of primitive times, by men who *ought*, and we believe, often *do*, know better. For the veriest tyro in the history of those times, must feel that there is little more reality in their alleged purity, than there is in the golden age of heathen poets. On this very account, it is fashionable now, to meet, with a general howl of disapprobation, any attempt at a fair exhibition of the real condition of the Church in those ages. And for this reason, too, as well as because of their alleged Romanizing tendency, the late articles of Dr. Nevin, on "Early Christianity," created such dislike and fear, and were so fiercely looked at by the religious press. His delineation is too graphic, the facts brought forward are too stubborn in their direct contradiction of those delightful imaginative pictures of "primitive purity," to be at all pleasant. The substantial *correctness* of that delineation, as regards the historical facts adduced, no one, as yet, has attempted to disprove. In fact, the general objection to it seems to be not its supposed want of truth, so much as its making the truth *known*. The principles, which governs such a course of procedure, is of a somewhat different order of morality from that which is expressed in the old heathen adage: "Fiat justitia, ruat cælum; whether of a *higher* order, is somewhat questionable.

Quite surprising, too, is the comfortable unconsciousness of those who assume the position alluded to, that in so doing, they flatly contradict the facts and principles of the Scriptures, and the teachings of the Saviour himself. *He* never spoke of the Church in his own day, nor even in that of His Apostles, much less in the "primitive ages" succeeding, as possessed of perfect purity, and as intended to be a model for all future time. *He* represented Christianity, not as a tree, then in perfect maturity, clothed with verdure, and loaded with fully ripened fruit, which, in after ages, decay should seize, until dropping one rotten bough after another, it should stand with dead and heart-eaten trunk, an exhibition of weakness, and fill those who dwelt beneath its shadow, and sighed for the excellency it possessed in "primitive times," with constant dread, lest it should fall and crush them. *He* did not liken the kingdom of heaven to a mass of already fully leavened meal, which, in its succeeding changes, should lose its healthful and nourishing power, and putrify into a mass of corruption; but to a grain of mustard seed, "which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, is the greatest among herbs, and *becometh* a tree," "and shooteth out great branches,"—"to leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until," in its gradual working, "the whole was leavened." Our Saviour's declaration in reference to the purity and perfection of His Church, referred not to the then present,

But besides, no candid mind can study the changes which have taken place in Christianity, without being convinced, that many of the forms, which it assumed in after ages, have quite as strong claims to legitimacy, as those in which it exhibited itself in primitive times. Here then, the principle that Christianity is perfect in outward form, as well as in inward character, proves false, and to save the truth that it is divine, the outward is rejected as not belonging to it, and only the inward

or past, but to the future; and so also those of His Apostles. Only after long ages of conflict, of humiliation, and oft times temporary defeat, was the Church purged from the pollution of sin, by the fiery trials through which it passed, and "cleansed with the washing of water by the word," to be presented to "Himself a glorious Church, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish." Among those even who surrounded the Saviour, when on earth, there are no evidences of perfection. Many of them became "offended at him," and went back into Jewishistic unbelief. And in the small company of his Apostles, there was a Peter, (true disciple as he was) who denied him with cursing, while the others forsook him in the hour of trial. And after the Holy Ghost had descended upon the disciples, there was not perfection then among even *them*, nor purity, in any especial degree, in the Church. (Acts 5 and 6. Gal. 2: 11-14. Phil. 3: 12-14. Heb. 6: 1. *et alia.*)

We do not see how any one, who reads the New Testament, can speak of the "perfect purity of the primitive Church." We find constant allusion in the Apostolic writings, to errors in doctrine, and wickedness in conduct, even in their time. Heresies, schisms, dissensions, envyings, strifes, and corruptions, of which "it is a shame even to speak," are mentioned and condemned, as prevailing in, and polluting the Christian Church. And in regard to many things, the innocence or criminality of which, seems to be perfectly obvious at this day, the early Christians needed and received, careful and detailed instructions from the Apostles. And how, in fact, *could* the Christianity of those times have been anything else than exceedingly imperfect, unless all the laws which govern human nature and determine human character, had been abrogated. The early Christians had grown up, subject to the most corrupting social influences, and amid the darkness of heathenish superstition, on the one hand, or the self-righteousness and sceptical indifference of a lifeless Judaism, on the other; and unless, therefore, they could have been stripped entirely of their personal characters, the results of previous associations would necessarily cling to them, and their opinions and practices, as Christians, be extremely defective. As long as the Apostles lived, they doubtless were able, in a good degree, to counteract these influences, through the extraordinary weight of their personal characters, and still more through the extraordinary special advantages and authority, which they possessed, as directly commissioned by the Saviour, and as supernaturally inspired with the Holy Ghost. But after their death, the circumstances mentioned, must have wrought with mighty power, in the way of deterioration and corruption, upon "the primitive Church."

Most discouraging, too, is the aspect, which the whole history of Christianity wears, under the light, or rather the darkness of this primitive purity theory. The Church was in a steady process of corruption; the light which was destined to shine with ever increasing brightness, becoming constantly

is acknowledged. Forms then, must be looked upon as of no account, whatever, but as mere human inventions, shackling the free spirit of Christianity. Here the theory ends in self-contradiction, and from a system of spiritualistic formalism, it runs, by a necessary re-action, over into a system of abstract spiritualism, denying the necessity of any forms whatever. Thus these two errors, though opposite extremes, are naturally

more dim ; the only ark of safety to the human race, shattered by the storms of nineteen hundred years, and almost engulfed by the waves of superstition and infidelity ; those waves rising higher and higher ; those storms becoming more violent ; those within the ark departing more and more from the "simplicity and purity of primitive faith," and the ark itself sinking deeper amid the billows. The last refuge of humanity—the "rock" on which the Church is built, seeming to become a slippery foundation, less and less secure, from which one portion after another of that Church, losing, successively, its hold, is swept away by the raging floods of error and corruption, until now at last nothing is left in verification of the Saviour's promise, (Math. 16 : 18, and 28 : 20) except a few broken and scattered fragments, mournful relics of the wreck of a once perfect edifice, scarcely visible amid the deep gloom of superstition, in the dark ages of the past, or the false glare of philosophic rationalism, in the present. For, if resemblance to primitive times, be the standard of knowledge, purity, and perfection, in the Christian Church, then has the Church been constantly becoming less perfect, and more corrupt, until now it is almost impossible to discover a single trace of her pristine excellence. What room is left, in such a theory as this, for the constant presence of the Saviour in his Church ? What guarantee that the floods of evil, that have been so long prevailing against it, shall ever be turned back, or shall not finally entirely overwhelm and engulf it ? How much longer is this period of deepening gloom and growing corruption to last ? And by what process shall these dark clouds be dispelled, and the light of true wisdom again dawn upon us ? There is no other dispensation to succeed the Christian. No institution to be established more permanent, or powerful to the overthrow of evil, than the Church. If she has failed, all is lost.

But how encouraging, by way of contrast, to look upon history as a process of constant Christian development. Then the Church, at first feeble and imperfect, is seen, (like the Saviour in his infancy and childhood, Luke 2 : 40-52,) to increase in knowledge, and faith, and love, and every Christian grace ; her apprehension and exhibition of the rich treasures of truth and mercy, comprehended and revealed in the person of the eternal "Word made flesh," constantly fuller and deeper ; the truths of the written word living more clearly in her consciousness ; though, like Peter, severely tempted, and sometimes, for a while, seemingly overcome ; yet, like him, still repenting, and faithful to the end ; though, like Paul, often harassed and sorely beset, yet, like him, still going forward, in the certain conviction of a glorious future triumph ; though, like the ever-blessed Saviour himself, betrayed, and given up to her enemies, by those who eat her bread and drink from her hand ; yet, like him, mightier in the hour of weakness than all her foes, and through her humiliation, only rising to a higher state of exaltation. "Confused as may be the present, and dark as may be the future, the past still gives him, who looks upon it in the light of this theory, the assurance that the Omnipotent Head of Zion, will unravel the confusion, and cause the darkness to become light, and bring his most frantic enemies to bow at his feet."

connected together ; and hence the inconsistency of the spiritualistic Quaker, on the one side, who becomes, in fact, the stiffest formalist, and the formal Puseyite, on the other, who begins by making religion to depend on forms, and ends by rejecting all forms, except those of the particular age which he chooses to imitate. Both these errors falsify history, as well as contradict the true idea of Christianity. The Christian religion is necessarily connected with forms, and yet in the beginning, it did not exist in any complete, and perfectly defined forms. In vain do we look for it, as a defined and permanent system, externally complete in its details, in the time of the Apostles, or that immediately succeeding. No defined system of Church government, no defined system of Church doctrine, no defined system in any respect, presents itself in those ages. It exhibits itself first, as a living principle, which taking up into itself the elements, upon which it works, by a gradual process drives out their worldly spirit, infuses into them its own, and thus moulds them into an outward form, consonant to its own nature. Christianity thus *grows* into an outward form, as the principle of life in a tree grows up into the form of trunk, branches, leaves, and fruit. It is only under this view, that the seeming contradiction, which Christianity presents in history, as always connected with, and dwelling in, and manifesting itself through forms, and yet, as at the same time, always independent of, and controlling, and changing those forms, can be satisfactorily solved. Christianity cannot be separated from forms in fact, though it may be in thoughts; for apart from them, it has no reality, and yet forms in themselves, have no importance whatever. They possess importance only so far as they are the *legitimate and necessary expression* of the life of Christianity. So the principle of human life can only acquire a real existence by unfolding itself into individual forms, and yet those forms, in themselves, do not constitute human beings, but the moment life ceases to animate them, become mere dead masses of matter.

Again, it is only as a *LIFE*, thus organically developing itself, that Christianity can be regarded as consistent and identical with itself in every age, and nation, and in all its

various changes, in regard to doctrine, practice, government, worship, and in other respects. It is one, and identical, not as a fixed and permanently defined system, standing without alteration in the world, but one, in all its various aspects and external modifications, as the life of an individual is one through all the changes of infancy, youth, and manhood. So too, only under the same view, can we account for the errors and corruptions into which the Church has constantly fallen, and the one-sided aspect which Christianity presents, as exhibited by each particular age or nation. It is vain to say, that these are merely human, and have no actual connection with Christianity. All history, with consenting voice, testifies the contrary. The imperfections and corruptions of the Church, have as natural and close a connection with the life of the Church, as the bodily diseases of an individual have with his bodily life. The principle of life in an individual, if surrounded with unhealthy conditions, impure air, unwholesome food, insufficient exercise, &c., takes up these conditions, and endeavors to develop itself by their means. Along with the conditions it receives also their injurious character, and is itself modified injuriously by them. Their injurious influence, however, in the process of development it struggles to overcome and reject, and this struggle constitutes disease. If the physical life of the individual fails to overcome the influence, the process ends in death; if it succeeds, the result is a restoration to health.

Thus it is with Christianity, in the process of its development. The elements by which it is surrounded, and which it takes into union with itself, in order that it may operate upon them, are pervaded with evil. The life of Christianity, as it manifests itself in and through them, is accordingly somewhat modified, and partakes externally of their character. This participation in their character, however, so far as it is evil or imperfect, Christianity endeavors in the course of its progress to overcome and reject; and hence conflicts arise within the Church between the evil inherent in the elements it has received from the world, and its own life which is perfectly pure and opposed to evil. This conflict always finally results in the

destruction of the evil. For the life of the Church is received from Christ, and therefore, not only entirely free from sin, but possessed also of an inherent power to triumph over it, under all its forms. In this consists the true infallibility, or *indefectibility*, of the Church, that, though like Peter, often and sorely tried, and sometimes for a while overcome by sin, in the end it will come forth from the conflict, through the life of Christ which dwells in it, completely victorious. And in this way is the promise of the Saviour, to be with His Church always, so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, fulfilled.

It is evident from what has just been said, that this theory does not (as some seem to have imagined,) vindicate as good, whatever practices or opinions have at any time prevailed in the Christian Church, on the ground that they are all to be regarded as the proper products of the Church's life, in its process of development, and therefore, the genuine and absolutely true manifestations of the nature of Christianity. The theory vindicates as right, that only which is the *legitimate* result of the Church's life, and considers even that not absolutely, but only relatively right. It maintains, *first*, that neither the doctrinal views, nor ethical principles, nor government, nor anything else connected with the Church, are now absolutely perfect and true, because the Church itself has, as yet, no such character, not having yet arrived at the full and complete apprehension of all the truth that is comprehended in, and revealed to us, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and consequently, as has been already stated, that the views, practices, government, worship, and every other form in which the Christian religion actualizes itself, will not be absolutely perfect, until the Church itself, free from all error, and purged from all sin, shall reflect, in all its fulness, the absolute truth of Him, who is the brightness of His Father's glory, and "the express image of His person."

In the *second* place, this theory ascribes the character of relative truth not to everything that manifests itself in the Church, in the course of its history, but *only* to that which is

the *legitimate* product of its *own proper* life. Other manifestations it condemns as sinful. It acknowledges the fact, that forms of evil will be found in all ages and countries, adhering to, and existing in the Church, *not* because Christianity produces them, *but because* Antichrist "sitteth in the temple of God," and is untiring in his work of wickedness,—because the individuals, which the Church receives into its bosom from the world, are tainted with imperfection and evil, and because the influence of the world itself opposes and interferes with the regular, harmonious development of the Church's life. The theory regards these evil manifestations, therefore, not as the genuine products of Christianity, but as *ab-normal*, *il-legitimate*, *un-natural* excrescences, holding a relation to Christianity similar to that which poisonous, parasitical plants, growing on the trunk of a tree, whose nature is to bear healthful, delicious fruit, have to the tree itself, or which cancerous ulcers have to the living body. When the Church shall have purged out from the elements, which she receives into herself from the world, all the sin, which infects them, and shall also have driven sin entirely out of the world, then, but not till then, shall she, "not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing," be perfect in all respects in outward form and manifestation, as well as in inward substance and life, a complete and perfect likeness of Him, whose "body" she is, and who in his own absolute beauty and truth, is "fairer than the children of men," "the chiefest among ten thousand and altogether lovely."

Nor is there any room for mistake, on this point, as to the opinions of Drs. Nevin and Schaff, by those who have *thought*, while reading their works. Dr. Nevin has given, in one of his treatises, a history of the existence of heresy in the Church, from the times of the Apostles to the present day, under one of its most fatal forms. In another treatise, he says, in reference to this very subject of development: "In certain circumstances it may be necessary that false tendencies should work themselves out through a long, vast experiment of disastrous consequences, before they can be so brought home to the consciousness of the Church in their root and principle, as to ad-

mit of a radical cure." Says Dr. Schaff: "Freedom from sin and error may be predicated of Christ and the Church triumphant, but *not* of the Church militant. * * Every stage of development has its corresponding *disease*. That the process of development should pass through diseases, might be presumed, even from the analogy of our natural existence; it results with necessity from the elements of sin and error, that still cleave to the Church in her militant state, as well as from her connexion with the unregenerate world, whose influence, she is continually made to feel. These diseases form the Antichristian power in the Church, which also has a development of its own. The secularized, tyrannical papacy, is a diseased excrescence or swelled tumor of Catholicism. Rationalistic, and sectaristic Pseudo-Protestantism, is a distortion of the original spirit of the Reformation. We ought to acknowledge and love Christ always, wherever and in whatever form he may appear. So also we ought to contend against Antichrist in all places; and he is to be found assuredly in all Christian confessions. Where God builds a temple, the devil is sure to have a chapel alongside."* *Historical Development*, pp. 94, 98, 99.

* In the face of such declarations, as we have quoted above, we find in the last July number of the "Theological and Literary Journal," (a Quarterly, published in New York,) an article from the pen of the editor, from which we quote the following, written professedly as a confutation of the theory under discussion: "Do thorns ever grow on grape-vines, or thistles on fig-trees, by development? And if they are ever made to spring from them, is it not by inoculation? No more are false doctrines and impious rights of worship developed out of the true by Christianity. When introduced into the faith and practice of the Church, as parts of the Christian system, it is by artificial insertion, as violent and unnatural as the ingrafture of a thorn-bough on a grape-vine, or a thistle-branch on a fig-tree. *This great fact*, which holds as absolutely in theology as it does in botany," (precisely that expressed above) "*is overlooked* by the shallow disciples of the development theory. All the parts of a plant that unfold from its seed, are the natural product of its constitution; are consistent with each other, and contribute to perfect it, and cause it to fill the office for which it is formed. If, in any instance, members of other plants are found incorporated with it, it is instantly known that they are artificial and unnatural insertions. *Not so*, however, on Dr. Nevin's theory. If he found branches of the poisonous elder, the sumach, the laurel, the thorn, and a score of other useless or deadly shrubs, springing from the stock of a Newtown pippin, he would, on the principle of *his* theory, regard them as the natural evolutions of that apple-tree, and essential elements of its nature."

This seems as though Mr. Lord had systematically represented the advocates of the theory of historical development, to believe precisely the opposite of what they do believe, and of what they have repeatedly declared, and then,

If we contemplate the peculiar features which have characterized Christianity at different periods of its history, we will find them sustaining an organic relation to each other, and to Christianity itself, as the natural products of the same common life, unfolding itself from one form into another still higher, thus verifying the theory, whose fundamental principle we have endeavored to illustrate.

We cannot exhibit this more clearly than has been done in the "Preliminary Essay to the Mystical Presence." We accordingly quote from it: "Christianity in its substantial contents has always been the same. The form of its apprehension, however, on the part of the Church, has varied with the onward progress of its history. * * * * It started, as before remarked, in the character of a new *life*. So it meets us, with full harmony and perfection, in the person of its Founder. So it is exhibited to us more inadequately in the apostles and the apostolic Churches. The mere existence of this life, however, was not enough. It was necessary that the Church should come to a full and free apprehension of what it comprehended. This called for a separation of its elements,

with great show of zeal, and parade of logic, had vigorously set himself to work to demolish them. He controverts, earnestly, principles which they deny as heartily as he, and manifests holy abhorrence of conclusions, which, in most cases, they reject, as decidedly as he, and calling to his aid common sense, natural science, history, philosophy, and Scripture, he accomplishes their most complete discomfiture. We know that Mr. Lord is not stupid. We are unwilling to think him wilfully and maliciously dishonest. There is but one other way of accounting for his gross misrepresentations, and utter perversion of the views he pretends to confute. We can conceive the possibility of an individual wearing green spectacles so long, and constantly, that he would come in the end to think that all natural objects have the hue of green. And, in charity to Mr. Lord, we must believe that in looking at this subject through a wrong medium, he has unsettled his judgment, and lost his powers of perception and discrimination. He seems to have started out on the principle that "Dr. Nevin's views of God, creatures, and Christianity," and his "Panthestic and Development theories," were worse than anything he could possibly imagine, or depict; and on that ground appears to feel himself fully justified in charging upon him the most absurd principles, and the most revolting and blasphemous conclusions. We commend the article as a psychological curiosity, to those who feel inclined to philosophize on the disastrous influence, which prejudice, however taken up, may exert, consciously or unconsciously, upon the truthful operation of the mental and moral faculties. For the *information* and benefit of those, who, like us, may hold this "development theory," we append a few of Mr. Lord's statements, taken at random from his article:

involving necessarily more or less confusion and conflict, and one-sided action, as the only process by which it was possible, in the present state of the world, to advance from the simplicity of childhood to the consciousness of spiritual manhood. Hence, the long course of development, revealed to us in Church history. In this process, the different constituent elements, or forces, included in Christianity, could not, in the nature of the case, come in promiscuously at one time for such share of attention as they were entitled to claim. Some *one* interest must still take the lead of another, determined by the general character of the time; and thus, for every grand period in history, we have a particular side of Christianity standing forth prominently to view, as its dominant characteristic form, till in the end, as the result of the whole process, all such single and separate manifestations may come to be united again in the full, symmetrical perfection of that one glorious life to which they severally belong."

"The process now mentioned, began naturally with *doctrine*, which it was attempted first to settle in a general way, and then in single articles. The dogma-producing period extends in particular, from the fourth century on into the sixth. For

"Following then in the train of Schelling, the theory on which he (Dr. Nevin) founds all his doctrinal speculations, is, that the Deity is the only absolute existence: that created things, instead of being separate, are but embodiments of him in finite forms; that man is the highest of those forms; that God has no personality or consciousness, until he unfolded himself in man," "that man himself is God in a finite form;" "that man is the deity in a finite form." "It (the theory of development) denies the possibility of the work of redemption." "It exhibits the Saviour as no more a divine being than every other individual of the human race is." "It denies the existence in the Godhead of a trinity of persons." It makes men to be "sanctified immediately by the contact, or incorporation into themselves of the sacramental elements as physical substances." "It gives a perfect sanction to all the false doctrines, superstitious rites, and unholy practices, which have ever gained a place in the Church, and to all the impious and debasing religions, also, of the Pagan world. It gives a similar sanction to all the impious and debasing acts of which men have ever been guilty." "The eating of the forbidden fruit, by our first parents, was legitimate." "The lawless profligacy of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah was legitimate," &c.

These are literal extracts, and are not only quoted literally, but bear, also, in every instance, the same force which they have in their proper connection in the article itself. If Mr. Lord, through his Millenarian notions, or some other cause, has not become intellectually and morally demented, we commend to him the faithful and serious study of Exodus 20: 16, and James 3: 14.

this service the *Grecian* mind, which was then predominant in the Church, might be said to have a special vocation. With the fall of the old world, and the rise of a new life among the western nations, Christianity was required to exercise its power in a different way. It must form the manners, and regulate the life, of the rude population with which it was called to deal. The main interest now, accordingly, was its moral authority. It became in the hands, particularly, of the *Roman Church*, a system of *Law*, a pedagogic institute for the government of the nations. In this character, however, it only made room for itself to appear, with new life, as the *Gospel*; a change effected chiefly through the German spirit, which included in its very constitution an evangelical, or free tendency, and was gradually prepared to assert its ecclesiastical independence in this way. With the Reformation, the mind of the Church, no longer in its minority, forced its way back to the proper fountain-head of Christianity, and laid hold of it in the form of *Redemption*; the justification of the sinner before God, and the principle of *freedom*, for the consciousness of the justified subject himself in all his relations. Along with these three leading conceptions of Christianity, as doctrine, as a system of law, and as a source of redemption and spiritual freedom, we find still a fourth, unfolding itself from an early period, with steadily increasing strength. It is the view, which makes religion to consist in the union of man with God, and of course finds in this the distinctive character of Christianity. It is regarded as the absolutely perfect religion, because it *unites the divine and human fully as one life*." * * *

"Such are the ground types, by which the conception of Christianity has been differently moulded under different circumstances. They are characteristically represented by as many several forms of *Church* life. The interest of doctrine finds its proper expression in the *Greek Church*, self-styled significantly the *Orthodox*, the Church of Christian *Antiquity*. As a disciplinary institute, the Christian system has its fit character in the *Roman Church*, with its claim of universal authority challenging for itself the title *Catholic*, the Church of the *Mid-*

de Ages. To the idea of redemption and freedom answers the Church which has sprung up among the nations of *German* extraction, rightly denominated *Evangelical*, the Church of the *Reformation*. The Church finally in which all these stages of development are to be carried forward together to their highest truth, under a form of Christianity that shall actualize the conception of a full life-union with God, and to which it may be trusted the ecclesiastical agitations of our own time form the transition, may be characterized as the *Church of the Future*, whose attributes shall be spirituality, catholicity, and freedom, joined together in the most perfect combination."

If we contemplate Christianity under any of its particular aspects, we will find in its history, the same general law of organical development exhibiting itself. Thus in the case of doctrine, under the operation of this law, the Church arrived, by a long and gradual process only, at a clear and full apprehension of what, in the beginning she held in the form only, of feeling or general conviction and belief. In this process, the first doctrine which came to view, (as in the necessity of the case was to be expected,) was the existence and nature of God, more particularly in reference to the three persons of the Godhead, and their relation to each other—or the doctrine of the Trinity; next, the constitution of the Saviour's person, as human and divine, and the relation of the two natures subsisting in him; then the original relation of man to God, his present fallen condition, and the method of salvation, involving the questions of original sin, total depravity, the atonement, grace, and free-will. Having thus grown gradually, and through long continued and severe dialectical and theological conflicts, to a clear consciousness of separate doctrines, the Church next turned its attention to them as mutually related to each other. Reflection upon truth naturally succeeded inquiry after truth. A tendency to form doctrinal systems, accordingly soon made itself manifest. This tendency was most active among the scholastics of the middle ages, who did good service, in uniting and exhibiting in a harmonious manner the doctrines which the Church had already come to apprehend separately. But in their zeal to satisfy this want, they ran

into extremes, and often wasted their strength in hair-splitting distinctions. From having its attention at first turned mainly to the development of particular doctrines, and those relating mostly to the nature of God and the Trinity, the Church was led for a time to forget and practically undervalue the ethical side of Christianity. Hence the Greek Church, which was principally engaged in this work, lost its activity, in a great degree, and became stiffened in the dogmas of a lifeless orthodoxy,—a character it still retains. By way of reaction from this mistake, and because of the more practical character of the anthropological doctrines of Christianity, (upon which its attention was chiefly fixed) the Roman Church soon became conscious of the ethical element which is involved in the Christian religion and engaged actively in its development and exhibition. It was also constrained to perform this work, by the necessity of reducing to moral order, the immense mass of rude material thrown suddenly into its bosom from the North of Europe. Hence the legalistic aspect of the middle ages and, the tendency then frequently manifest to regard Christianity as mainly a system of moral precepts, by the observance of which man might be restored to the favor of God. Justification was thus made to depend upon faith, in the form merely of an acceptance of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, and on works as constituting an actual obedience to those precepts. This co-ordination of faith and works could not continue long, but soon fell practically into an undervaluing of faith and a dependence on works.

By way of reaction, again, from this view, the Church-consciousness was carried over to the doctrine of justification by faith alone. This was not, however, simply a return to the old Augustinian idea, but an advance to one much higher; and yet, in fact, this could not have been reached, except through the view we have just mentioned. For all earnest minds in the Catholic Church, in relying upon good works, relied upon them not as performed in their own strength, but by the assistance of God, and thus fell back upon His grace as the ultimate ground of their righteousness, which principle leads, by just and legitimate development, to the doctrine of justification by

faith alone. Thus, the Church of the middle ages, by its legalistic character, holds to the Church of the Reformation, a relation similar to that which subsisted between the Law and the Gospel, or John the Baptist and the Saviour. It served, by its stern discipline, to enable the Christian consciousness to apprehend and possess the element of Evangelical Freedom which Christianity includes; (for true freedom can be attained only through previous obedience.) It made possible, and prepared the way, for a higher and better order of things, by which it should be abolished in the form in which it had existed, and yet, in its substance and truth, permanently preserved and elevated.*

It remains for us to notice an objection commonly made to the principles which we have been endeavoring to illustrate, namely, that they favor in their conclusions the exclusive claims of the Roman communion to being alone the true Catholic Church of Christ. Before noticing further this objection, which we think is without just foundation, we must first candidly say, that we have very little respect for the spirit which but too often prompts the objection, in the form in which it is usually made. Very many of the religious papers and periodicals of the day, seem disposed to favor or denounce ideas brought to their notice, not according to their truth, or falsity, but according to the extent to which it is supposed that they will produce benefit or injury to particular interests. The inquiry that is pressed with most earnestness, is not, are the principles themselves true, but are the effects likely to result from them, such as are considered desirable. Such a spirit generally leads, in the end, to hidden dishonesty, and to attempts to compromise or oppose truth, under the cloak of great show of zeal for truth.

* The above is the substance of an article sketched some considerable time ago, but which circumstances then prevented us from finishing. Amid other engagements and imperfect health, we have hastily modified it, and made additions. This will, partly, at least, account for its defective form, and for the numerous, and perhaps, too lengthy notes, which had better often have been incorporated with the substance of the article itself. It seems unnecessary, and yet, perhaps, it may be well to say, that no pretension whatever, is made to any originality of thought. The writer's views are obtained from the study of works he has already mentioned.

So, in reference to the alleged Romanizing tendency of these views, we have just as little respect for the spirit in which the objection has often been urged. What if the principles should favor in their conclusions the claims of the Church of Rome, provided the principles themselves are true? It is, nevertheless, unquestionably our duty to receive them.

Personally, we have no special love for the Roman communion, as such, and still less, for its practices; and we certainly are unconscious of the slightest disposition to add any of its errors or corruptions to the imperfections of our own Protestantism; but if a true principle should legitimately produce conclusions verifying any or all of the peculiar features of the Roman Church, we cannot see that in such case we would be under any the less obligation to receive and confess the truth. In fact this cry of "Romanizing tendency," is becoming too well understood, to deceive any one. Like the talk of nurses designed to frighten children, it is often a mere "*bugaboo*," intended merely to create prejudice against a theory which may not accord with the wishes or notions of those who raise the cry, and who are too lazy, or not able, to oppose it with sound argument.

The theory which we have been discussing, cannot, under any form, be turned into an argument in favor of the exclusive claims of Rome. The most that can be legitimately made of it, by those who may desire so to use it, is, a historical justification of some of the features of the Romish Church, as growing out of the wants of the Church, and the exigencies of the times, when those features were produced. But the same principles which thus justify them relatively, as the products of a certain stage of Christianity, pronounce just as clearly and decisively their condemnation, when any attempt is made to usurp for them a permanent place in Christian worship and practice; a conclusion fatal to the claims of Rome in their exclusive character. And even this relative justification can be made out only by showing that the features contended for, are the genuine and legitimate out-growths of the Christian spirit of the age. The whole question turns upon the fact of their le-

gitimacy. The principle itself settles nothing ; every thing in the end depends upon its application.

But in another way the theory of organic development is fatal to the exclusive pretensions of Rome. It is utterly irreconcilable with her claims to infallibility, and to the Pope being the representative of Christ on earth, the permanent head of his entire Church. To make good the Roman Catholic doctrine on these points, we must, like the Puseyite on the one hand, and the modern Puritan on the other, regard Christianity as perfect, not only in its essential nature, but also in the outward exhibition of itself in every particular, possessed of an externally complete, and entirely defined system of doctrine, practice, worship, and government, &c. Being thus perfect, and thus continuing perfect, and therefore, unchangeable, it must be necessarily infallible. In addition to this, admit that Peter was head of the Church, in the manner in which the Pope is now of the Roman communion, and the demands of Romanists must be conceded as just. But the theory under discussion flatly contradicts these assumptions at several points. It denies that the Church was thus perfect, in primitive times, or that it ever has been, or is now perfect ; and therefore, not infallible. It regards the Church as progressing from imperfection towards perfection ; which perfection now exists only in the person of Christ, and which the Church shall possess only when it perfectly reflects His image. So, too, this theory admits and contends for the fact, that changes will take place in the Church, in regard to government, as well as to doctrinal views and worship, and therefore, on this point directly opposes the hierarchical claims of Rome. The circumstance that Newman has attempted to defend the distinctive features of Romanism, by a theory of development, has doubtless misled some, through the similarity of the terms used in both theories, into a mistake in regard to the tendency of that which we have tried to illustrate. They, however, differ in toto. Newman, indeed, recognizes no development of the *principle of Christianity* in the Church, but only of thought and opinion, a wider application and unfolding of ideas

only. And even this is regarded by most Romanists as entirely incompatible with their faith. Brownson says, it may do for *Protestants*, but not for Catholics.

We believe that the theory, whose ground principles we have tried to state, furnishes a most powerful, and indeed, irrefragable argument *in favor* of Protestantism, and *against* the exclusive claims of Rome; proving that the former is the genuine and legitimate offspring of the life of Him who dwells in his Church in all ages, and who in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, carried it forward and upward to a higher stage of its progress. We have not attempted to define particularly the conditions which determine the process by which Christianity develops itself in the world, nor the manner in which this process is carried forward. The field for thought here is very wide and inviting, indeed, but, at the same time, very difficult; opinions here, too, would doubtless differ often very widely. In some respects also certainty, even so far as usually possible to human speculation, is unattainable. For while human means are undoubtedly employed, and finite conditions permitted powerfully to affect the process, yet still, at the same time, it is wholly, and in all its stages, under the control of Him to whom all power has been given in heaven and on earth, and whose ways and thoughts are far above ours, as far as the heavens are above the earth. Those, however, who may wish to investigate this side of the subject, will find no little assistance, as well as derive no little information from the study of the Rev. Dr. Schaff's treatise on the question: "What is Church History?" We have endeavored merely to illustrate the *principles* on which the idea of an organic development of Christianity in the world, is fundamentally based. Those who desire to study or discuss those principles, may find them in the three following propositions:

- I. *Christianity is ESSENTIALLY a new Life.*
- II. *Christianity, as Life, is governed in its action by the LAW of LIFE.*
- III. *This Law of Life is that of growth, or ORGANIC DEVELOPMENT.*

Norristown, Pa.

G. D. W.

ART. III.—THE DUTCH CRUSADE.

It is to be presumed, that even our Dutch brethren themselves, as well as their small company of misguided allies in our own body, have become pretty well satisfied by this time, that their late attempt to get up a Dominican crusade against the German Reformed Church, was both wrong and unwise. There was no occasion for it, and it has accomplished nothing but the contrary of what the movers of it proposed. It was a grand impertinence from first to last; and it is sufficiently plain, that it is so regarded by the good sense and right feeling of the community generally, the very tribunal whose verdict, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, was most confidently expected to go in its favor.

THE CASE IN ITS FACTS.

There was no fit occasion, we say, for any such denominational assault. The ostensible plea for it, as all know, was the charge of certain wrong tendencies on the part of the great body of the German Reformed Church, which a small faction of discontented minds in its bosom, pretending to be particularly evangelical and orthodox, had no power to redress, without the aid and comfort of such foreign ecclesiastical *intervention*. But curious enough was the process by which it was pretended to establish the truth of this grave accusation. The Church still professed to hold the Heidelberg Catechism, and had never before in truth shown itself more in earnest in magnifying its authority and insisting upon its use. No doctrine had been pronounced ecclesiastically, which could be said to call for reconsideration or repeal. No step had been taken by the Church, no rule imposed, no decision given, which could be regarded as in the least degree changing its creed or constitution, or laying so much as the shadow of embarrassment

on any man's conscience, however tender or weak. There was nothing positively, in the action of the Church as such, that could be said to require either remedy or reform; not so much as an inch of ground, on which to plant fairly an issue with it in any measure answerable to the gravity of the charge in question. All fell back on the vague general statement, that the Professors at Mercersburg had been for some years past publishing views, which the anti-catholic spirit of the times chooses to stigmatize as *Romanizing*, and that the Synod of the German Reformed Church had not called them to account for so doing, at the cry simply of this same spirit.

This offence was taken to have reached its climax, when the Synod, nearly two years ago, refused to receive the resignation of the senior Professor, simply because it was seen at the time that there was a disposition with some to make an unrighteous use of the case, by construing it into a virtual act of censure. There was of course no room for that; for there had been no charges tabled and no trial of any sort then or before; it never suited the policy of Berg, Helffenstein & Co., to proceed in any such regular and honorable way. The body of the Synod, moreover, was fully persuaded that there was no just cause for prosecution of any sort, and that the agitators in the case could neither form nor sustain charges amounting to what they loosely affirmed. There was proof enough of this indeed in the simple fact, that with full opportunity given them for the purpose, year after year, they had all along refused to make the attempt in a regular and constitutional form. Had they done so and failed, there might have been *some* show of reason in their pretending that the Synod would not allow justice to take its course; although even then it would have been hard to say, why *their* judgment must be accepted as right, and that of the Synod condemned as wrong. But no such issue was ever joined. They never gave the Synod a chance to try their complaints. They demanded rather that their agitation should pass for a full prejudgment of the whole case, and that the Synod should act upon this as a sentence already established and settled beyond contradiction. This

the Synod would not consent to do. Had there been a general conviction in the body that there was cause for prosecution and censure, no other course could properly have been taken, in the default of everything like a regular inquisition and trial. How could such a body consent to resolve itself in this way into a tribunal of mere Lynch law? But, as already said, there was no conviction of the sort named; but a very strong and general conviction just the other way; a conviction, namely, that the agitation in question could not make good its own indefinite charges and accusations, and was to be regarded as in the main malicious and unjust. *In such circumstances*, what must have been thought of the German Reformed Synod if it could have allowed itself to become the tool of any such irresponsible prosecution, passively lending itself to its iniquitous views and aims? By an almost unanimous vote, as it will be remembered, the body not only refused to enact what in the predicament of the case would have been construed into a virtual condemnation of the Mercersburg Professors, but went still farther: passed resolutions, declaring its unabated confidence in them, its approbation of what it conceived to be the reigning drift of their teaching, and its wish to retain their services still under the same general form in its institutions.

Out of this proceeding, it has been endeavored since to raise what some have facetiously affected to call a *crisis* in the history of the German Reformed Church. Dr. Berg did not himself, indeed, see it in that light just at first; and no one more distinctly condemned the use which was made of it by his hot-headed colleague, the Rev. Jacob Helffenstein, in his famous alarm put forth at the time, through the religious papers of other denominations. In a marvellously short time, however, he was brought to change his key. Whatever *other* reasons may have influenced the step, it was found convenient to lionize his transition to the Low Dutch Church, by making it a step for conscience' sake; and he now fell in, accordingly, with the hue and cry which had been got up in certain quarters on the outside, that the German Reformed Synod had formally endorsed all the views of its Professors, and that these

views were all that Tom, Dick, and Harry saw fit to make them, after their own crude fashion and humor.

Then came the report of the Dutch delegates to their own Synod, designed to help forward the same misrepresentation, by clothing it with a sort of documentary semi-official authority on the minutes of that body. Altogether, it was a most unbecoming paper. The delegates had no right to act as hostile spies, under the garb of pretended friends, and to lay themselves out to serve the views of a disorganizing clique, in the bosom of the body whose ecclesiastical hospitalities they were permitted to enjoy without suspicion or reserve. But if they did consider this bad office to be their privilege, they were bound, at all events, to exercise it with some regard to truth and right. When it was proposed to prejudge in such public style the whole merits of the case in hand, and on the force of such prejudication to bring the sweeping charge of heresy against a whole sister denomination, the least they could have been expected to do certainly was to have taken proper pains to study and understand the business they meant to judge, by waiting to see it to an end, and by trying to get at its real nature and sense. This, however, they did not do; and their report turned out to be, accordingly, as false in point of fact as it was ungentlemanly in purpose and spirit. It treated the case in hand as if it had been one of formal trial; when it had been, in truth, an attempt only to evade the responsibility of a regular prosecution, by securing snap judgment in another way. It assumed that the version put upon the matter at issue by the agitators, was already so much settled truth, when there had been no inquisition at all to establish anything of that sort. And then it construed the action of the Synod at once into a formal ratification, not only of all the actual views of the Mercersburg Professors, but of all that these views were taken and charged to be by this same arbitrary version; when, in reality, the action of the Synod carried in it no such intention or sense whatever. No wonder that such a paper received by the Synod of the Dutch Church, excited general indignation in the Church which was thus wronged, and that the Ger-

man Reformed Synod protested against it, as was done in Baltimore in the fall of 1852. The language of that protest may have been rather unguarded at some points; but the provocation was very great, and the notice thus taken of it was felt to be in substance not any too strong for the occasion. Several of the Classes subsequently confirmed it by their separate action; and no doubt a wide disposition was created in the Church, to have a summary stop put to the whole correspondence which had been so outrageously diverted from its original design, in the service of a barefaced conspiracy against the unity and peace of the German Reformed Church itself. Happily, however, any action which it might have been proposed to take in this form was anticipated by the Synod of the Dutch Church at its last meeting in Philadelphia. In these circumstances, the satisfaction of doing wrong has fallen wholly to the one side, while the merit of suffering it with calm dignity and patience belongs exclusively to the other. Let us hope that this latter privilege will be steadily maintained by the German Reformed Church, in the spirit of Jesus Christ.

The Dutch Church, we say, has done wrong in this whole business. Her delegates did wrong in the first place; and her Synod rendered the matter a great deal worse, when it made itself responsible for their fault, and, pretending to put on the airs of an injured party, proceeded at once to break correspondence with the German Reformed Church, on the alleged ground of its being involved in false and heretical tendencies, which the orthodoxy of the Dutch Church felt itself too pure to tolerate even by such exceedingly remote contact. Never was there a more monstrously gross abuse of a simply outward and, at best, merely diplomatic relation. Who will pretend that the correspondence established as a matter of courtesy only between sister denominations, each equally independent, can ever fairly give one the right of virtually summoning the other before its self-constituted tribunal in this overbearing way, and the right of formally passing sentence of condemnation against it, on its own loose, indefinite indictment, without any examination, or the least opportunity allowed for defence

or reply? For nothing less than this was designed to be the effect, in fact, of the action taken by the Synod of the Low Dutch Church. It was part of a conspiracy formed, as all may easily see, to produce agitation and division in the German Reformed Church, for the purpose of giving a paltry minority in it the power of turning its affairs according to their own factious wish and will. The plan was fair and plausible. Advantage was to be taken of the anti-popery spirit, which is so rampant on all sides, and the blinding power of which might seem to be almost without bounds. The religious papers were to echo one another, in the way of continual alarm. Noise was to be made of defections, and threatened defections, from the German Church. Sister denominations, it was hoped, might be engaged to separate themselves from its communion, so as to get up a panic among its uninformed membership, and to open the way thus for all sorts of reformatory confusion. The Dutch Synod agreed to take the lead in this movement; and it did so for the *acknowledged purpose* of strengthening the hands of the revolutionary faction in the German Reformed Church, and stirring up a crusade on the part of the laity, to be led on by the ministers of this faction, against the order and peace of the Church as a whole. It was Kossuthian intervention with a vengeance. Who gave the Dutch Church a right to interfere with the affairs of the German Reformed Church, in this dogmatical and high-blown style? If it had been wished to drop the correspondence, it might easily have been done in a quiet and courteous way by mutual consent. The just subject of complaint is, that advantage should have been taken of a mere relation of courtesy to give the suspension on the side of the Dutch Church a quasi-judicial character before the world, that it might be clothed in this way with a factitious importance which did not belong to it in fact; and that the professed object of all this was to sow the seeds of dissension and anarchy, as far as possible, in the German Reformed Church. For this there can be no excuse.

The excuse pretended is thin and poor in the extreme. The German Reformed Church, it is said, has endorsed all the

views of the Mercersburg Professors, and these views are seriously wrong. But what precisely were the views in question, the Dutch Synod never pretended to say or know in distinct terms; much less was it considered necessary to subject them to any theological investigation. It was counted sufficient to take them at second hand, and to gather them up into the convenient category of "Romanizing tendencies." Then, again, it had no proof before it whatever that the Synod of the German Reformed Church had ever intended to endorse all the teachings of its Professors even rightly understood. To approve of the general system of teaching pursued by a Professor, and to be satisfied with his services on the whole, and not to listen to complaints against him which nobody is prepared to reduce to shape or form, is one thing; to subscribe to all his particular notions and declarations, is quite another thing. The German Reformed Synod has done the first of these two things, without the most distant thought of anything so foolish as the second. It belongs to the genius of the Church to allow here a certain degree of liberty, which, in some way, the mind of the Dutch Church would seem not able exactly to comprehend. Following the voice of her delegates accordingly, she has insisted on holding the German Reformed Church responsible for whatever it has suited her imagination to ascribe to the so-called Mercersburg system; and on such flimsy plea, she pretends now to justify the outrage by which she has been endeavoring, for some time past, to drive the ploughshare of desolation through the borders of this sister communion. For the aggression has not been limited to the action of her Synod in Philadelphia. That was but the signal rather for farther hostilities, the object of which has been nothing less than the dragooning of the whole German Reformed Church into the system of thinking graciously proffered for her use in the columns of the New York "*Christian Intelligencer*". This paper, the organ of the Dutch Church, has shown, during the past summer, as is generally known, a perfectly rabid spirit towards the German Reformed Church, hardly surpassed in scurrility and misrepresentation by the "*Lutheran Observer*" it-

self in its palmyest days. It seemed to look upon itself as the natural guardian of the interests of orthodoxy among the Germans, and has shrunk from no indelicacy in order to carry this fancied commission into effect. It has granted the free use of its columns to any disaffected minister, or layman, of the German Reformed Church, who could be induced to make them the channel of his spleen or pride; besides encouraging every scribbler at home to write what trash he pleased in the same vein and for the same general purpose. It even undertook to regulate the election of a President for Franklin and Marshall College; and by the help of its few friends in the German Reformed Church, it has had the impudence to seek a forcible entry for itself among our pastors and congregations, under the insolent pretence that the "German Reformed Messenger," the paper of our own Church, was in a plot to keep the people in the dark, and that we needed the light of the "*Christian Intelligencer*" among us to know how to take care of ourselves and to do our own work. Never was there such impudent interference before in the history of our American religious denominations; and never was there a more sorry plea presented in justification of any such aggression.

Only suppose the Dutch Church claiming the right to interfere in this style with the affairs of the Presbyterian Church; who can doubt for a moment how the intervention would be received? It would be treated as an impertinence of the first order. The only reason for its being thought of towards the German Reformed Church is, that we are a comparatively small body, and that the reigning anti-popery feeling was expected to come in as a cover to the wrong which it has been presumed to perpetrate at our expense. But it is remarkable, that even this feeling has not proved strong enough to secure for our Dutch neighbors the favor they hoped to find with other denominations in this crusade against the German Reformed Church. The pedantry of the thing has been too *characteristic* to go down favorably in any quarter. It was expected and planned to draw the O. S. Presbyterian Assembly into the conspiracy; but that body refused to lend itself to any such in-

glorious service. The religious papers, too, (the "Lutheran Observer" *always* excepted in any such case,) have preserved, generally, an ominous silence on the subject, at most noticing the action of the Dutch Church simply as an item of intelligence, with no mark of sympathy or approbation, and taking no reference whatever to the later agitational efforts of the "Christian Intelligencer." This, in the circumstances, is very significant, and amounts to a full reprobation of the course pursued by the Dutch Church, as having been at least silly, if not positively wrong. That Church has gained no laurels by what she has done. The whole relation, it is not to be questioned, is bringing more credit at this hour to the German Reformed Church, than it has brought yet, or ever will bring to the Low Dutch.

Still less has the crusade served to accomplish what it was expected to bring to pass, in the German Reformed Church itself. It is wonderful, indeed, how little it has had power to do here in the way of harm, and how signally it has been turned already to the confusion of those who allowed themselves to be carried away by its blustering parade. We have had, indeed, some internal commotion, for which the Dutch intervention would seem to have been at this time the only cause. After more than a whole year's rest, and with no new point of provocation in the Church whatever, (unless any might choose to construe as such, the action taken in regard to the Presidency of Franklin and Marshall College,) a few persons were led to start suddenly into a fit of reformation, which it was hoped would bring about in some way, a new order of things for the Church at large. In what way precisely, no one seemed able to tell. Enough, that the time appeared to be favorable for agitation, and that there was a promise of some distinction for those who could contrive to ride upon its foremost wave. We doubt if ever there has been a movement of the sort, pretending to cut so much of a figure, which was less able to give any satisfactory reason for its appearance, or to return any intelligent answer to the question: Pray what is it you want, and what exactly do you propose to secure? Such as it

was, however, it was not to be stopped in its own course. Helffenstein's secession played into its hands. Then the impotent demonstration made by the little Classis of North Carolina. Of the real insignificance of both events for all who know the parties concerned, and the circumstances of their occurrence, it is not necessary here to speak. But they answered well for popular declamation. They made good ammunition for unscrupulous religious newspapers. Hands were joined now openly with the "Christian Intelligencer" in its vile attacks on the German Reformed Church; which was ready, of course, as we have before said, to make itself the vehicle of whatever might be communicated to it in such form. Then it was tried to carry the agitation into the columns of the "German Reformed Messenger;" and because this paper refused to lend itself to any such bad purpose, it was denounced as being itself the grand abuse that called for correction; by which means the itch or tumor of reformation seemed to bring itself at last to some sort of definite head, by promising to itself a revolution which should place the editorial management of the 'Messenger' in altogether new hands. Set sermons were preached in different quarters, to help forward the pretended crisis. Letters were written in all directions, and mention was publicly made of scores of them from all sides, showing the Church to be rife for general disturbance. Much was expected from a certain convention, called to meet in Lancaster for the purpose of manufacturing in some way an epoch in the affairs of the German Reformed Church. Hopes were entertained, also, that the Western Synod might be led to take ground of some sort in favor of the revolutionary movement; and no pains were spared to turn its influence in this direction. But to what, in the end, have all these busy and restless endeavors come? They have simply brought out, more clearly than was seen before, the strength of the cause they were designed to overthrow. The action of the Low Dutch Synod has fallen as a mere *brutum fulmen* on all sides, without any lasting ecclesiastical or moral effect. The "Christian Intelligencer" has made itself to stink. Without noise or tumult, the German Reformed Church has passed an almost unanimous sentence of con-

demnation on the efforts which have been made within her own bosom, at the bidding of this foreign intervention, to destroy her unity and peace. The agitation has produced no crisis. No epoch was created by the secret conclave in Lancaster. By the Triennial Convention at Columbus, and the meeting of the Western Synod since held in Michigan, it has been made evident enough how the mind of the Church stands on the other side of the mountains. The action of the Eastern Synod at Philadelphia, as being more directly concerned in the general case, has been still more decided and conclusive. It is not necessary to speak of it now in detail. It has spoken for itself, with a voice loud enough to be heard, and plain enough to be understood, in every direction.

So much for this small chapter of American ecclesiastical history. The Dutch Church, and the "Christian Intelligencer," have themselves come to see very well, no doubt, that they reckoned sadly without their host, in counting, as they, did upon the elements of discord and division, which they supposed to be at work in the German Reformed Church, and upon the effect which their own interference was expected to have on this combustible material in the way of inflammation. One great reason urged for breaking correspondence with the German Reformed Church, was the effect the measure would have to strengthen the hands of the *evangelical* party in it, (such was the Pharisaical sobriquet applied to those who were bent on making trouble,) and to strike terror into others. The Synod was told at the same time, that the effect would be something very different from this; and so it has proved to be in fact. The Church has been more consolidated than ever before, by the evangelical conspiracy thus got up for her general distraction; and the whole movement on the part of the Dutch Synod stands convicted before the world of being in truth a very weak as well as a very wrong transaction, a grand impertinence, as before said, from beginning to end.

GENERAL CONTROVERSY.

Nothing can well be more misty and senseless, than the general complaint preferred in this whole controversy, on the part

of the Dutch and others, against the German Reformed Church. It comes mainly, as we have seen, to the charge of a Romanizing tendency. But this in itself means nothing. For the Unitarian, the doctrine of the Trinity is such a tendency ; for the Baptist, the practice of Infant Baptism ; for the Congregationalist, the idea of a Divine Ministry, whether after the Presbyterian or the Episcopalian pattern ; for the Presbyterian, the notion of Diocesan Bishops ; for the Low Episcopalian, the whole Puseyite conception of Sacramental Grace. Whatever the standpoint may be, any other position which is in nearer approximation to the Roman idea of the Church, in any particular, must from such standpoint appear to be a Romanizing tendency. Especially must every churchly view, whether it stops here or there, be so regarded by all thinking which is less churchly than itself. The charge then of a Romanizing tendency is in and of itself without meaning ; since all turns in the case on the quarter from which it proceeds. As compared with Unitarians, Baptists, Independents, our American sects in general, and as compared too no doubt with the unchurchly spirit that seems to have the mastery just now in the Low Dutch Church, it is not to be questioned but that the German Reformed Church is under the power of what these several bodies, each holding to its own standpoint, conceive to be a Romanizing tendency. We should be heartily sorry, and would wish to be out of the Church, if it were otherwise. But what then ? What right has any of these standpoints, Unitarianism, Congregationalism, Anabaptism, any one in short, of the more than fifty sects that represent our American Christianity, to set itself up as the absolute measure and standard of truth in this case, and to say, Thus far shalt thou go in the direction of the old Catholic faith, but no farther ! Why has not the German Reformed Church, as an independent denomination, as much right as any other to settle that question for herself in her own way ? To become of any force, the charge in question must make itself definite, must descend to particulars, must say precisely what it means by a Romanizing tendency.

This, however, the party bringing the charge has shown itself

very shy of doing for the most part. Still at times it has ventured on something of the sort. But when it has done so, the instances have been few indeed, in which its points have been fairly put or honorably maintained. It is notorious for all intelligent lookers on, that the controversy on that side, whenever it has come to specific points, has been characterized by continual perversion and misrepresentation, much in the same way with the current popular polemics kept up against the Catholic Church itself. It would seem that the Puritan habit of mind carries in it no capacity for church ideas, so that they are almost sure to be turned by it into falsehood or nonsense, wherever they come in its way. Such a supposition at least is the best apology that can be made for its common want of fairness, in dealing with topics that lie in this direction. In the case before us, this want of fairness has been very strikingly displayed; and the wrong too often has been grossly aggravated, by being perseveringly maintained in the face of the most open disclaimers of its misrepresentations on the part of those wronged. It may be right enough to show that an opinion leads to this or that bad consequence, if with fair logic it can be done; but to confound the opinion itself with such invidious construction, and then to insist on fixing this last at once on an opponent, against his own protest and without allowing it even to be heard, is such an abomination as any truly religious mind might be expected to abhor. Such, however, to a most melancholy extent, has been the style in which the controversy before us has been carried on from first to last. The "Christian Intelligencer" has but played over again of late in this respect, the old game of the "Lutheran Observer" and the "Protestant Quarterly." How seldom has a point against Mercersburg and the German Reformed Church been fairly and honorably presented, in its evangelical columns? The last thing these outlaws of the so-called religious press seem to think of or care about, is the observance of any rule either of justice or honor towards the victims of their aggression. They have as little regard for truth as they have for charity. Their object is not to reach the real merits of anything, but to

carry a point of their own; and whatever of trick or stratagem, concealment or perversion, this may appear to require, all is supposed to have its justification in the fancied goodness of the end they propose in this way to compass and gain. To pretend to reason with this sort of newspaper *theology* would be out of the question—a mere waste of so much breath, poured forth upon the idle wind. It is made up of prejudice and passion only, without reason. You might as well enter into argument with a cloud of bats. You cannot hold it to any point. You cannot fix it to any premises, long enough to draw the plainest conclusion. It delights in all sorts of contradiction and confusion, flitting hither and thither, from corner to corner, and seeking everything, as it might seem, rather than the simple light of truth itself for the truth's own sweet sake. The best that can be done always with such unreasoning obscurantism, or bat-theology, in this low character and shape, is to answer it never a word, but just to let it take its own course till it has fairly run itself out. It is after all but little that it is ever able to bring to pass, under any enduring form. Its noise is for the moment only, and is soon forgotten. This, however, is no excuse for the wickedness of the thing itself. Wrong is not the less wrong, merely because it may be impotent.

Let it not be supposed, however, that we wish to resolve all the accusations of this controversy into mere misrepresentation or passionate mistake, and so to make a simple logomachy out of it, a battle of words rather than of things. Very real issues are indeed involved in it, of the most serious sort, which we have not the least disposition to deny or conceal. Occasionally one or more of these points is suffered to come somewhat plainly into view; while the force of them may be said to enter always as a secret power into those falsely put propositions also, of which we have just now spoken. The false issues are after all polemic devices only got up to cover issues, which are known to be real and true, but which it is felt at the same time not easy to maintain in their own proper form; and this precisely is the latent cause of the intemperate and intolerant

zeal with which such false charges and criminations are insisted upon, without regard to protest or explanation from the contrary side. Thus, for example, when it has been affirmed by the Mercersburg theology, in common with the universal faith of the early Church, and in common with both the original Lutheran and Calvinistic sides of the Reformation, that the presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist is such a mystery above nature as sets his whole person, not locally and carnally, but by a higher order of existence through the Spirit, in living communication with the believer; instead of meeting the proposition honestly in its own form, the gainsayers of whom we now speak have made it to mean a Capernaitic presence of Christ's body and blood after the order of nature, and have then held this up to odium as being the same thing with their own gross conception of the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Here a false point is substituted for the true one, and the controversy becomes an impudent slander which refuses systematically to let the truth be heard; but it is plain enough, at the same time, that what it is really at war with is this truth itself, which, however, it feels it necessary, with a sort of devilish instinct, thus to caricature in the first place, in order that it may fight against it with better chance of success. When all comes out, it is the whole idea of any mystery in the sacrament above nature, the idea of a real communication by it with Christ's body and blood in any way, that is hated and opposed. One thing is pretended and put forward for effect; but quite another thing is in reality meant. One thing is in the mouth; but it is something else entirely that fills the heart. The premises are a simple feint, to conceal the march of a pernicious conclusion which steals in from a different quarter altogether. So in the case of this particular example; and so in a number of other cases, which it would be easy to mention. As a general thing, indeed, whatever the ostensible points may be, there are issues behind them of real significance, which we have no right to overlook and no wish to explain away; and at times, as we have said, these are allowed to come unreservedly into view. God forbid, that we

should treat these as of no account, or consider it an object to come to terms in regard to them with those who make them matter of quarrel with us, in any way that would imply a resolution of the difficulty into a mere contest of words. The difficulty regards things. What we need is, not that these should be hid at all, but that they should be brought fully into the light, without the blind of any sophistical misrepresentation; in which case one of the last things to be thought of should be anything like compromise or common understanding with the opposing party. So far as such real matter of theological controversy extends, it cannot be expected that the German Reformed Church should be solicitous to make her own position mean nothing, over against the system of thinking that may seem to prevail in other denominations; or that she should carry her cause to any such bar for settlement and adjudication. On this real matter of controversy, we should not wish either to be or to appear of one mind with the system around us, but should count it a calamity rather to be in its good graces in any way. There are questions and points here of vital consequence, on which we are bound to see and affirm continually that we are right and those who oppose us wrong. To do so, is a duty we owe, not only to ourselves, but to the general cause of Christianity. It is the merit of the German Reformed Church already to have distinguished herself among the Protestant denominations of the country in asserting, or allowing to be asserted, principles and views here that concern the very life of religion, and which all denominations need to regard and lay to heart, however unpopular they may be now and on most sides exposed to reproach; and it is to be trusted, that this merit will not be lightly thrown away, by any change of voice or posture, in time to come. Already the testimony thus given has had its effect; and it cannot fail, if steadily maintained, to tell with still greater influence on the mind of the community hereafter.

THE CREED.

One primary point of difference between the German Reformed Church, as she now stands, and most of the denomina-

tions that surround her, is the importance she is disposed to attach to the *Apostles' Creed*. Her system of faith as presented in the Heidelberg Catechism, it is well known, has rested all along on this foundation. But it is not to be disguised, that there has been within a few years past a marked revival of interest among us in this old symbol, and much more of a disposition than before to make earnest with it as a rule of doctrine and a key to the true and proper sense of Christianity. And just as little is it to be disguised, that this revival of interest among us in the Creed has contributed greatly to draw upon us the disapprobation and distrust of other religious bodies. So far is this the case, that even respectable ministers in such bodies have been known to resolve all our supposed deviations from the straight line of so-called evangelical orthodoxy, as held by our sects generally, into this first principle, that the Creed is of more authority in some way than the Bible, and should be regarded as superior to it in the constitution of the Christian faith ! This, however, is to put forward a false issue, in the way we have already described, as a blind to that which is true. The real point is not the relative authority of the Creed and the Bible at all ; they are regarded of course as being in the most perfect agreement ; but the whole question regards the real sense of the Bible itself ; and the necessity of making the original faith of the Church a rule or measure for its interpretation. So the Creed has always been taken, unless among heretics, in past ages. Those, however, who now affect to place honor on the Bible at its expense, take the ground in fact that the last resort for determining the sense of Christianity must be, not the original faith of the Christian Church at all, but the private judgment of every man exercised on the contents of the Bible for his own use and in his own way. This is an abominable proposition, that stands in and of itself at war with all real faith in the general mystery which it is the object of the Apostles' Creed to proclaim ; and it soon appears, accordingly, wherever it prevails, that the opposition it expresses to the Creed is not simply formal but material, that it extends in fact, either in whole or in part, to the contents of the symbol itself.

This has been brought out strikingly in the course of the controversy before us with the German Reformed Church. This controversy has served very conclusively to show, that our evangelical sects generally, no less than those which openly discard the doctrine of the Trinity, even while they may have been professing at times, in a cold way, to honor the Creed, have, in truth, no sympathy with it as a whole, and are by no means willing to be ruled by it in their faith. Why, indeed, if this were not the case, should it have gone so almost entirely out of use among these sects? Why is its voice not heard either in the pulpit or in the family? If owned at all, it is always with some exception or qualification. It is not perceived, that its articles go to form a single unit, and that to set aside one, is virtually to set aside all. There is a soul in the Creed, as it entered into the faith of the ancient Church—an energizing and form-giving idea, or thought, which holds it together and imparts to it all its worth; and this, precisely, it is, that renders it unpalatable to the reigning, self-styled evangelical taste of modern times. Rob it of this soul, and the flat residuum may be, at least, partially endured, as a venerable relic of by-gone times. But the Creed, with its own original life in it, can find no favor. We have been openly told, by good authority from New England itself, that “the Creed and Puritanism have not a *kindred spirit*”—that “its life and spirit never entered into the life of the Puritan Churches”—that “Puritanism builds on the Scriptures, and this Creed teaches, in several respects, anti-scriptural doctrines!” Any attempt to restore the “fossil relic” to life again, these Churches hold in scorn. “We look with a sort of pity,” they tell us, “upon those who are laboring to infuse life into it, and to set it up as a living ruler in the Church.” This refers directly to the interest shown for it at Mercersburg, and is very significant in regard to the point now under consideration, as showing that one great cause of controversy with the German Reformed Church, on the side of other sects, is, in truth, just her regard for the authority of the Apostles’ Creed, and the zeal she has exhibited of late for the resuscitation of its proper original life among Protestants.

For it must not be imagined, that this hatred of the Creed, in its own native and first sense, is confined, by any means, to New England. It lies in the very essence of Puritanism; which is another scheme of religion altogether, proceeding from different premises, involving throughout a different construction, and animated, by its own confession, just quoted, with a different life and spirit; and wherever the Puritan element prevails, accordingly, be the denomination what it may, it will always make itself felt in the same way as a spirit of alienation from the *regula fidei* of the Early Church. It is no railing accusation, therefore, which we bring against "American Lutheranism," as represented by Gettysburg and the "Lutheran Observer," or against the American Low Dutch Church, as represented by New Brunswick and the "Christian Intelligencer," when we say, that they, too, have no kindred spirit with the Apostle's Creed, and no power to make an *ex amino* use of it, taking it in its own genuine sense and without any mental reservation, as the true type and image of their faith. They are constitutionally Puritan; and being so, they *cannot* hold the Creed in full sincerity and truth. We may safely challenge either the "Observer" or the "Intelligencer" on this point. Neither of these can say honestly: "I believe from the heart all and every part of the Creed, *in its own original and only true sense*." They believe no such thing. They are of one mind here substantially with the Boston "Puritan Recorder." The soul of the Creed, its reigning animus, is not at all to their taste, but much, very much, the other way. Of this the world has had ample evidence in their own columns; and here exactly is to be found, beyond all question, no small part of the reason for their animosity towards Mercersburg and the German Reformed Church. If we could have been content to use the Creed as a dead "fossil relic," mouth-ing it from time to time without stopping to think of its sense, our fancy for it might have been patiently indulged. But that we should "labor to infuse life into it," to make it act and speak for itself, to bring out its hidden force, to resuscitate its mysteries in their old form, and "to set it up as a living ruler in

the Church"—this was too much to be tolerated or endured. "*Hinc illæ lachrymæ!*" Hence much at least of this *celestial* indignation.

Let it be well considered, moreover, that this Puritanic dislike of the Creed links itself immediately with the idea of what is vaguely branded, in the same quarter, as a "Romanizing tendency." The "Puritan Recorder" finds the germs of Romanism in some of its articles; and there is no doubt but that the whole of it does involve an apprehension of Christianity, which both the "Lutheran Observer" and the "Christian Intelligencer," as well as the "Recorder," if true to their own theology or no-theology, must condemn and repudiate in the same view. It is not necessary, then, to be much disturbed by so blind a charge, coming from so blind a quarter, when we see in this case something of its veritable meaning and sense. Puritanism sees a "Romanizing tendency" in the Apostles' Creed; snuffs the smell of heresy, under this form, in the articles of the Descent to Hades, the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints, and the Forgiveness of Sins. What matters it, if, by the same diseased nostrils, the like taint be charged on the German Reformed Church? "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?"

And yet there are some among ourselves, it would seem, who think it necessary to have the orthodoxy of the German Reformed Church approved and endorsed by this Puritan judgment, in order that it may pass muster in the Christian world; and because this cannot be, are ready, at once, to cry out that all is wrong, and the Church in a crisis that loudly calls for reaction and reform. But what can be more preposterous, than to think of settling the controversy before us in any such lap-sided style as this? The one single difference now presented, that, namely, which regards the reception or rejection of the Creed, is enough, of itself, to destroy the weight of any judgment that Puritan denominations, or Puritan religious papers, may see fit to entertain here of the German Reformed Church; for the points at issue are, to a great extent, condi-

tioned and caused by this very difference itself. To what can it amount in such a case, to be told that such and such sect, or this and that "Recorder," "Observer," or "Intelligencer," dubbing one another evangelical, is not satisfied with our position? *Of course* they are not satisfied with it, refusing, as they do, to own the binding authority of the Apostles' Creed, which it has become with us a cardinal principle to assert. We do not wish their approval, in these circumstances; and we ought to have no patience, certainly, with those among ourselves, whose sense of what is due to the claims of the Creed is so tepid, that they can dream, for one moment, of referring the cause here at stake to the decision of any tribunal, where it is known that these claims are of no authority or weight. It is pitiful, truly, when the Lutheran Church, by its organ in Baltimore, is seen pleasing itself with the sympathy of New England Puritanism on some point that involves the complete abandonment of its own distinctive faith; as though this were a mere circumstance only, and *that* a matter, in some way, of primary account. The whole thing has in it the stench of hypocrisy and sham. And just so in the case before us, it should be considered a like solemn farce, to talk of sending the German Reformed Church to any such foreign quarter for the trial of her faith. There is treason, indeed, to her theological life in the very thought.

If those who oppose us, and make a noise about our Romanizing tendencies, could only be brought to acknowledge the Apostles' Creed in its true and right sense, and to set themselves earnestly to the use of it in their public and private services of religion, there would soon be an end of their difficulty. Let them try the experiment. *Then* we shall be ready to respect their judgment; but not before. Here is the hinge of our controversy. Is Christianity now what it was once held to be by this old Creed; or has it become something else? Shall we Romanize, as they term it, with the Creed; or shall we Puritanize, by charging it with contradiction to the Scriptures, and treating it as only the "fossil relic of by-gone ages?" Have we gone too far in our zeal for the authority of the ven-

erable symbol ; and is the German Reformed Church now prepared to take back any part of her testimony in its favor, or to give up one iota of its primitive signification, as a sop to Cerberus, or a tub to the whale ? Let the people answer. It has been said insultingly, that the body of the Church, the laity, are kept in the dark by their pastors and the " German Reformed Messenger," and have not sense enough to discern the imposition they are under ; and so the task of enlightening and alarming their blind security has been generously volunteered by the Baltimore " Observer " and the Dutch " Intelligencer " of New York. Do they need such teachers to comprehend this question concerning the Creed ? Will they follow them here as their guides ? We presume not.

THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

To bow to the authority of the Apostles' Creed, is of course at the same time to own as true for all ages its doctrine of the *Holy Catholic Church*. This article is not in the symbol by accident only ; neither is it open, as it stands there, to any and every construction. It proclaims, as every other article does, a supernatural fact, a mystery which men are to receive by faith, as something that flows with objective necessity from the resurrection and glorification of Christ. Faith in Christ's glorification, and in the consequent mission of the Holy Ghost, completes itself as faith in the institution and heavenly powers of the Church, and without this can never be more, it is to be feared, than a gnostic imagination or dream. There can be no doubt but that the sense of this necessary relation has of late penetrated the general mind of the German Reformed Church with new force, in proportion precisely to the new interest she has been led to take in the Creed ; and it is equally clear, that the want of the same right sense and feeling on the part of other denominations, has served to create some very real matter of difference here again, in the general controversy which we have now under consideration. The issue, rightly apprehended, regards no shadow, but a most serious reality. It is attempted, indeed, as usual on the unchurchly side, to throw it into a false form ; as though the question regarded the

Church as a simply natural corporation, dissociated from Christ; in which case, it becomes easy to declaim nonsense about exalting one at the expense of the other. But just here, we may see what difference there is between the Puritan theory of the Church and the idea of it as presented in the Creed. What Puritanism thus allows itself to put asunder, the ancient faith joins in indissoluble connection. In the New Testament and Creed, Christ is the head, and the Church his body, with a reciprocity of relation that puts this modern mechanical conception to shame at every point. The Church here is no accident of Christianity merely, a thing tacked to it outwardly for conveniency and form; it belongs to its very essence and constitution, and enters accordingly as a necessary element into the general mystery of its revelation in the world. But all this Puritanism has no power to understand; and the article of the Creed on the subject is for it, accordingly, a decided tendency towards Rome. So with our Puritanizing sects generally. Lutheranism, as represented by the "Lutheran Observer," and the Low Dutch Church, as represented by the "Christian Intelligencer," have no faith whatever in the mystery of the Holy Catholic Church *as taught in the Creed*. When they pretend to accept it, they mean in fact something else altogether; something which is no mystery at all, and no object of faith but only of notion and fancy, something which does not involve, with any sort of necessity, the attributes of the true idea of the Church, but sets all these aside rather as in no way suitable to its pretensions and claims. What they mean by the Church is no Divine constitution, strictly speaking; no order of relations and powers above nature, starting on the day of Pentecost, and comprehending in itself the full force of the Christian salvation for the use of men to the end of time. The idea requires no unity, no catholicity, no apostolicity, no historical continuity, no real presence of the supernatural under any outward form. It finds no contradiction to itself in the sect system, carried out to any extent. That this low view of the Church should be joined with active hostility to all that enters into the true idea of it as this meets us in the

Creed, is only what might be naturally expected; and it is easy to understand, accordingly, how the German Reformed Church also, in proportion as she has been led to own here the authority of the truth, should have drawn opposition upon herself from the same quarter.

There is real matter of controversy, it is plain enough, in this whole case. An idea of the Church prevails on one side, which is rejected on the other. Let it be observed, however, that the German Reformed Church has not after all pretended to establish any positive determination of the nature of the Church, beyond the general statement of the Creed and the Heidelberg Catechism. It is not by proposing in form any particular view or scheme, and trying to make it of binding authority for the conscience of her membership, that she has provoked hostility and opposition; but simply by refusing to take such ground on the subject, as would involve an actual surrender of the entire mystery with which the controversy is concerned. The opposition demands, that such a low view of the Church shall be formally held as may effectually turn it into a mere human corporation, strip it of the attributes ascribed to it in the Creed, and make it the *legitimate* home of schisms and sects to any imaginable extent; and that it shall then be considered heresy, to argue or plead at all in favor of any higher view. The German Reformed Church replies: "We cannot do this; because we see and feel that the article of the Creed, and the plain sense of the Scriptures, require a great deal more than is comprehended in so low a scheme. How exactly the proper sense of the article is to be carried out, in the present circumstances of the Christian world, we are not prepared to say by any formal ecclesiastical act. We leave room here for difference of opinion, and invite free discussion. Let our Professors and others, proclaim their thoughts in an earnest way. We are not called upon, as a body, either to endorse or to condemn their particular views. We do not pretend even to call to any account, those among us who choose to rest in the low Puritan notion of the Church. It is against the genius of our communion, and against the growing tenden-

cy especially which is among us at this time. But if any fancy it, we leave them without persecution to their own bad taste." This is in fact the whole state of the case; which, however, is anything but satisfactory for those who have got it into their heads, that to make much of the Church in any way is to be unfriendly to the Bible and evangelical religion. The opposition before us, accordingly, renews its violent complaint. Nothing will please it, short of a full concession practically to its own unchurchly principle and standpoint, and an intolerant denunciation of all that may not agree with this as a departure to the same extent from Protestant orthodoxy. It is not content to be tolerated itself; there must be for it no toleration of others. It is not with this or that phase merely of the old Catholic mystery of the Church that it is disposed to quarrel; what it fights against in reality is the idea of the mystery in any and every form.

A simple and ready touchstone of Church feeling offers itself always in the judgment that is entertained of the sect system, as it now reigns in the Protestant world. In proportion as the sense of what is included in the true idea of the Church is obscure and dim, the sect system will give no offence; while the activity of a sound Church feeling, on the other hand, will be sure to make it appear as a wholesale abomination. So in the case before us, it will be found that the Puritanic interest, which is in controversy with the German Reformed Church, has no proper apprehension whatever of the necessary and universal contradiction there is between Christianity and such a reign of sects as we are now cursed with in its name. It is, at most, felt only to be a pity, that the Christian world should not be able to agree better in regard to the true sense of the Bible. But, after all, no opposition is seen in it to the conception of Christianity itself; nay, this is held rather to make full room for it, by the relation in which it is supposed to stand to the private judgment and free will of men. Sects are taken to be the normal and regular order of the Church; so far, at least, that they form no serious reproach to Protestantism as it now stands, and need not be expected to pass away before

it can be said to have fulfilled and made good its own mission. With our German Reformed Church, on the other hand, all such thinking is coming more and more to an end. Our sense of what Christianity is as a *Church*, our insight into the true import of the mystery we profess to receive in the Creed, has been so quickened, as to make it impossible for us generally to acquiesce in the notion, that it can ever have its full and final force in a system of sects. The most we can do, is to trust that such a system, as it now prevails, is not fatally at war with the very existence of Christianity, but capable of being reconciled with the idea of its presence for the time being, and as an interimistic transition merely to a better state of things in the future. To say that it is not a defect, a sore disorder; in one word, a very real and ugly disease, but a sign rather of promising health, in the constitution of Protestantism, is out of the question. It does violence to Christianity; for this involves the mystery of the Church, as Christ's body; and it is not possible to sunder the idea of the Church from its own inherent attributes ascribed to it in the Creed. We loathe and detest the sect system, therefore, as in principle opposed to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and feel bound to testify against it, and to seek its overthrow by doing what we can to assert in an earnest way the necessary claims of Christianity regarded as a Church. For in no other way can it be overthrown. The sect *principle* must give way before any end can be put to sects; and this principle can be subdued only by the Church principle; the one is just the negation of the other. To have faith and satisfaction in Christianity as a religion of sects, is to have no sense of what it is as a Church; and to have faith in it as the Holy Catholic Church, is to have no heart for it as a scheme of everlasting schisms and sects.

So much for the general question of the Church. It is easy enough to see, that there is very real matter of controversy here between the German Reformed Church and her opponents. We have no wish to conceal it. The clearer it can be made, the better. Puritanism asks us to abjure the article of the Holy Catholic Church as it has been held in all past ages, and

to accept Christianity as a religion of sects, the product of private judgment and private will. Are we prepared to come to that? Shall we be frightened into it by any system of terrorism from without; by the cry, The religious newspapers are against you, and the Puritanically minded sects from Dan to Beersheba; by the senseless clamor of Romanism and Puseyism, kept up by those who have no power to help their own bad cause in any other way! Time will show.

SACRAMENTAL GRACE.

This difference of view with regard to the nature of the Church, draws along with it necessarily a difference of view also with regard to the *ministry* and the *sacraments*.

Where the Church is looked upon mainly in the light of a human corporation, the office of the holy ministry must, as a matter of course, undergo a corresponding degradation. No earnestness then is made with the idea of a Divine commission or an apostolical succession. The real rights and powers of the office are regarded as proceeding from the people; and it is supposed to be magnified, by being reduced as much as possible to one and the same level with simply secular trusts under any other form. The German Reformed Church is not prepared to acquiesce in this poor view. Her sense of the supernatural constitution of Christianity involves of itself the sense also of a more than earthly force in the ministry. But as this has not been made the subject of any particular controversy, it needs at present no farther notice.

The question of the sacraments has been more prominent. As seals of the grace which is comprehended in the Church, they must necessarily have a character answerable to it; and as they are for our thinking, so also will this be by inevitable connection. Let the Church cease to be a mystery for our apprehension, and the mystery of the sacraments will also be at an end; we shall have in them the natural appendages only of an economy that belongs to nature. So if it be assumed on the other hand, that the sacraments include no grace, set no supernatural reality in contact with the worshipper, it will be in vain to dream still of a Church that is the bearer of heaven-

ly life in the sense of the Creed. How should the Church be more in this way for us than its own seals? The ancient faith saw in the sacraments accordingly, what it saw in the mystery of godliness they were given to represent. They were not signs only of something absent, but seals of something present, the visible exhibition of invisible grace. Baptism was for the remission of sins, and is acknowledged plainly enough in the Creed itself, under this character, as part of the mystery of faith. The Lord's Supper was a real participation of the body and blood of Christ, made to be present mystically, by the power of the Holy Ghost, under the elements of bread and wine, for the nourishment of his people to everlasting life. The substance of this old sacramental doctrine passed unhurt, we may say, through the shock of the Reformation; for the rationalistic view attributed to Zwingli gave way before the sounder sentiment of Calvin; and the Reformed Church united thus with the Lutheran, in declaring the sacraments to be the vehicles of the grace they represent, and in asserting especially the distinctive mystery of the blessed eucharist, as we find it proclaimed for instance in the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. But with that falling away of veneration for the Creed, and faith in the article of the Church, which as we have just seen has come to prevail among much of our modern Protestantism, this old doctrine of the sacraments has gradually gone more and more out of use; so that many of our sects now find it hard to form so much as a notion of its meaning, and as soon as it is set before them are ready to scout it from their presence as pure superstition and nonsense. In the German Reformed Church, on the other hand, there has come to prevail for some time past, the feeling that there is a deplorable error at work here among these unsacramental sects, which it is of the highest account for the interests of religion to oppose and withstand; and there may be said to be among us, accordingly, both ministers and people, a growing disposition to think and speak honorably of the sacraments, to look upon them as mysteries, and to ascribe to them a mystical supernatural force, such as they were held to

carry along with them in the times of Primitive Christianity and in the age of the Reformation.

Here of course is a very real issue, a most tangible case of controversy. Let the true form of it, however, be well kept in mind. The German Reformed Church has not enacted any new rule or definition on the subject; has never endorsed formally any particular statements of her Professors in regard to it; has brought in no test whatever in the case to disturb the most latitudinarian conscience. She has merely refused to accept the Puritanic theory of the sacraments as her own, and to give judgment against every higher view as unevangelical and unsafe. It is not what she has done ecclesiastically in the matter, but what she has declined doing, that has given offence. For with all its boasted pretensions to liberality and toleration, this Puritanic habit of thought is sure to show itself the most intolerant in the world, wherever it is brought into collision with its own true opposite, the practical acknowledgment of the Holy Catholic Church. The idea of what is called sacramental grace, considered as a supernatural virtue or force objectively at hand in the Christian mysteries, is something therefore which it finds itself unable to endure in any form or shape. It hates the whole conception, and it is ready to stigmatize it from first to last, as Popery and Puseyism. Hence its sore dissatisfaction with the German Reformed Church. As represented by Berg and Company, it sought in the first place to carry out this proscriptive spirit in the bosom of the Church itself; and now, having been foiled and defeated in that endeavor, it seeks to carry the same point by agitation and noise from the outside. It is not enough that the Church says: "We leave the matter free. We pronounce no sentence in favor of the *"Principle of Protestantism"* or of the *"Mythical Presence;"* but neither will we give sentence against them; and still less are we prepared to succumb to the Puritan rationalistic doctrine of the sacraments, as the only and necessary type of Protestant orthodoxy. We see that this is both unhistorical and unscriptural, and that the case calls for a higher view, in which room may be offered for the exercise of

faith in the sense of the ancient Christian Creed. God forbid then, that we should tax our Professors with heresy, for trying to stem the tide of rationalism here, by re-asserting what was asserted by Luther and Calvin, as well as by all the Fathers of the Church a thousand years before. We bid them God-speed rather in their pious work. Still, as just said, we pass no ecclesiastical judgment for the present on any question or point. If any one among us choose to believe or preach Puritanism, in virtue of his foreign theological affinities, or for any other reason, we call him to no account; we put no bar in his way. Our wish is simply to leave the matter free." It is not enough for the opposition before us, we say, that the German Reformed Church should answer in this truly liberal and catholic way. Its demand is not for toleration, but for persecution. It can bear no Mordecai in the gate. "Cæsar aut nullus," all or nothing, is its watchword and motto. "There is no room here," it exclaims, "for indulgence or temporization. You must take the Puritan theory of the sacraments, and require all to subscribe to it; or else stand convicted of being unfriendly to Protestantism. To consider the sacraments mysteries at all, to allow to them as such any objective grace whatever, is unevangelical. For doing so, the Mercersburg Professors ought to be called to account and condemned; and because the German Reformed Church has not treated them in this way, but has shown sympathy rather with the general drift of their teaching and a disposition to protect them in the use of their earnest freedom, she herself stands fairly exposed to the charge of a Romanizing tendency. She is on the highway to Popery; her people are in danger of being delivered over, bound hand and foot without knowing it, to the arms of the Roman Catholic Church; and a bellowing crusade must be got up accordingly, among surrounding sects, for the purpose of bringing them to their senses."

Let it be noted also, that this intolerant agitation is led off by the "Lutheran Observer" and the "Christian Intelligencer," with open treachery on the part of both to their own denominational standards. The Augsburg Confession teaches

the mystery of the real presence in Luther's sense, and without it Lutheranism is turned into a horrible farce; the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism affirm the same mystery in Calvin's sense. As represented by the papers just named, however, the Lutheran and Low Dutch Churches are seen giving the authority of these symbolical books to the winds, and joining hands with the rankest Puritanism in a sort of insane outcry against the mystery of the sacraments in any and every view. All this too in the name of evangelical piety, and zeal for the faith once delivered to the saints! Strange piety truly, and orthodoxy of the very queerest sort.

Is it to be expected now that the German Reformed Church will suffer herself to be bullied out of her own historical position, and to become renegade to the faith of her fathers, by any onset of Puritanism carried forward under *such* auspices? We rather think not.

LITURGICAL FEELING.

There is a close connection between the sacramental feeling in religion and the *liturgical*; and the growth of this last in the German Reformed Church may be referred to also as another real matter of difference between her and those by whom she is opposed in this controversy, although it has not yet ever been made the subject of any particular animadversion or debate. A very marked progress has taken place in the mind of the Church on the question of liturgical worship, even within the last five years; and as this has been in an almost noiseless way, without discussion, it can be accounted for only on the ground that the Church feeling in general has been gaining strength among us and taking root more deeply in the heart of the people. For there is an inward connection undoubtedly between the sense of what is comprehended in the idea of the Church, and the use of a liturgy; just as there is an inward connection also between such sense of the Church and a veneration for church festivals; for which reason the Puritan habit of mind, which is constitutionally unchurchly and unsacramental, carries with it also a low opinion of liturgies and festival days, seeing in them only the relics and shreds

of what it holds to be Popish superstition. In full distinction from this, we have now a very active demand among us for a liturgy in the liturgical form, that shall not be the product simply of private reflection, but be made to embody in it the life and spirit of what the worship of Christ's Church has been in past ages, and in which congregations shall be brought to take part with their ministers in the public service of the sanctuary. The demand is not confined to any one section of the Church; but extends, as it would appear, to the whole body, the Western Synod here being of one mind entirely with the Synod of the East. And what is particularly noteworthy, even our domestic alarmists themselves seem to be carried along, to some extent, with the course of things in this direction, so as to fall in certain cases into strange contradiction with their own position. One who has been figuring most conspicuously among them of late, is a member of the committee which is now engaged in the preparation of our new liturgy, and professes to be cordially pleased, not merely with the general design, but with the plan also, which has been laid down for its execution, and with the execution itself, so far as this has already gone. And yet there is no movement among us probably that looks so decidedly in the very direction these alarmists affect to deprecate, or that is likely to reach farther, if it succeed, in fixing on the Church the character of a Romanizing tendency in the eyes of all Puritanically minded sects and denominations. Let but this liturgy be completed, and brought into general use, and there will be a full end at once of all right understanding between us and these unchurchly sects. It is a more serious matter in such view than any amount of mere theological discussion; for it looks to practice, in its most intimate relation with the heart and life of the Church. To be consistent then, those who have been trying to get up a "crisis" among us, on the score of our Church tendencies, ought by all means to take the bull by the horns just at this point; where there is something like real ecclesiastical action to lay hold of, an overt cause of complaint on which to try their reforming hand. Let them call for an arrest of this litur-

gical movement, as being of Jesuitical origin and most decidedly Romanizing purpose and aim ; and let them invoke the intervention of New England Puritanism, and its hybrid imitations in the Lutheran and Low Dutch Churches, to add weight to the remonstrance. There can be no question as to *their* feelings on the subject. They have no sympathy with worship under any such form, and can hardly be said to know even what a liturgy means. Its forms, however pregnant with the soul of devotion, can never be more to them at best than *augæ tolerabiles*, simply endurable trifles. In the end, no doubt, the introduction of a true Church service in this form into the German Reformed Church, if the present movement should ever come to that, will be, in their estimation, quite as offensive a mark of our unevangelical tendency, as anything they now find fault with in our theology or practice at other points.

Must the German Reformed Church then cry *Peccavi* in this case also, and put a stop to the liturgical movement which is going forward within her communion, in order that she may keep on good terms with this Puritanic spirit, and prove herself fit company for it as it reigns throughout the wide and mighty Babel of our sects ? Let the people answer.

HISTORY AND FALSE PROTESTANTISM.

The idea of the Church, as it is made an article of faith in the Apostles' Creed, involves of necessity again the conception of its perpetual continuance in the form of *history*. Such a real constitution of grace, springing from the resurrection and glorification of Christ, cannot fail. Where there is no sense, however, of the true nature of the Church, as a supernatural fact in the world, as with our sects generally, this necessity, as a matter of course, is not felt. For the sect consciousness universally, as such, Christianity is a doctrine simply or theory in men's minds, which they have it in their power at any time to draw for themselves from the Bible, and which needs, therefore, no other continuity of existence than what may be supposed to be comprehended in the preservation of this sacred volume from one age onward always to another. Hence the

familiar notion of a complete falling away of the visible historical body, known as the Church, from the institution it started with in the beginning; by which it is held to have become the seat and empire of Satan for more than a thousand years, leaving Christianity to take care of itself as it best could, all that dark and terrible time, among fanatical and heretical communities on the outside. The German Reformed Church now has expressed no judgment on the subject ecclesiastically; but she sees and feels unquestionably, with growing conviction, that Christianity regarded as a Church *must* be historical in some way, and that to deny it such character, is in fact to betray it into the hands of its enemies. Here then, of course, she stands in material disagreement with those religious bodies, which rest in the opposite view; and the difference is one, the practical bearings of which are soon found to extend very far. It involves the great question, What is the true principle of Protestantism? It conditions necessarily the universal construction of ecclesiastical history; the light in which the past is regarded, and as related to it, the signification which is felt to belong to the present. In this way, it includes at last the whole issue between Protestantism in its sound and proper form, and mere anti-popery fanaticism, making war upon the universal mystery of Christianity in its name.

Having no faith in the mystery of the Church as proclaimed in the Creed, and no sense thus of its continuously historical presence in the world, Puritanism finds it very easy to solve to its own satisfaction the problem of what is to be regarded as the right relation between Protestantism and the Christianity of earlier times. It starts with the supposition, as an axiom fixed and settled, that Protestantism is identical with the true sense of the Bible; sets this up then as the absolute measure of truth; brings all previous Christianity to it as a standard; accepts as good what may seem to agree with it; and without hesitation rejects all besides as false and wrong. In this way, because it was originally in the nature of the case a protest against Romanism, the relation between the two systems is made to be one of complete opposition. Protestant-

ism is conceived to be true simply as it is the contradiction of Romanism ; and this last is set down accordingly for pure falsehood, just because it is the object of such contradiction. The credit of the Reformation is not felt to require at all, that it should appear to flow legitimately from the life of what had been considered the Church before ; but rather, that it should have no connection with this life whatever. Protestantism must be held to turn Catholicism into a wholesale lie. What if the so called Church had existed before only under this form ? It shows simply that the so called Church was unworthy of the name, and represented in truth not the kingdom of Christ, but the cause of Anti-Christ. So far as the Church was concerned, in the character of an outward historical organization, Christianity must be taken to have proved a failure ; the gates of hell *had* prevailed against it for a time ; it was become the synagogue of Satan. True religion existed only in spite of it, in nooks and corners. And what if it be found that this state of things extended back of the Reformation for many centuries, away up through the Middle Ages, and it is not easy to say how much farther still ? It only shows then that the Church had been a synagogue of Satan all this time. To yield a thousand years here to the Devil, is no more difficult for the principle before us than it is to yield a hundred. But what if it appear, that the earliest ages of the Church, the fourth century, the third, the second, had a similar order of Christianity in many respects with that which prevailed in later times, and stubbornly refuse at least to come into any sort of general accord with Protestantism after this Puritan fashion and scheme ? Such a supposition may not be welcome to the theory in hand ; just the opposite of it will be pretended and taken for granted as long as it can be done ; but still here again, as before, the old conclusion offers itself always as a last resort. The Puritan scheme of Protestantism must be considered as at all events the absolute truth of Christianity, for it is derived directly from the Bible ; and *therefore*, if the Church of the second and third centuries *did* deviate from this in any material respect, the fault was plainly its own. It was the myste-

ry of iniquity already at work to obscure and destroy the mystery of godliness. From every such authority, we are told, it is our privilege and duty to appeal at once to the Bible. There we find Christianity in its most truly original and primitive form; and so long as we can be satisfied that we have this on our side, it is but of small account if the Church of all subsequent ages, from the second down to the sixteenth, do seem to be against us. Let the sixteenth century be true, we may say in this case, though every century besides be found a liar.

Now if there be any truth at all in Christianity, it is certain that this scheme of ecclesiastical history cannot stand, and that no defence of Protestantism can ever be firm and solid which rests on any such ground. It is against reason, against faith, against the Bible, and against facts; and the theological science of the age is fast bearing it away to its proper annihilation.

A vigorous effort has been made on the part of what is styled the Mercersburg theology, to vindicate the cause of Protestantism from the murderous hands of this unchurchly and unhistorical spirit, and to maintain, at the same time, the indefectibility of the Christian Church according to Christ's most plain and explicit promise, by insisting that the stream of Christianity lay through all previous ages, however turbid, in the Catholic Church, and that to be of any true authority and force, Protestantism must be regarded as strictly the continuation of it under a new and different form. Such a relation between the present and the past seems to involve necessarily the idea of what is called, in the broad sense, historical development, or the progressive unfolding of the original sense and substance of Christianity, supposed of course to be always the same, into new phases and forms of life. The premises of the case being what they are known to be in fact, namely, that the Church is a real constitution established by Christ in the world which can never fail, and that the Christianity of the first centuries was in many points materially different from that which is now known as Protestantism, a fact that no scholar pretends

to dispute, there would seem to be no other way certainly by which it is possible to assert rationally the credit of this last as a part of Christ's kingdom. Unless we can conceive of room in Christianity for some sort of legitimate growth and progress, it is vain to attempt the justification of Protestantism; for on the one hand it is not what this was immediately after the age of the Apostles, and on the other hand it must be joined with that first life of the Church notwithstanding by true historical derivation to be of any force.

With all this, however, the reigning anti-popery spirit has been greatly dissatisfied; just because any view of the sort requires necessarily a different notion of the Catholic Church, from that which this fanatical temper has come to regard as a part of the Bible and an essential element of evangelical religion. Protestantism being for it the sheer negation of Catholicism, it holds the last for an abomination wherever it may come in its way, hates it, and makes a pious merit of abusing and blaspheming everything that enters distinctively into its constitution. It has its special scheme of Biblical exegesis, accordingly, answerable to this view; in particular a few pet texts about Anti-Christ and the Man of Sin, which it applies directly to the Pope and the Roman Church, requiring all men then to bow to this *interpretation* as the authority of the Bible itself. And so it must have next, of course, its special scheme of Church History, also, based on the assumption of a total apostacy on the part of the Church, starting no one can say how soon after the time of Christ, involving a grand jubilee of Satan throughout the Middle Ages, and brought to an end partially by the Reformation of the sixteenth century; which same scheme of history again, in virtue especially of the exegetical theory, just noticed, is taken to be in like manner of Biblical authority in some way, and so a necessary part of all sound Protestant orthodoxy. No wonder that the Mercersburg way of thinking should prove offensive to such a theological habit as this. It was construed at once into an insidious assault on the foundations of Protestantism; as though these must necessarily give way, unless both exegesis and history were forced

to bend to the narrow hypothesis here proposed for their use—and this too, in the face of all the most solid learning of the age. So in the cry raised years ago by Berg and Helffenstein against Schaff's *Principle of Protestantism*; and so also on the part of the opposition since got up on the outside of the Church to the Mercersburg system in general. Sufficient reason is supposed to be found for its condemnation in the simple fact that it refuses to fall in with the common anti-popery way of interpreting the Bible and constructing Church History; and the Synod of the German Reformed Church is bound, for this reason alone, it is pretended, to call it to account and pass censure upon it as something dangerous and wrong. And because the Synod has not seen proper to do this, it is now openly charged with being itself under the power of a Romanizing tendency and unfriendly at heart to the interests of Protestantism.

For all in truth that the Synod has done in the case thus far, has been to refuse yielding itself to the views of this narrow-minded school, and to declare itself content that its Professors, in common with all the best theological science of the age, should construe History and the Bible in a different way. This was precisely the question presented and acted upon at the meeting in Lancaster, in the fall of 1851, when the vote was taken with regard to Dr. Schaff's call to Philadelphia, solemnly expressing the almost universal wish of the body that he should continue his services in the Theological Seminary; the same vote on which so much stress has been laid since, by the spies of the Dutch Church, then present as delegates, to bear themselves out in their subsequent hostile report. The Professor had given offence to a certain class of American Protestants, by refusing to echo their familiar slang about the beast, the whore of Babylon, the man of sin, &c., as being the very sense of the Bible itself applied to the Church of Rome; by adopting, in common with Neander and the universal learning of Germany, a theory of Church History that explodes their favorite hobby of a total satanic apostacy, reaching through more than a thousand years; and as a consequence of

all this, by entertaining a more respectful opinion of the Catholic Church both as it was before the Reformation and as it has been since, than they were at all prepared to endure or digest—inasmuch as it had become with them a point of fond and pleasant orthodoxy, that the Catholic Church was no Church whatever, but a “synagogue of Satan” only and the “masterpiece of the Devil.” For this offence, they wished to have him silenced. The question before the Synod then, was *not*, whether the theological and historical views of the Professor in detail were to be sanctioned or not; but, whether the German Reformed Church saw fit to allow him the freedom he claimed in his studies, and was satisfied with the general drift and plan of his teaching, or would insist rather on having him bound to the Procrustes’ bed prepared for him by his enemies; whether in calling him from Europe to teach Church History in particular, she meant that he should be at liberty to go with the science of the age, and to take facts as he might find them to be, or intended only that he should do so as far as the limits of this anti-popery tradition would permit. This was the question; and a very important one it was, as all may readily see. How the Synod answered it is generally known.

It came to this: “We will not identify the cause of Protestantism with this anti-popery exegesis, or this anti-popery scheme of ecclesiastical history. If any choose to hold the Pope for St. Paul’s Man of Sin, or for the Anti-Christ of St. John; if any fancy the notion of a Devil’s millenium in the name of Christianity and the Church, extending from the sixth century to the sixteenth; if any think it necessary to hate and curse Catholicism, as a system that is evil only without any mixture of good, in proof of their own evangelical piety; we intermeddle not with their freedom, but willingly leave them to their own taste.* On the other hand, however, they must not re-

* Of this tolerant disposition, full proof has been given all along; and it was put to very clear test certainly, when the Rev. Dr. Mesick, of Harrisburg, allowed himself to harrangue first the Western and then the Eastern Synod, as he is said to have done at their last meetings, in a regularly built anti-popery sermon, trying his best to make it out that the Pope was Antichrist, and that to believe this is to be considered a necessary part of the orthodoxy of the German Reformed Church. It was generally felt, that the sermon was

quire us to make their prejudices the law of orthodoxy in the German Reformed Church. We are not called upon to issue a Biblical Commentary or a text book of Church History under the *imprimatur* of the Synod, nor to endorse in detail the published views of our Professors; but we see no reason for requiring them to abandon *their* view of the Bible and of the past history of the Church, in favor of this anti-popery tradition. Nay, we wish them not to do so, but to adhere rather to their own general plan and method, as being in our estimation altogether better than any such narrow mechanical scheme. Should their teaching run counter to the Heidelberg Catechism, or to the Apostles' Creed, we are prepared of course to call them to account. But it will be time enough to do this, when the fact is charged and proved in some properly responsible way."

Such was the position taken by the Synod two years ago. It defined nothing ecclesiastically, and settled nothing, as to the positive force of any text in the Bible or any fact in Church History. It was simply a refusal to do this in favor of a particular theological interest; which, not content with being tolerated in its own exegetical and historical notions, was fanatically set on making them of obligation also, on pain of heresy, for the whole Protestant world. This, however, amounted in fact to a serious matter, over against the actual position of those religious bodies, which had already surrendered themselves, either in whole or in part, to the power of that other intolerant scheme; and it has much to do now, as is plain enough to be seen, with the crusade and would-be crisis, which

very much out of character and good taste; but who dreamed of taking the author of it to task for his freedom, or who felt that it showed any real bravery whatever, to exercise it in this bravado way? How very indulgent the Church has always shown itself towards Dr. Berg, not simply enduring his unhistorical radicalism as a private hobby, but allowing him to do all he could besides to inoculate others with the same virus, and even bearing in him for years a license which set at defiance the authority of the Church itself, and openly tended towards its dissolution—all this is something too fresh in memory still, to need any special mention in this place. The same general observation may be applied also to the case of the Rev. Jacob Helffenstein. The relation between these would-be martyrs and the Synod of the German Reformed Church, has been one throughout of insulting *persecution* on their part, and of most patient forbearance only on the part of the Church.

some among them have been trying to get up for our special benefit at the present time. The spirit which actuates the movement, whether in the Dutch Church or in the Pseudo-Lutheran, could be easily enough propitiated, if only our Synod would vote Roman Catholic baptism invalid, ring a few changes lustily on the familiar nick-names of Popery, take up the ribald song piped for it by such men as Brownlee and Berg, adopt the anti-popery key of the prophecies, fall in with the "grand apostasy" scheme of Church History, or stultify itself in any other way by turning Catholicism into a wholesale lie, for the purpose of making Protestantism, nay, modern Puritanism rather in its most unchurchly and unsacramental form, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, of all that real Christianity has ever been in the world. With this preliminary bond of fellowship, which might seem to be for many of our sects the only conception they have of the "communion of *saints*," it is wonderful indeed how latitudinarian they can afford to be with their liberality, when occasion may require, at other points. These are the main terms of their charity and favor. Are we ready to purchase the boon at any such price?

ARTICLES ON EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

Much umbrage has been taken especially with the historical articles of the "*Mercersburg Review*," which have been charged with countenancing directly the worst superstitions, as they are commonly considered, of the Church of Rome, and making concessions to it that must prove fatal to the cause of Protestantism altogether.

In these articles the ground is taken, that the Christianity of the first centuries, leaving out of question the age of the Apostles, was not of one form with modern Protestantism, but carried in it rather from the start the germs at least of the same system which was known afterwards as the Catholic, from the sixth century down to the sixteenth. The same general view we meet with in Isaac Taylor's work, entitled, "*Ancient Christianity*," the object of which is particularly to discredit the use made of the Nicene Period by the Tractarian party in

the Church of England, by showing that this period was itself fully involved in what are considered the worst errors of Romanism as established in later times. So much indeed is commonly admitted as regards the fourth and fifth centuries, by all Puritan controversialists, when their business is to fight Prelacy and Popery; however they may not hesitate, at times again, with strange inconsistency, to praise and quote the learned and pious fathers of the same period, as though they really supposed them to be somehow after all of one mind theologically with themselves. Little difficulty moreover has been made generally in the same quarter with the credit even of the third century, when it has appeared necessary to give it up for the sake of a favorite preconception. The age of Cyprian, we are then told, was already deep in the same system, which swamped the whole Christian world so completely in the next period. With this concession, Puritanism would fain be allowed to stop. But the case itself knows no such limit. By examining the documents of the second century, we find the system of the third again early at work in its controlling aims and principles at least, if not in all its details, away back to the days of Polycarp and Ignatius. This has been faithfully brought into view by the "*Mercersburg Review*," in the articles entitled *Early Christianity* and *Cyprian*. The object of the discussion was partly, the mere historical representation for its own sake, as having to do with facts of more than usual interest not generally well understood; and partly to show the necessity of adopting and openly professing some construction of Protestantism, that may be in real harmony with these facts. In what has consisted then the offence of the articles? It is not easy to say precisely; for it would appear to float between two occasions of dissatisfaction, which by no means agree well logically with one another. Sometimes a show is made of disputing the historical facts, as though the credit of Puritanism needed antiquity on its side, and must be wounded by any representation showing that this is not the case; and then again, almost it may be in the next breath, the displeasure is simply that the facts, let them be what they may, should be treated as

of any sort of account, in a case which this same Puritanism has already settled in favor of itself, by appealing from all other antiquity to the age of the Apostles as construed to its own modern taste out of the Holy Scriptures. Had the Review pandered to either of these presumptions, by hiding or twisting facts so as to make history what the case needs, or else by denouncing them heartily as palpable corruptions of Bible truth; or better still, perhaps, had it played sycophant to both presumptions at once, distorting in one direction and denouncing in another; all would have been well, and the investigation might have proceeded with as much freedom as it pleased. The offence lay in this, that facts were allowed to speak for themselves, without being presented at every point through the refracting and discolored medium of a theory created for the very purpose of placing them in an unfavorable light, and that a disposition was shown to treat them with respect rather than reproach in their own proper shape and form.

The whole case is plain enough. The Christianity of the second, third, and fourth centuries, we say, was progressively of the same general order, throughout the entire Christian world, and in this character it differed altogether from modern Protestantism, and led fairly and directly towards the Roman Catholic system of the Middle Ages. In proof of this simply historical assertion, we point to facts. It is purely a question of history in the first place, to be either granted or denied as the truth of facts may seem to require. Is the general proposition true as a historical fact, or is it not? If not, let this be shown by proper evidence. But if it be true, what then? Must it be ignored or overlooked? No honest Protestant certainly will say that. We are bound to look it firmly in the face; and when the question is then asked, *How is this fact to be construed over against the claims of Protestantism?* It should be felt to be one that is entitled to some open and manly answer. There are now but two general ways, in which to dispose of the matter consistently with these claims. We may treat the Church of the first ages, after the time of the Apos-

tles, as a wholesale falsification of Christianity in its proper Apostolical form, and so make the truth of Protestantism to consist in its being a new edition altogether of what was then so short-lived in the beginning; or we may allow a true continuation of the primitive life of Christianity in the early Church, according to the article in the Creed, and make Protestantism then to agree with it in some way of historical derivation, answerable to the law of growth in the natural world, by which all differences shall be resolved into outward accident and form merely, whilst the inward substance is taken to be always the same. One or the other of these methods we must adopt for the solution of the question in hand, or else fall into down right obscurantism of the most pitiful sort. The first method, however, is only another name for infidelity, denying as it does practically, the existence of the Church and the authority of the Creed. The case then shuts the cause of Protestantism up to the other view, as the only one by which its pretensions can be consistently maintained without treason to Christianity. This is the general conclusion of our argument, in the articles of the "Mercersburg Review" on the Early Church. The argument itself proposes no particular theory or scheme, for the construction of such a historical genesis as the case is shown to demand. It merely urges the necessity of some scheme of the sort, if Protestantism is to be upheld at all. That, however, is at once much. It implies, in the first place, a true succession of Christianity in the Catholic Church, in spite of all corruptions, not only from the first century to the sixth, but from the sixth century also to the sixteenth. This makes the Church an object of respect through all ages. And in the second place, it requires, that Protestantism shall not be taken to be such a rupture with the Catholic Church, as excludes the idea of a strictly historical continuity of being between what Christianity is now in the one form and what it was before in the other. When it comes to such wholesale negation and contradiction, the true idea of Protestantism is gone, and we have only unhistorical radicalism in its place. Protestantism *must* be historical, to be true. To say that it is not

the continuation of the previous life of the Church, of one substance though not of one form with what this was in all past ages, is at once to pronounce it antichristian and false.

But in any case, what has the orthodoxy of the German Reformed Church, as such, to do with these articles of the "Mergersburg Review?" The Synod has never made itself responsible in any way for all that might appear in this publication; and has never been called upon, so far as we know, to express any opinion upon the particular historical discussions which are here in question.* Most probably this could not be done with any sort of unanimity. All that has had place thus far, is, that the discussion has been allowed to take its free course. This, in the circumstances, is indeed much; more, it seems, than many noisy advocates of free inquiry and free speech consider right; more a great deal, no doubt, than suits the humor of many of our affectedly liberal and independent sects; more in particular by far than could be made to square at all with the genius of the Reformed Dutch Church. But the German Reformed Church has now, and always has had, a very different genius.

CONCLUSION.

Altogether then as it appears, the controversy between the German Reformed Church and her Puritanic opponents involves very real issues of the highest significance and moment, which show it to be anything but an empty battle of words. Underneath all the sophistical pretences that are put forward

* Who thinks of holding the Presbyterian Church responsible, for all the views that appear in the Princeton "Repertory?" A succession of articles has been given to the world there lately on the Church Question, which, notwithstanding the most respectable paternity to which they are ascribed, we should be sorry indeed to regard as a fair exposition of the faith of Presbyterianism, or of its want of faith rather, on this important subject. We are glad to see too, that from within the denomination itself a disposition is shown to demur and protest against the doctrine of the articles, as being in truth subversive of the idea of the Church altogether. But no one feels it necessary, we presume, that the General Assembly should pass judgment in form on the Princeton publication, in order to "define its own position;" and the Dutch Church in particular would hardly think of breaking fellowship with that body for not doing so—even if the predilections of Young Amsterdam were not but too well satisfied, as they probably are, by the exceedingly low ground the "Repertory" has seen proper to take.

to conceal or caricature the true points at stake, lies the felt presence and force of the most interestingly solemn question that is before the Christian world at the present time. It is emphatically the question of questions for the whole cause of Protestantism; that which rests at the foundation, we may say, of its universal controversy with the Roman Catholic Church, and includes thus the validity of the very title or charter by which it claims the right of existing and being known as a part of true Christianity in the world. Is Protestantism built upon the only true sense of the Bible as we find this primarily settled in the Apostles' Creed, and in the faith of the universal Primitive Church? Can it assert in its own favor steadily the attributes of the Christian Church, as described in the Creed, one, holy, catholic, and historical, by showing in its constitution a continual want and endeavor at least after their full actualization? The Catholic Church of course maintains the negative, and sees in it the sure prognostic of dissolution for the whole interest. Our reigning sect system is disposed for the most part to acquiesce in the same denial, seeing in it, however, what it considers the glory of Protestantism and the best pledge of its prosperity in time to come. The idea of the Holy Catholic Church, we are told by it, is a mere superstitious "figment," having no necessary relation whatever to true Christianity; the notion of an apostolical ministry and of sacramental grace is absolutely unevangelical; we care for no history, and we want no unity; any sect, starting up anywhere and at any time, with the Bible in its hand, may have at once all the powers and prerogatives of Christ's kingdom, to a greater extent than they were ever possessed by the so-called Catholic Church of the Middle Ages. Should this extreme Puritanical view succeed, as it threatens to do, in making itself the only true sense of Protestantism, the cause will be changed into another thing altogether from what it pretended to be in the beginning; it will be clearly the negation of what has been considered Christianity in all past ages; and it is easy enough to see, how in these circumstances it must run itself out finally into sheer infidelity, justifying in

full the worst presages of the Roman Catholic Church. The grand question of the present time is then : Shall this Puritanic theory of Protestantism be allowed to prevail, and the scheme on which it pretended to start in the sixteenth century, be given up as one shown now by the course of events, to be hopeless and false ? Who will say that this is not a great and terribly solemn question ? It forms in truth the *Thermopylæ* of the whole Catholic controversy. This surrendered, all is lost. And now right in the midst of the critical pass, and at this time pre-eminent among its defenders, appears the small band of our German Reformed Church heroically contending for the original principles and maxims of the Reformation. She does not pretend to settle positively the form in which the claims of the Church question are to be set in harmony with the cause of Protestantism ; but she feels the claims themselves to be real, and cannot consent to have the Gordian knot of their adjustment hewn asunder by the rationalistic axe of a scepticism, which seeks to destroy both Church and Creed together with one and the same blow. She is not prepared yet to yield the point to Romanism, as so many sects around her seem ready to do, that Protestantism is constitutionally unchurchly ; that it runs necessarily into Puritanism ; that it *must* sooner or later break with the Creed, turn the sacraments into mere signs, resolve the idea of the Church into a figment or phantom, and renounce all part and lot in its past history. Very real, we say, in such view, is the matter of difference between her and the opposition which has arrayed itself against her in the present crusade ; and most important it is, not only for her own sake but for the interest also of Protestantism in general, that she should continue steadfast and immoveable in her position, "nothing terrified by her adversaries," and faithful always to her trust. Should she fail to do so, by giving way to the anti-popery tide, it would be indeed a sad calamity for Protestantism ; for it would amount to the most humiliating practical confession, that this is in its essential nature at war with all that is comprised in the idea of the Church as it is made an article of faith by the ancient Creeds,

and that no effectual stand can be made within its bosom against the desolating flood of Puritanism under its most unchurchly form. When the Catholic controversy shall have come to this all round, it will be in truth fairly at an end. Protestantism, without faith in the sacraments, and in no historical union with the mystery of the Church, will soon be found another name only for universal unbelief.

The general position of the German Reformed Church, then, in the midst of the downward tendencies that surround her on all sides, speaks clearly enough for itself; and the significance of it is amply attested by the power of provocation it carries in it for the unchurchly and rationalistic spirit generally of the times. To stigmatize it as *Romanizing* means nothing. It is so, of course, for all who have no faith in the Creed, and for whom its article of the Church is only an empty figment. But it leads necessarily over to Romanism, we are told, and offers no ground to stand upon short of this system. The more pity if it be so, we reply, for Protestantism. For only see, to what the assumption amounts. It is not simply, that the views of her Professors on the Creed, the Church, the Sacraments, the relation of Protestantism historically to Catholicism, offer no secure standing-place for Protestant faith; but that the German Reformed Church, by merely suffering such views and owning the force of the principles on which they rest, though without pledging herself formally to them in any way, has virtually placed herself on like untenable ground. No position is safe for Protestantism, according to this view, which so much as tolerates any disposition or endeavor to set it in harmony with the claims of the Creed and of Christian antiquity, or to clothe it with a truly historical character in its relations to the Catholic Church. Alas, we say again, for the whole interest, if this be in truth the predicament in which it stands. Then the only tenable ground for it to occupy must be, not even the bald, bleak profession of the unsacramental Baptists, but the unbelieving platform of Unitarianism itself. As a body, certainly, the German Reformed Church has no difficulty whatever in maintaining her full Protestant consciousness; nor is she

likely to be smuggled soon into Popery, as some hypocritically affect to fear, without her own knowledge and consent.

It is said, however, that the general system here in consideration is likely to carry some actually over to the Catholic Church; and any such result, it is pretended, must convict it of being essentially at variance with Protestant principles. But this does not follow necessarily by any means. Suppose a conversion of such sort. It would be of no force as regards the system, unless it were found to flow with necessary logic from its premises. It is certain, too, that if any one should become a Catholic in this way, it would have to be in the end by giving up, not merely the general position of the German Reformed Church, but the whole so-called Mercersburg theology also, as being in reality Protestant, only and not Catholic. The conversion would hinge on the abandonment of this standpoint, not as one less secure, but as one felt to be more secure and promising a great deal, than any other which Protestantism is able to offer. The possibility of such a conversion may be admitted, without any difficulty; and in this respect it may be allowed also, that the general position now in view is more exposed to it than any less churchly and less historical scheme of thinking; just because it forms in truth the last and strongest resort of all rational trust in Protestantism, so that to despair of this is necessarily to despair of the universal interest at the same time. No thoughtful and earnestly serious mind, having become awakened to the issues which are here at stake, and having them fully in view, can think of taking refuge from their claims in any order of thought which involves and requires a full rupture with the Creed and all that the mystery of Christianity has been taken to be in past ages. In such circumstances, to lose confidence in the historical and churchly character of Protestantism, to feel that it is hopelessly at war with the Christian life of previous ages, to be forced to the conclusion that no construction can show it to be derived from this in the way of organic and legitimate progress, must be indeed as a matter of course to bow to the claims of the Catholic Church. The alternative would be felt as being either

that or infidelity. But supposing such a case, what then? How could it affect at all the credit of the general position itself which might thus be given up in despair, any farther than it would be of such force against the cause of Protestantism as a whole. To all whose confidence in this remained unshaken, there could be no reason why it should not be defended and maintained from the churchly and historical position still, as well as from any other. Nay, it would continue just as certain as before, that if it is to be upheld at all, it can be on this ground only, and on no other; as here alone is to be found any show of real and sure *terra firma* for Protestant faith, as distinguished from Protestant unbelief. Whatever may come of this, there is no better or more available position certainly on which to fall back in its rear. On no other hypothesis, is it possible for an intelligent Protestantism, which still clings to the mysteries of the Christian faith as this stood in the beginning, to find any true rest for the sole of its foot. To say that the cause cannot stand here, is simply to say that it cannot stand anywhere; and to admit in fact, if not in so many words, that to keep out of the Catholic Church we must cast ourselves headlong into the cold embrace of infidelity. God forbid, that *we* should ever be willing to do that.

Nor need it be feared on the part of the German Reformed Church, that she will not be able to maintain herself in the general position she has taken, over against the noise and tumult of her enemies. If only she continue true to herself, calm, firm, united and resolute, in the prosecution of her own quiet course, as to a truly wonderful extent has been the case thus far, she has nothing to fear. The only hope of this late Dutch crusade has been, that its agitation might lead to serious strife and division in the Church itself. Having failed in that bad purpose, its impotency serves now but to show the inward force and power of the cause which it has been attempted to overthrow in such insidious style. It is much indeed, simply to have met this heavy onset from abroad without harm. The Church by means of it, knows herself better, and is stronger than before. It has become more plain than ever that she

feels and understands the true nature of her position, and is not to be forced out of it by foreign interference in any form. It may as well be understood all round ; the German Reformed Church is neither Puritan, nor American Lutheran, nor American Dutch, and has no mind to become anything of the sort at present, but much mind rather to follow what she takes to be the truth in a different and more "excellent way." Her bent as a denomination, in this respect, is fixed. Revolution for her now here, would be as the collapse of death. The law of her prosperity within, and her whole significance without, are alike staked upon the constancy with which she may adhere to her own course. In this lies her only real strength ; shorn of which, she must soon be known as one of the poorest and weakest among sects.

J. W. N.

Mercersburg, Pa.

ART. IV.—THE TRUE RELATION OF CHEMISTRY TO PHYSIOLOGY.

THE progress of science, in modern times, has been such as to astonish every one viewing it from a stand-point outside of itself, while those actively engaged in effecting this progressive movement, seem hardly aware of the great discoveries which attend their daily labors. If an argument were needed to prove the progressive character of the human mind,—an idea which indeed is implanted in that mind by the Creator and dimly foreshadowed in the law which provides for the development of all organic creation from the germ to full maturity,—if such an argument be needed, the wonderful progress of science would go far to supply the deficiency. The law of progress applies to all creation : with the animal it perishes with the death of the individual ; with man it does not die, in two senses,—in the one, it continues in another world, (so far as the immortal part is concerned) though, with more rapidity,

hastening on to the attainment of greater and still greater good, or greater and still greater ill;—in the other, it lives on earth in the works he leaves behind him, the character of which depends greatly on the age in which he has lived and whose wants have called forth the relative faculties of mind necessary to minister effectually to them.

The wants of any particular age thus give direction to the mental labors of its great men, and as these are theoretical or practical, warlike or pacific, we find that the great works peculiar to the age are philosophical or practical, abounding in refinements of the art of war, or in the more harmonious and peaceful evidences of philanthropy. With all this, however, it seems that, in the course of humanity on earth, there has been predominant since its very beginning an onward tendency towards a fuller development of its faculties and the productions of those fruits of mind, which afford perennial evidence of the greatness of its Creator. This onward tendency may seem at times to be retarded in various ways, and retrogression rather than progression to take place. During such intervals, strength is gained, which pushes on then with a vigor much increased by the delay. The progress has been not unaptly compared to that of a spiral where the curve, it is true, seems to return to the point from whence it started, but in fact is all the while advancing onward from that point.

Now in the spiral-progressive development of the human mind, different divisions of human knowledge, at different periods of time, seem almost exclusively to claim the attention of the race. This predominance does not take place blindly, but in obedience also to regular laws, which require that certain points should be fully elucidated before we are prepared for the attentive and serious consideration of others. There is thus a logical order, which marks the course of human investigation, not only in each particular individual, but in mankind as a whole,—an order, which is carried out most beautifully in the history of the attainment of knowledge, and which, when violated, results in the production of baseless theories and crude opinions, to be overturned by the more thorough inves-

tigations of after days. We see a practical exemplification of this, in the results attained by the Alchemy of the Middle Ages, when the attention of a few was turned to the cultivation of science, before the necessary preparation had been made for its proper study. But it must also be remarked that even a violation of such a logical order, though not resulting in the formation of *theories* likely to stand, yet it affords much that may be used when the proper time arrives for the investigation of these theories. Thus the results of these alchemical investigations have not all stood the stern tests of time, but many truths have been derived from them, and when incorporated with the knowledge of after times, they have greatly aided in the formation of more perfect theories.

The course of preparation, prior to the nineteenth century, prepared the way for the more thorough investigation of the arcana of science; and with the way thus laid open for this purpose, the student has attained a knowledge altogether peculiar to his own day, and made the century pre-eminent for the investigation of nature and her laws. That such pre-eminence has resulted *from* a utilitarian tendency of the race can hardly be said with justice, since the two are rather coincident than occupying the relation of cause and effect. We should rather say, in the development of human knowledge it had become necessary that such investigations should take place, since the domain of pure thought, cultivated for centuries, and the polemics of medieval theology and philosophy studied fully in their ever-varying aspect,—had enlarged man's views of himself and the world around him, and compelled him, after he had followed the mental and spiritual interpretation of the oracular *Πνομή σεαυτον*, to turn attention to its physical meaning,—to study the mysteries of his own organism and that of other beings likewise endowed with life,—the world in which he lived and the laws which govern it.

Such studies were, at first, mere gropings in the dark without one glimmer of light to direct his path. As time progressed, facts, isolated it is true, but nevertheless facts, were apprehended and a position assigned them in the store-house of

memory, until at length the lamp of truth lighting up his path, he found these facts evidences of the existence of laws, and the harmonious proportions of system were given to the results of his labors. Physiology, and physical science, with its various subdivisions, gradually acquired the dignity of sciences. They have since been enriched by the labors of thousands toiling with a sincere desire to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge.

These two divisions of knowledge are of the greatest utility to each other,—so great indeed as effectually to prevent a knowledge of the one, where there is entire ignorance of the other. They are mutually explanatory. The physical sciences require a knowledge of physiology to aid to any conclusion as to the forms, matter is found to possess in organic structure, and the Physiologist labors in vain if he is not possessed of a certain amount of knowledge which the physical sciences can give him.

In every living being, must be recognized the consummate wisdom of the Creator, who has seen fit to ordain a certain harmonious adaptation of means to ends; and since this adaptation presents itself with unerring accuracy in each species, we have styled it law,—that is an expression of His will with regard to that particular species. In the words of an English physiologist :* “ These laws are framed by man as expressions or descriptions of the slight glimpses he possesses of the *plan* according to which the Creator sees fit to operate in the natural world. Thus understood, the use of the term law can be, in no way, supposed to imply, that the Deity stands in any other relation to the phenomena of the universe than as their direct and constantly operating cause.”

In man, both mentally and physically, there seems to be a concentration of all the wonders of creation, which the ancient philosopher, though far too ignorant to understand, considered of so much importance that he called him a *Microcosm* moving in the *Macrocosm*,—a little world, embodying all the wonders and mysteries of the great world around him. With this little world, in its physical relations, the science of physiology is

* Carpenter's *Introduc. to Hum. Phys.*

concerned. In the explanation of the mysterious functions of life, it brings to its aid the knowledge of sciences that are purely physical in their character, receiving from none more assistance in casting light on these functions than from the science of chemistry. Since, however, the exact relation of chemistry is too often misunderstood, it is proposed as a subject not only interesting in its general nature, but as involving consequences of importance to our religious belief, to devote a few pages to the consideration of the *true relation which Chemistry holds to Physiology.*

Physiology, treating of the phenomena peculiar to life, in its widest sense, comprehends a description of the organs through which these phenomena are manifested,—that is, includes anatomy. Since these phenomena take place in accordance with certain laws, which are equally recognized in mechanics and in living beings, it has been the custom to attempt an explanation of all vital operations by pure mechanical rules. Acting on such premises man has been compared to a machine ; and not only have poets labored to depict the excellencies of this machine, the harmonious adaptation of all its parts, and the transcendent accuracy with which its operations are carried on,—but the scientific man, forgetting all that is mysterious and wonderful in the structure of the human frame, and hence, necessarily, all that is peculiar to it as the habitation of the soul—the direct impress of its Creator,—has too often studied it as a mere machine, with a vital principle that he has improperly considered as of no more account than the main spring of a watch, or the steam generator of an engine. Such a view, however, of his wonderful habitation, so mysteriously connected with the animating principle which controls it for awhile and leaves it to decay and become loathsome to its brethren,—at one moment striving against all the destructive tendencies of nature, and at another yielding to them, and suffering all its parts to mingle with the common earth,—such a view, we say, is too low, paltry and insignificant for any but superficial observers of nature to adopt.

When chemistry began to shed some light on certain of the

operations, which take place within the recesses of the body,—the figure changed, and though not much used in poetry under its new form, (since poetry eschews with hearty good-will all reference to mortars and retorts, alembics, beaker glasses, and the other pharaphernalia of the chemist's laboratory,) yet, as science had aided the physiologist to explain some of the workings of the body, with enthusiastic acknowledgments, he was ready to adopt chemistry as the interpreter of all its mysteries, and it is now compared to a laboratory. The figure was more rational than the preceding one, since certain actions of life can be *imitated* out of the body if organic matter be used for the purpose, and we can thereby bring explanation to clear up mystery, and to serve as a light to guide us in after examination. But nothing is surer than that these chemical operations in the system, are continually held in check by a vital force. Indeed they may almost be considered as the destructive agencies of life, which are forever warring against its integrity, rather than the preservative agencies which build up and bind together its various parts. Again, vital actions, even when most chemical, vary either in kind or degree, from those exhibited in the laboratory, as well as in the time required for their performance. As an illustration of this, may be quoted, "The shortness of the time in which the aliment becomes acid in depraved digestion,—a series of changes being produced in a few hours, which would require in the laboratory as many weeks," and in cases of disease, "where the functions of the stomach are nearly suspended, whatever is introduced into it remains unchanged and even the nutritious mucilages are not digested."*

Fully aware of the folly of such comparisons, and not only folly, but the danger, since they induced men to build up theories on mere visionary notions, which theories impeded the progress of rational medicine by fencing it in with the whims and caprices of their authors, William Hunter is said to have spoken to his class, on one occasion, as follows: "Gentlemen, some physiologists will have it that the stomach is a mill, others that it is a fermenting vat, others again, that it is a stew-

* Paris' Pharmacologia, 56.

pan,—but in my view of the matter, it is neither a mill, a fermenting vat, nor a stew-pan, but a *stomach*, Gentlemen, a *STOMACH*.”

The danger, however, does not rest in the probability that the treatment of disease may be wrong, which depends on the physician, considering the body as a mere machine or a laboratory ; it goes still further, and tends to sap the foundations of our belief in the doctrines of revealed religion. He who is accustomed to overlook the origin of life and merely to view it as an aggregate of chemical phenomena, finds it not difficult to advance the notion, that life *itself* may be included under the same head, and that the vital principle is only another and more refined form of electricity, and he will not hesitate long before he considers *this* the primal creative force. Though early education may keep him from going to this extreme, yet, his one-sided examination of the phenomena of life, will lead him far in that direction. Hence, arise the daring disciples of Mesmer, and a host of other quasi-investigators, into the mysteries of life, who do not hesitate to materialize thought, and to boast a mastery over the minds of their fellows, by virtue of an electric influence which they *project* from themselves. Hence, also, arise the semi-scientific experiments of Reichenbach on Odyle, and a thousand others much less entitled, on score of mind, to respect than this veteran of science.

All this springs from a blind attachment to the belief, that since chemistry can aid us in the explanation of many actions of the body, therefore we must be indebted to her for a full explanation of life,—it springs from a wrong apprehension of the true relation which chemistry bears to physiology,—a misconception of the true use of the former in explaining the latter.

Chemistry, in its widest range, can only give man a knowledge of the ultimate constituents of matter, the combinations of which they are susceptible, the laws governing such combinations, and the forces thereby developed. But matter presents itself in two forms,—one called unorganized, which is gifted with certain general properties, among which is promi-

nent what has been called *vis inertię*—a kind of indifference as to what state or condition it may occupy,—the other called organized, which presents a marked contrast to the first, from its being produced in living beings, having its condition under the control of a vital force. The first can be separated into smaller portions,—be removed from its physical connections, while the second being produced in living beings, when separated from them speedily yields to the destructive processes of nature. The first is solely governed by the laws of natural philosophy and chemistry; the second only yields to them as modified by what is called the *vital* force, which force constitutes the mystery of physiology.

The vital force, from the very inception of life—the *punctum saliens* of the organized being—acts in a different manner from any mere mechanical or chemical force, achieves results altogether unattainable by these latter, and is not to be explained by any analogies which may seem to exist between them and it. We can, it is true, reduce the whole mystery of animal life down to that of the existence of a single cell, which shall be absolutely microscopic in its character, and yet we will be foiled if we attempt to explain the production of this starting point of the organism by principles of either mechanics or chemistry. Its very simplicity is still too far above the grasp of mere physical science.

With bodies then made up, so to speak, of an aggregation of such cells, we must find it impossible to explain even this aggregation. Thus we find that there is a something connected with an *organism*, even from its origin, which is far beyond human ken. The very word itself—its derivation primarily from the Greek *εργον*—indicates its application to something which has a work or task assigned it by nature; and we find that an organism differs from a machine in being animated with one life, and requiring all its parts for its own perfection as well as for the conservation of that power in them, which prevents their subjection to the action of decay,—parts removed from the whole become dead, that is they yield to the laws which control inorganic matter; and parts removed from a

machine are not changed at all in their structure nor in their tendency to decay ; an organism has the power of repairing the losses of structure, which its own duties necessarily produce, and it only closes its activity when accident may check its operations, or the vital force may have accomplished the mysterious duties for which it was created ; the machine gradually wears out, and in its greatest perfection, requires constant repair *ab extra*. There can, necessarily, be no comparison here. Are we more successful in our comparison, if we avail ourselves of all the discoveries of modern chemistry to illustrate the nature of that vital force which builds up and gives character to an organism, and then compare it to chemical action ? Are the actions of organs to be explained by the doctrines of chemical affinity, or are the organic constituents governed by any such affinity ? Let us examine an example. Among the organic constituents are found two, albumen and fibrine. On examination by the chemist, it is found that they are composed of the same elementary bodies, not widely differing from each other. Both contain carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, phosphorus and sulphur. The chemical difference does not give an insight into the different parts they play in the system. But the former acts as the material, out of which nearly all the tissues are formed, and shows nothing more than an aggregation of granules when examined microscopically. It is converted into fibrine by the vital force, and *then* we find indications of organization. How these are produced, the science of chemistry must ever fail to explain. And if we wish to make them obedient to the laws of chemical affinity, it is necessary first to remove them from the control of the vital force,—we must destroy the life which is in them and then we can subject them to the action of chemical agents. These two compound bodies, along with others, form organs having the same chemical constitution, though with widely different properties. The language of chemistry fails to give expression to the real uses of these two substances, since it is unvarying, while they are constantly changing in their properties.

This is but one instance. Instances might be multiplied to

as many as there are proximate elements in the organism. They would all show as clearly as this one, that the relation chemistry bears to physiology is not that of an interpreter of the causes which originate life and the forces by which the integrity of its processes are carried on, nor of the relation of the structure of parts to the uses for which they are applied. To all, then, we can only assign the explanation that they are caused by the vital force, which is bound in the mystery that attends the origin of all matter,—a mystery not to be fathomed by finite mind.

This vital force pervades the whole range of organic life,—is seen in the monad which passes its brief existence in the sun beam,—in the vegetable, as it develops, from the small seed, bark and wood, trunk and branches, until, as the grand old oak, it extends those branches, covered with myriads of leaves, wide and far, affording protection to man and beast,—in the zoophyte, frail occupant of the seeming transition line from vegetable to animal, with all its animal endowments bound down to a mere vegetating life,—in the beast that with wonderful instinct, seeks out the food necessary for its support, and boldly defends all attacks made against its own life,—and in man, with his far-reaching intellect, enabling him to subdue all the other productions of nature, and convert them into ministers to his wants, comforts and luxuries, whose consummately-formed frame exhibits the perfection of creation, and whose mind and soul mirror forth, dimly though it be, the image of his Creator. In all this range, the vital force manifests its presence,—indescribable in words, but known and felt by us all as a something that supports and preserves the whole from the destruction that is ever awaiting all matter, and from elements warring against it and one another. Like the spirit in Faust, “It moves up and down in the flood of life, in the storm of action it weaves hither and thither. Birth and death—an endless sea—a changing woof—a glowing life,—thus it works at the roaring loom of time and produces the living garments of the Deity.”

Though this vital force gives character to organic matter,

yet physiology has nothing to do with its essential nature or origin. The duties of this science are connected only with its manifestations and the laws regulating them. It can effect nothing, as we have seen, either by abstract chemical disquisitions on the nature of the vital force, nor by endeavors to bring it down to the simplicity of a mere physical agency; and it can also effect nothing by accumulating facts on facts, though they be mountain high, if such accumulation only results in the formation of hypotheses, manufactured from the vague, general resemblances which these facts may bear to each other. Such induction is at best, only calculated to deceive the lover of science in his wanderings through the realm of nature,—just as the *ignis fatuus* leads the benighted traveler over bog and marsh, until he is inextricably involved, while he is laboring under the delusive hope that he is nearing a place of security and protection. Facts have an importance in scientific investigations, but they aid in the establishment of hypotheses only when the means by which they were obtained are of a strictly philosophical character,—that is when they were obtained under the guidance of a sound logic, which does no violence, in the formation of an hypothesis to the materials from which it is formed, and hence produces such hypotheses as are altogether within the bounds of scientific probability.

It is well known that, in that positive form of reasoning—the logical syllogism—though the premises may be in themselves strictly correct—that is, *facts*—yet the conclusion derived from them may be false, on account of there being no proper logical connection between these facts. In like manner will all chemico-physiological conclusions be false, if there is no true logical relation between the facts from which they are deduced.

The aid chemistry brings to physiology consists in *measurably explaining the manifestations of the vital force and its operations in the human system*, not in explaining the nature and origin of this force. This is done by her researches, into the composition and metamorphoses of tissues, into the metamorphoses the ingesta undergo by virtue of certain chemical

actions, into the products of secretion, and into the chemical changes which are brought about in a pathological state of the system. To support this statement, it will be necessary to advert briefly to these points.

The composition of tissues is connected as indissolubly with the functions they are expected to perform as their form. The three, *composition*, *form* and *function*, are so connected, that it is probable, as our knowledge of the human physiology increases, we may be able with any two of these factors to give the third. Form belongs to anatomy, function to physiology, composition to chemistry.

Of the elementary bodies, the sixty-three which have thus far resisted all efforts to be reduced to simpler forms, only eighteen enter into the structure of the human frame. Of these carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, with a small amount of sulphur and phosphorus principally make up the structure. So long as the composition of tissues is of the normal chemical character, we have the organs which they form performing their duties in a normal way. Hence the necessity of knowing when this composition is changed, in order to judge of the effects of an abnormal composition, and to ward them off, if possible.

Whenever we recognize an organic constituent through its chemical properties in different parts of the system, whether composing tissues or fluids, we are enabled to reason as to the necessities which require its presence. In all such reasoning, we learn to recognize a positive necessity for the presence or absence of any organic constituent, and as these form the material from which the living body is formed or developed, we can trace the construction of tissues as connected with their uses, and also, to a certain extent, the nature of the metamorphoses they are subject to. The latter is a necessary subject for study, growing out of an attention to the nature of the composition of tissues. These must all, however, be studied, in full view of the fact that organic matter cannot be produced in the laboratory, and that a mysterious vital force accompanies,—guides all these operations. Reasoning, to be correct,

must be chemico-physiological, as well as physiologico-chemical,—must require mere elemental constitution to understand *how* certain effects are produced, and have physiological knowledge of the existence of a vital force to understand *why* such effects occur at all. When “we have examined the origin and decomposition of a substance, we have obtained the firmest base for the explanation of the vital-chemical processes. After having familiarized ourselves with the organic substrata of the animal body, we are still only on the threshold of the study of the composition and functions of the animal juices and tissues.”* But with a firm basis for the superstructure we propose erecting, it must be seen that the composition of tissues is then readily studied and their functions made intelligible.

As the system is constantly undergoing a waste of its particles, there must, necessarily, be some method of replacing them and of keeping up the integrity of the whole frame. Besides this necessity, there is another,—in the growing state it is absolutely necessary that the particles added shall exceed those removed. This is done by means of the *ingesta*, which are required to undergo certain metamorphoses before they are elaborated into the particular substances required for the nutrition and support of the body. These are of two kinds; one, which is more especially adapted to the construction and maintenance of organs, forming the plasmatic material out of which the tissues are formed, and the other, composed of starch and oleaginous bodies, forming the fatty tissues to be consumed through oxidation in the capillaries for the purpose of keeping up the heat of life. These two kinds of food are of such diverse character, that physiology can trace the effects of a deficiency of either, after she has learned the chemical constitution of the food. From observation alone, independent of chemical analogies, no such results could have been attained.

The first class of food is largely supplied with nitrogen, and as it has been proved that this is indispensable to all organic matter, the conclusion is readily arrived at, that it must be

* Lehman's Phys. Chem., I. 12.

appropriated to the uses just mentioned, in the body. Upon an examination of this species of food, as compared with the wants of the body, theory suggests that a deterioration of the system would result from a continued use of it alone, and, in practice, the physiologist finds this idea fully substantiated. In the scurvy, for instance, the continued use of salted provisions is found to produce that general depraved condition of the system, which constitutes the disease. There has been too large a supply of animal matter. The administration of fresh vegetable juices restores a balance in the system,—the disease disappears and the system is again restored to health.

Other items of special importance also spring up from a chemical investigation into the nature of the ingesta. Food may be so changed by incipient putridity that a small quantity shall revolutionize the whole system. Formerly this was perfectly unexplainable. Now, although the cause may be bound up in mystery, yet the effect has been traced to its cause, and organic chemistry has shown that by the introduction of a small quantity of contagious matter into the blood, it there acts as a species of ferment and corrupts the whole. From this result, attention has been paid to the subject of the depravation of the blood, and many results have been obtained, which have been made of great service in the hands of physiology.

The second class of food is non-nitrogenized and adapted to the maintenance of animal temperature. This explains the enormous quantities of fat consumed by the inhabitants of northern climes, with whom even train oil is a delicacy. The intense cold, to which they are exposed, requires a large amount of internal heat to make up for that which escapes by radiation from the surface,—hence, large quantities of fuel, that is fatty substances, must be supplied to support the necessary combustion. The same thing is seen in inhabitants of a temperate clime. During an inclement winter they eat with relish fat meats which their palates utterly eschew when the almost vertical rays of the sun, in midsummer, fall upon them.

Having thus apprehended the exact uses of this kind of food,

and the nature of the changes it is made to undergo in the system, physiology then proceeds to generalize upon it and finds the application, by way of explaining the reason, that some animals are carnivorous and others graminivorous.* The former, being active in their habits, have heat generated in this way, and require food similar in composition to their own flesh, merely to repair the waste of material which their constant activity produces; while the latter, on account of the freedom with which they perspire—that is throw heat off from the surface—require material which shall generate heat to make up this deficiency, and this material is found in the non-nitrogenized substances which make up their food. From these facts, reverting to man, we are ready to explain how an omnivorous animal changes his food in obedience to the requirements of labor or the nature of the seasons,—selecting as the constant accompaniment of all his meals, when in a civilized condition, exactly such articles as combine the two kinds of food.

By means of *secretion*, certain substances are removed from the system, and others are elaborated for additional service. Here chemistry has shown the results of secretion and aided physiology in determining what may constitute the normal or healthy condition of the secreting organs, by showing her what are the products in a normal condition, and enabling her indirectly to apply proper therapeutic means when these are abnormal. Thus in pathology, which is but the physiology of disease, the relation of chemistry is that of an auxiliary, most reliable and indispensable. For though all the chemical actions, already adverted to, are under the guidance of the vital force, and hence by no means identical with operations in the laboratory, yet we can judge of the nature of their derangement by the changes which it produces in these actions. Deranged secretion itself is shown, in a majority of cases, to proceed, not from a local derangement of the secretory organs, but from a pathological condition of the blood, which provokes precisely the character of secretions, manifest on examination, being the effects of disease and not the cause. The treatment

* Carpenter's Human Physiology.

in all such cases, of course, requires attention to the prime cause of the disease.

The whole range of physiology is thus illumined by the torch, which chemistry holds up for its study. Without this light, the investigator of nature but follows blindly the sound of hollow theories, alike indicative of want of mental courage to grapple with the difficulties of his position, and of positive entettement in the chains of ignorance or superstition. This blind adherence to notions, which have the *authority* of the past, since that past had not the means of investigating a subject as fully as the present, is to be deprecated in matters of science. Our acquaintance with science itself is but as of yesterday; therefore the conclusions men have arrived at, before it was known at all, are of no avail, unless they shall be found true and reliable, when examined by the light of the present. Reverence for the past is indispensable in the study of theology or history, when the past constitutes a necessary link in the whole chain, or rather when it acts as the trunk from which have been developed the sturdy limbs of the present. For the past of science this reverence cannot obtain to such an extent; there is a standard of truth, becoming more and more clear and reliable every day, by which all conclusions must be tried and must stand or fall by its decisions. Indeed, to a certain extent, our reliance on this standard, shows a high regard for the past, since, it is not the creation of a day, but the result of truths which have been deduced from the knowledge of all time.

The very advances made by physiology, through the aid of chemistry, have, however, made its students neglect too much the mystery of that life which pervades and gives its peculiar character to organized matter. They have become impatient of having any mystery connected with the actions of the body. Hence sentiments, like the following, occur far too often in treatises of the higher order, on the subject of physiological chemistry: "We cannot rest satisfied with the mysterious obscurity in which they (*viz*: vital phenomena and vital forces) have been artificially enveloped. We believe, with the diffi-

dence beseeching a genuine student of nature, that it would be wiser and more conducive to the spread of true knowledge, to adhere, in the study of vital processes, to matter, and to the laws by which it is determined, than following the fictitious abstractions of dynamical processes, to assume that there exists in life a higher power of the spiritual force pervading matter."* Nor does the averment which follows—that "our most exalted conception of nature and the sublimest natural philosophy emanate from the very simplicity of physical laws and the unlimited variety of phenomena to which they give rise," relieve such views from their positive tendency to materialism.

It is becoming then, in the man of science, not to be so blinded by the light she is shedding in his chamber, or over his researches in the laboratory, that he shall forget that far more brilliant light which streams with such resplendent rays that his mortal eyes are unable to receive their full splendor, and can only recognize their presence as reflected in the works of nature.

As to the practical utility of a proper understanding of the true relation which exists between chemistry and physiology, it might be sufficient to say that truth requires not to be sustained by arguments based on utility, but demands to be upheld and understood on account of its own merits. Here, however, utility manifests itself so plainly, that, independent of the truth involved in this question, the medical man must see, he can practice his profession more intelligently, when he comprehends the true nature of the aids science brings to the study of man, than when by a blind adherence to science alone, he merely looks at man as a grand illustration of its principles. In practice he will find that chemical laws are subject, in the human body, to the controlling power of something, which at times holds in check, and again hastens the play of chemical affinities,—that organized matter, so long as it remains under the dominion of this something, is not subject to chemical laws,

* Lehman's Phys. Chem., I. 22.

but rather sets at defiance these laws and only bows down to them when it loses its connection with the living body.

Organic chemistry needs no fanatical support to present its discoveries in a proper point of view. Such support is always injurious. It attracts *some* friends, who may be enthusiastic, but also raises up many enemies. The good, therefore, derived from fanatical support, is more than overbalanced by the evil which necessarily accompanies it.

A wide field is open for study in organic chemistry,—a field as yet comparatively untilled, bearing near the surface the richest ore in return for the labor which shall be expended in its cultivation. To follow the course of inorganic matter, first into the vegetable kingdom, where it is elaborated and prepared for the wants of the animal, then its metamorphosis into organized tissue, the functions it is capable of under this form, and finally its form and constitution when it is rejected from the organism;—to see that the highest efforts of chemistry have only succeeded in forming the *products* of organized matter, but have never approximated to the synthesis of a particle of this matter;—to see how affinity is held at bay by the force of vitality in the organs, and how coincidently with the departure of the latter it asserts its supremacy;—to examine with a careful eye to their utility the unvarying composition of the tissues in a state of health, and to mark how a change here indicates a morbid condition of the system;—to watch the progress of the life giving blood, bearing its rich stream of nutriment to all portions of the body, and with its return current carrying off, to various points for their discharge, such particles as may be no longer needed to keep up its integrity,—these are subjects worthy of man's daily and nightly study,—the highest character of mind—the most extensive range of thought. They show that man is both “fearfully and wonderfully made.” In such studies, we find that no act of life is performed without an accompanying destruction of some particles of matter belonging to the organs by which the act is performed,—that thus death is a constant attendant on life, and though an entire absence of action in the body implies its

death, yet its life cannot be maintained without the death of some of its particles. Notwithstanding this continued wasting away of the organism, under favoring circumstances, neither its form nor faculties are injured, but the same power which dissevers effete particles, appropriates new material, so that the symmetry of the whole shall be kept up. This power is not found in inorganic matter. It is true, that when the latter is called upon to execute force, its particles have to change their relation to each other, but it has no inherent power to call in other particles of matter to replace those lost. This inherent power, self-constructive, self-preservative, and self-reproducing—peculiar to the organic kingdom—to that part of creation possessing life—is styled vital power, or vital force. It is a mystery bound up with the mystery of life itself.

Our subject has been chosen since it seemed to deserve careful attention at the present time. The tendency of mankind is bearing it on towards the adoption of chemical explanations of all vital phenomena. We object to this, because some phenomena can only be examined so far as the laws which govern their appearance, the nature of the cause which produces them being beyond the range of human knowledge, and because such a tendency will deprive us of our belief in anything higher than matter and reduce all our thinking to mere materialism; and in addition to these objections, there is another, the natural consequence of a tendency to this extreme may produce from reaction, one in a very opposite direction, resulting in an entire opposition to all chemical study.

The domain of chemistry is wide enough for exploration without adding to it subjects which do not belong to its proper bounds. No science so richly deserves the commendation which Davy gave chemistry—"Its beginning is pleasure; its progress knowledge; its objects, truth and utility."

Baltimore, Md.

L. H. S.

ART. V —THE LAND OF BLESSEDNESS.*

FIRST ARTICLE.

IN what relation does the Christian dogmatic of the present time stand to the scientific survey of the universe, which we are enabled to make by the aid of late astronomical discoveries? The question is important; for it is necessary that there should be a harmony here, so that the Christian faith, on the one hand, and true astronomical science, on the other, should suffer no disparagement. True, it might be objected that Christian faith and astronomy have nothing to do with each other, and even that Christian faith, in its scientific conception, as dogmatic knowledge, could ignore at once all astronomical revelations, which seem to come in its way; but this view is not reasonable. The results of astronomical researches have already become popular, and have mingled themselves with the thoughts of the learned when they take a survey of the world, hence they meet with the doctrines of faith in the minds of the people. How can these two systems meet and live together in the spirits of men without disturbing each other, or struggling to harmonize themselves by a true reconciliation? This would be contrary to the nature of things. Faith longs to harmonize everything with itself, and to pervade it with its spirit; it desires to make everything religiously transparent and holy, and to change all knowledge into theology. On the other hand, it lies in the nature of firm scientific conviction that it cannot tolerate a religious connection if the mind is not consciously assured of an inward harmony between the two. As long as the spiritualistic tendency in theology predominates, according to which, for instance, men will know only an *inward*

* Translated from the German of Dr. J. P. Lange.

heaven and an *inward* hell, without considering that the inward must ever have an outward too—so long will the above mentioned necessity of a complete harmony between Christian faith and astronomical science, not come to a full accomplishment. This tendency, however, will be annulled by the power of a great and prevailing axiom. There is nothing hid that shall not be revealed ; so says this axiom. Or in other words : The Word became flesh. Even the human spirit is manifested through a bodily form ; the promises of the Gospel realize themselves in the holy sacraments ; the immortality of the soul has its completion in the resurrection of the body ; and so too the inward heaven of the blest, and the inward hell of the lost, must complete themselves by becoming manifest in an outward heaven and an outward hell. Thus we see in this world a thievish nature manifests itself in the robber, the robber comes to a complete manifestation in the robber's den, and in the band to which he belongs. We have, however, only considered the half of this axiom ; the other half implies, that in, under, and with that which is manifest, the spiritual is always and everywhere to be sought. Thus the earth itself will be seen not to lie outside of spiritual operations, of divine presence and of heavenly space,* and that heaven, as our Father's house in the heavens, does not only begin beyond the region of the stars, even if it does extend far beyond the farthest star that the telescope can discover. In the presence and power of this twin axiom, materialism, on the one hand, and false spiritualism on the other, must pass away.

There must, therefore, a harmony be found between the Christian and astronomical modes of surveying the heavens. This harmony Dr. Bretschneider has attempted to effect in the sense of the vulgar rationalism. He contended that natural

*We have no objection to the assertion that earth is included in the heavenly space, if it is only considered so in the way of a preparatory platform in due time to be removed ; but could not agree to it, if it is intended to teach that it shall always exist as part of heaven proper. This we conceive to be an anti-scriptural idea. We would, therefore, only endorse this sentiment of the author so far as it means to represent this world as a pre-stage, or typical shadow, which is to find its true substance and completion hereafter in the higher manifestations of the heavenly world.—[THE TRANSLATOR.

science had come to stand in opposition to Christian faith, and that now all that stood opposed to the result of modern researches must be dropped from our faith as the fancies of the world's ignorant ages. Heaven and hell—so exclaimed the good Doctor—heaven and hell have vanished in the light of modern discoveries. Under the earth where hell was supposed to lie, there live our beloved antipodes, the Americans; thus we must seek for the under-world of the damned where the New World smiles in the light of its own joy and prosperity; unless indeed we should be content to find, in the deep caves of the earth, the prisons of lost spirits, which as the laboratories of nature, are ill suited to such a purpose. And where heaven was supposed to lie, above the blue canopy, we see the infinity of worlds stretch themselves out over the blue sea of ether, an infinity of which we can form no adequate conception. This was about the substance and sense of Bretschneider's argument, which we cannot give in his own words. According to his conceptions, the deep and sacred contents of the Holy Scripture, as they are embalmed, preserved and presented in a religious survey of the universe, were identical with the crass, and common representations, which the Christian mind had conceived, in this respect, in earlier ages. When Christ speaks of the flames of hell, and of the pains which the rich man suffered in it, it is known that we have higher, more ideal and sensible conceptions than when a collier of Saxony, in these orthodox days, speaks of hell fire. Even if now we do not, according to the popular fancies, seek hell in smoking caves, or in deep chasms of the earth, but in dungeons in the storm-swept solitudes and outer darkness of creation, we may find such dungeons in the craters of the moon, such solitudes in Jupiter, and such outer darkness in Uranus. We would be very reluctant to contend that hell is to be found in the depth of our planet-system from the sun away, in the distant stormy and dark regions of those planets which revolve farthest from the sun. We do not, however, go beyond the sphere of scientific knowledge when we point to such dark and mysterious realms, and say, Behold in our Father's house are

many mansions, and among them are also abodes of gloomy and horrible appearance, and it betrays, to say the least, great ignorance, to doubt, when we see such an abundance of dark planets and comets sweeping through the gloomy outskirts of space, that *it is possible for an outward hell to exist*. The same is true of the reality of an outward heaven. It is known that the white glistening peaks of the mountains are no olympic habitation of the gods, as the heathen dreamed, but this does not trouble us. It is known that heaven is not a single, near us, and extensive hall, resting upon the canopy above which covers us, as simple people and children have supposed; but yet it would be worse than senseless, if we should, on this account, doubt the existence of an *external* heaven, when we see the light of many calm and high habitations in our Father's house. Hence, the Christian faith need sacrifice none of its biblical purity, or of its dogmatic treasures, in order to effect a harmony with a scientific survey of the universe. On the other hand, scientific astronomy must not be made to sacrifice any of its truths in seeking after this harmony. That the Roman Church for some time considered it necessary to combat the Copernican system and oppose it even to the persecution of Galileo, to subserve the interests of religion, need only be mentioned here. More remarkable is the fact that this opposition to the doctrine of Copernicus, and a holding fast to the old geocentric system has been continued in some branches of the Protestant Church. These ideas exist because those who hold them honor, in a cabalistic manner, the letter of certain passages of Scripture and hang in slavish adherence to old theosophical systems that evidently rest on the ptolemaic astronomy. The same is true with regard to those systems, according to which, for instance, much account is made of the seven planets then only known; for since more have been discovered these calculations no more harmonize, and all falls to ruins, like an old weather-beaten skeleton, when it is attempted to remove it from its place. Christianity itself is free from this false positiveness which constructs systems only to crumble to ruins under the living force of scientific progress. Its

dogmas are taken out of the fountains of truth and life ; hence it reigns over all scientific advancement, like a finished word which the reader has in his mouth over the word in formation, which he who spells slowly is constructing out of letters : and it is its mission to give a religious direction to all investigations, and to the progress of science in all its stages. Those systems, therefore, which harden themselves against well established deductions of scientific astronomy, have no promise for the future, and Christian doctrine will give them no thanks for their well-meant opposition to the discoveries of science.

The Hegelian system, too, seems to have some interest in contracting the new astronomy, at least in its nearest and most direct consequences ; or at least to rob it of its Christian and religious animation. Inasmuch as the system attempts to elevate the human spirit to be throne prince of the universe, we can easily see why it should have an interest in giving this turn to astronomical science. Just as we see at the funeral processions of great ones, that a number of empty carriages follow along behind the hearse ;—so here, the stars of heaven are made a retinue to parade round the earth while it bears away the great human spirit to the place of skulls, where it is buried in the old generations to rise again in the new, and celebrates, in this process, its own apotheosis or deification. The universe dare not be supposed to be inhabited, or too dangerous concurrences would be experienced in the attempt to ascribe the excellence of spiritual consciousness, or of divine self-consciousness separate and alone to the human spirit. The spiritual hosts of heaven, the angels of the Lord, the strong princes of the upper world are also, accordingly, in this system, vast figures which it seeks to set aside as personifications of the figurative style of Scripture. It is almost simple to think that attempts are made to sacrifice biblical Christianity to the interests of philosophy, when we consider that its object is to depopulate the world of its spirits and its angels, thereby to save the interests of human excellence. We must, however, earnestly protest against making the Bible speak such a language. It is not at all surprising that Richter, going out from

Hegelian premises, attempted to confirm the fanatical denial of the doctrine of immortality even by declarations of the New Testament; but it is not only a matter of astonishment, but of pity, when, besides this, believing and excellent men, as friends of the Hegelian philosophy, seek to maintain the above standpoint, in reference to the view of the world and the old doctrine of angels. In support of what has now been said, we present a passage found in Tholuck's *Literarischer Anzeiger*, (Nr. 66 Jahrg. 1836) which has evidently been written in the spirit of the Hegelian philosophy. The author there is reviewing the writings of WOLFGANG MENGEL, "*Geist der Geschichte*." The considerations with which he exposes this author, in reference to other matters, are excellent, written with clearness and judgment, and in consistency with divine truth. What is written, however, under the title, "*Astronomical Problems*," must more necessarily be opposed from Scripture ground, because the Bible itself is here made to speak falsely. The passage holds this language: "In this section the respected author treats of the connection of the earth with the sun, with the other planets, and with the whole starry world, although he himself, in his introduction, has called this connection an unsolved and unsolvable riddle. Why did he not remember that the reason of this may be, that no human want requires that this connection should be understood in the way in which he seeks to understand it. The Holy Scriptures, which satisfy the highest wants of men of this kind, give no clue to this and the reason certainly is because they presuppose the direct opposite of what the author conjectures. To the author that conception seems necessary, because he supposes that the rest of the planets are inhabited by human beings; the Holy Scriptures pass over this question entirely, because they go on the presupposition that the earth is the only orb inhabited by rational beings; for of the angels no one will contend that they are considered inhabitants of any particular planet. (Compare Schliermacher I§. 51 I. I A.) True, it is at present critical for a person to express himself on this point against the almost general opinion, and in accordance with the Holy Scrip-

tures, but when it is remembered that the whole economy of salvation is built upon this presupposition, it will not be expected that we should suffer ourselves to be bribed or disheartened by the reasonings of our present philosophy, however pompous be its pretensions. (Com. e. g. Schliermacher, a. a. o.) According to the Old Testament, God created the sun, moon, and stars, *that they should shine down upon the earth, and divide the time.* It does not speak of any other use to which they were appointed. Why do not men, in this respect, admire the (in other respects so deep) history of creation? Man he makes in his image; not a word is said of other beings *in his image.* There can be only *one* image of the archetype, for a second would be either, so to speak, a tautological repetition, or an imperfect and untrue image. Hence also God, in the rest of the Old Testament, sustains a relation only to man, and is represented as directing all his activities upon the human race. In the New Testament men are redeemed out of their alienation from God, by God becoming man, and here it is laid down as a truth that man can become one with God without surrendering his human being; for the unity of God and man in Christ Jesus is, viewed from the human side, an exaltation of man in God. (Com. Schliermacher I§. 20. I.) The union disturbed by sin was restored again in Christ, and thus the faded consciousness of it renewed for the rest of men, who through faith in Christ and the redemption of his spirit, were made capable in the same manner to become one with God; for in union with Christ they have union with God. Hence God finds himself again in the human spirit, which has broken through this separation, or disunion; in no other way can we represent to ourselves the relation of spirits, different from God, to God, than under the idea of fall and redemption; and in the fellowship of the redeemed, which constitutes the Christian Church, we necessarily conceive to ourselves that we find a perfect transcript of the Divine Spirit, since Christ lives in her, who was "the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person," (Heb. 1: 3.) We have, accordingly, no conception of finite spirits, spirits not redeemed by Christ,

and not belonging to the Christian Church as the true transcript of the Divine Spirit, which warrants us entirely to deny their existence, or to set them aside as not concerning our relation to God. A farther array of argument is not needed here. What has been said is only intended to show how little the author had a right to build his theory on a supposition which stands in opposition to the dogma of the incarnation of Christ."

In the first place, the author, in this passage, makes the Scripture "*presuppose* that the earth is the only planet inhabited by rational beings." The proof he borrows from Schliermacher's dogmatic; it is said, namely, that of the angels it cannot be affirmed that they are considered as inhabitants of any given planet. We do not see how Schliermacher can be warranted on this account, to represent the angels as intermediate beings between these worlds.

Had not Schliermacher, according to a well known exegesis, evaporated in a spiritualistic way the passage in Eph. 1: 20, 21, or Col. 1: 16, he would have been forced to admit the existence of principalities, powers, mights, and dominions, as inhabitants of the future and higher world. The conception of intermediate beings, floating in pure ether, without being at home in some department of corporeal existence, is rather a modern Jean Paulish dream, than a representation of Holy Writ. How can the healthy and holy sense of Scripture, as to the principle of order and form in which it reveals the whole spirit-world, in which e. g. it speaks of the third heaven, of the many mansions in the Father's house, of the heavens, and on the other hand, of the abodes of the dark spirits,—how can this grand view into the creation have any sympathy with this empty and hollow idea of intermediate ethereal habitations. In the book of Job already, God appears to set the angels in a significant connection with the stars, when he says: "The morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy." And where does the Bible place the blessed who have left the world? In the intermediate ether? Of this it knows nothing; but it does know of a heaven, from

which Moses and Elias descended, and to which the Saviour went in his ascension. Hence, we see that the Scriptures presuppose something quite different from the idea that the earth is the only inhabited world. In nothing has the Bible spoken mistakenly, so that the new astronomy can call to her, *si tacuisses, et cet.!* Its intimations are adequate to the richest and deepest longings that will be found in either present or future science, in reference to the infinite population of the "many mansions" in our Father's house. A transient philosophy may have some interest at stake which will induce it to deny the existence of a flourishing population inhabiting the upper regions, but the Bible has none. The glory of the human spirit which comes thus to an apprehension of itself, and through this to its own deification, may have a shadow cast over its own pride at the thought of armies of spirits dwelling in all the starry spheres, choiring in those holy halls in the city of God above; but in this way the glory of Christ, as the first born among many creatures, who has raised a lost world out of an abyss of ruin through infinite humiliation and faithfulness in suffering, is not advanced; neither does it exalt in our minds the prerogatives of those who are come up through great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. We freely concede that the Holy Scriptures do not point out the heavenly habitations of which they speak as being stars or orbs in an astronomical sense or conception. If they did this, they would have transcended the bounds of the religious development of the truth. According to their representations, however, of the multiplicity of angelic natures, and their description of the order of the heavens, according to which, there is a first, second and third heaven, we are allowed to make deductions which lead us to the belief that many worlds compose the heavenly regions. When we see that in the Revelations of John, the Church is spoken of as a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars, we may consider it doubtful whether such a bright part of the universe would be spoken of as a part of this exalted woman's

costume, without intending that the passage should contain some mysterious dogmatical meaning.

If, then, we must refuse to accept the dubious praise bestowed upon the Bible by the assertion that it presupposes the earth to be the only inhabited planet, we must reject with still firmer decision the following idea that the whole system of salvation is built upon this presupposition. The system of salvation is built neither on geological nor on astronomical views of any kind, and least of all, upon such *contracted* and *suspicious* presuppositions. It may be that the modern Pagoda, in which the human spirit, as the only and highest world-spirit, is glorified, can find room enough upon the small plain of earth; but the Church needs, for her development, a wider and freer range of space, and another and a firmer basis than is afforded by such mystical presuppositions. The system of salvation, then, as regards its *foundation*, has nothing to do with different astronomical views of the universe; but as to its *development* it needs a considerable platform—a heaven for the angels, a higher heaven for the Lord himself, a Hades for the unredeemed spirits, and a deeper hell for the devils and the damned. If even in the history of the creation, as recorded in the Old Testament, nothing is said of a farther object, in the creation of the sun and moon, than to shine on the earth and divide the season, it is not in this denied in the least that they may have a farther design, as the author seems also disposed to allow. For he says farther: “Man, God made in his own image; nothing is said of other beings having been made in the image of God. There can be only one image of the archetype, for a second would be, so to speak, a tautological repetition, or an imperfect or untrue image. Hence, also, in the rest of the Old Testament, God stands related to man alone, and is represented as directing all His activities towards the human race.” The same mode of reasoning which the author employs against the plurality of spiritual beings, we could employ against the plurality of human beings. If man exists from his origin as an image of God, why, we may ask, do we see the tautological repetition of this image in countless

generations and individuals? Does the author tell us: They are only single features of the same image which comes only to exist in full completion in the whole of humanity? Then we answer farther: That this extension of the image of God in the essence of free spirits is already so infinite, that it may still extend through the measureless creation without danger of tautology on the one hand, or of imperfection on the other. But how can it be predicated of God, who calls himself Lord of SABAOth, that in the Old Testament he sustains a relation to man alone? Are not angels continually spoken of in the Old Testament? The angels are messengers sent from God; thus He, at least, sustains this relation to them that he sends them. We will not waste time in unfolding the rich fulness of the doctrine concerning angels, or to prove that the Bible does not speak of personifications merely, but that it speaks in the plainest manner of the angels of the Lord who excel in strength, of the shining spirits which dwell in heaven and stand before God—this is abundantly known to every unprejudiced person.

Hence, we may well ask with surprise: Why do men seek to enforce upon the Bible an alliance by which it is compelled flatly to contradict itself? The author finally says, in granting the utmost:—"Thus God finds himself again in the human spirit, which has surmounted this separation; and in no other way can we represent to ourselves the relations of spirits, differing from God, to God, than by the representation of fall and redemption." So, certainly, the Bible has nowhere spoken; nowhere has it said: God finds himself again in the human spirit, having surmounted the separation. Injustice is done to the Bible when a peculiar philosophy is ascribed to it as the medium through which it views things. The God of the Hindoo Veda may perhaps lose and find himself again; but the God of the Bible, as the true Shepherd, finds again the lost sheep, or, as the faithful Father, permits himself to be found of the lost and erring child. Thus there appears, in the Bible, neither firstly the fall, nor secondly the redemption, of beings differing from God, as a necessity. For the angels of heaven are beings differing from God, and yet they are not fallen; the angels of darkness are represented as fallen, and yet nothing

is made known in regard to their salvation. And it is certain of believers alone, that they were first lost by the fall, and were afterwards brought back again to God by means of redemption. Here then we have opportunity of selecting at pleasure spirits of every class and kind : unfallen spirits that remained pure ; fallen spirits redeemed again ; and fallen spirits not redeemed. The system of the author, however, can only refer and apply to the second kind of spirits ; and it is, therefore, quite too contracted to become the organ of the rich and broad contents of Scripture. Does it fail to reach the length and breadth of Scriptural teachings in this respect, it fails equally in comprehending its depths and heights. This it is easy to show ; for there is no depth there, if we consider the horrible fall of man as a fatal necessity in his history ; and there is no height, if the free act of divine grace in his salvation is also reduced to a plain necessity, which is at once understood of itself. But what follows from these last mentioned observations, is this : Either the whole universe, including all its stars, must be a desolate and empty waste, at least not inhabited by spirits, (and in this direction this conclusion leans) or on all stars old Adam, with his sorrows, must dwell, on all stars the cross must stand, and Christ must travel his suffering way for the salvation of the spirit-hosts. Thus then, according to this system, if we would not admit the frightful hypothesis of an empty universe, the human race must lose the sad precedence, which is to be to them, through God's mercy, the occasion of a peculiar exaltation and glorification over the unfallen spirits.

We have briefly alluded to these controverted views, as views belonging to the Hegelian system. It is, however, proper to remark, that this system, in different organs, has also different phases, growing out of each other, and sometimes contradicting each other, so that at the same time both Christian and anti-christian tendencies appear in the school of Hegel. Already on this account we do not wish, in a sweeping way, to charge the whole school with holding the above views ; and also because we cannot, as yet, see through the system as a

whole, standing before us, as it does, in a state of dark evolution. It cannot be concealed, that this philosophy has enriched itself with the great results of philosophical inquiry, which have already been reached in reference to the human spirit; and that it is, nevertheless, original; that it has done much in the way of mediation between the Christian idea and the intellectual apprehension of it, and that it has not yet completed all its useful and suggestive evolutions. But it is also not to be concealed, that a bold denial of personal immortality, a degrading of the Holy Scriptures to a mine of religious myths, and the consequent denial of the historical Christ himself, stand also in intimate sympathy with the ground principles and premises of this philosophy. Thus it appears to us, it might be compared, in its dark origin, to that mysterious womb, from which at the same time was born the beloved Jacob and the hated Esau; which last sells his birth-right for a mess of pottage, and thus throws himself into the arms of materialism. The above mentioned author certainly belongs, upon the whole, to the better and more Christian tendency of this philosophy, and hence it is so much the more to be lamented that in such an essential point he should have been ensnared by such contradictory views. This certainly cannot be explained except upon the ground that *a current leading in that direction runs through the whole system.* In the mind of the honored Gœschel, however, this current takes a modified, ennobling, and purer course. In his work "HEGEL AND HIS TIMES," we find on the 27th page, the following, which is said by him to the praise of the Hegelian system: "Yes, it appears at times as if we were to be translated back into the dark, when the Copernican system was condemned; for we discover that the sun is still subordinated to the earth, that the sun is only an elementary quality, only an abstract moment of the individual earth, and that the earth is the true concrete, on the contrary, that the sun is only the abstract centre. Here, it is true, the empirical correctness of the heliocentric phenomena is not denied, but the higher truth of the geocentric appearance is maintained, and the language which to this day is geocentric, is adjudged to

have, not only a relative, but an absolute correctness. Externally viewed, this heaven-storming opposition to astronomy seems not only absurd, but also unpoetical ; for the sun, which quickens, enraptures, and enlivens all being, is only employed as a servile instrument of the planets, the centre being assigned to it only for conscience' sake, and in this way the most common teleological view is kept in honor. On the other hand, we must also censure the poetical cheat of egotism ; for behold ! we see bowing before the earth, as in Joseph's dream, sun, moon and stars. Besides, this much is clear, that also in the Holy Scriptures, the earth is the central point, upon which God himself appears and becomes man in the fulness of time, from before whom sun, moon, and stars recede. Luke 23 : 45. Acts 2 : 20. Josh. 10 : 12, 13. Gen. 1 : 15-17. In the Calendar the earth is represented as a globe with a cross."

We agree most heartily with the honored author, as to the perfect agreement of Biblical and Christian with astronomical views, according to what is known in astronomy ; but from this it does not yet follow, that the astronomer must give the same preponderance to the earth from his stand-point, as the Christian must from his. We will freely permit the earth to retain the honor of that one peculiarity which it enjoys among all the planets, as the theatre of God's glorious revelations in his grace, through the incarnation of his Son. And inasmuch as the mystery of that great salvation, which the faithful have seen and received, is designated as that into which angels desire to look, the earth, as associated with this mystery of salvation, may well be pointed out as a festive BETHLEHEM, before which sun, moon, and stars may rightly bow. We must, however, not forget that the same God, which appears on earth, has his throne in the heavens ; and that the same earth, which has been so highly blessed through the dispensation of salvation, is nevertheless, on the other hand, according to her old constitution, the home of sin and mortality—even a dark NAZARETH, over which the rich and royal heaven is extended ; with all its homes of light, and the regions of blessedness. The heavens are God's throne, the earth is his footstool. The will

of God is to be done here on earth as it is done in heaven, through the gift of the Father who is in the heavens. Christ has ascended into heaven ; there he will receive his own into everlasting mansions ; there is the free, the heavenly Jerusalem—and the earth must first be glorified through a fiery metamorphosis before the heavenly city will descend upon her plains. True, we may be asked : What has heaven to do with sun, moon, and stars ? We answer : The inward is not without the outward ; hence the homes of the blest who shine as the sun, must be illumined habitations—bright and radiant worlds on high. The reverse is also true, that the outward is not without the inward ; for this reason we cannot possibly conceive of the starry worlds as profane wastes, forsaken of spirits, and lying outside of heaven. Only then should we err by too much positiveness, if we should say, yonder sun, or that particular star of the first, second, or third magnitude, and so on, these are the homes of our sainted friends. We may locate the city of God where the divine glory unfolds itself in the most refined and radiant spirits, where Christ reigns with his saints blest in the vision of God, as high as we will above the visible stars, and above the reach of the largest telescopes, yet must we ever conceive of the way to it, as a way through the visible world of stars, a way through the heavens (through the regions inhabited by spirits ;) and we cannot represent that highest point to which our faith ascends, either as an entirely *inner* heaven, nor yet as a place of detention in dark and formless ether. It is not the body, but the spirit, which is the essential of man ; not those orbs or worlds are the essentials, but God's indwelling spirit in these worlds ; but just as the spirit of man comes to a blooming manifestation in his body, so also heaven, in the upper worlds ; yes, even in its first degrees here on earth already is heaven manifested, since the earth itself consecrated in Christ to God, is itself changed again into the heavenly essence.

We turn, finally, to the original fountain of the views which we have just been calling to account. Hegel, in his *Encyclopedia*, third edition, §. 270, says : “ In regard to those bodies,

in which the idea of gravity realizes itself freely, they have their force of determination, to accomplish the destiny involved in their particular natures. *One is therefore the general centre of all abstract relations to itself.* The planetary orbs, as the direct or immediate concrete, are in their existence the most perfect. We are accustomed to consider the sun the most excellent, inasmuch as the understanding prefers the abstract to the concrete, *as also even the fixed stars are regarded with more consideration than the bodies of the solar system."* Although these declarations contain no satisfactory explanation, they nevertheless express a decided tendency: First, to exalt the bodies of the solar system over the fixed stars; second, to set the planets of our solar system over the sun; and thirdly, in this system to consider one as the general centre. Thus then the earth is the culminating point in the universe. And on the earth is the hearth-home around which culminates the so-called philosophy of that spirit which has come to a conscious apprehension of itself. And without doubt the notion of the infinite littleness of the earth, as represented by Hegel is only secondary—a consequence of the primary notion concerning the infinite greatness of the human spirit. ESCHENMAYER, too, in his work entitled: "The religious Philosophy of Hegel compared with the Christian Principle," has charged this system with taking this view of the enormous littleness of the universe. He says §. 32, "Hegel confines his God chiefly to this small speck of earth. In nature, life, history and individual self-consciousness here, it is that God is expected to come to a full revelation of himself. For Hegel there exists no higher beings, no higher nature, no higher life, no higher scheme of creation, but what is produced and perfected out of this poor race of earth. He who in regard to God and the universe, confines his thoughts to the earth and the race which inhabits it, resembles the mole, which considers the ridge which he himself has cast up as the whole world. Such a philosophy belongs to the Platonic cave, in which the formula of reason, like the stalactites, construct a world of their own of figures, which he who is confined in it at first takes as his world, till he

looks out at the cave's narrow mouth, and thus sets himself right in reference to the vast extent of the heavens above him. Who can believe, that this small fragment of human history is to be taken as the measure of God's universal scheme, which comprehends all the stars in the universe—that the physical and organic evolutions of earth are to be taken as the archetype of all the vast world of spheres—that, in general, the individual self-consciousness of man is to be taken as the mirror of God. This is the pride of philosophy, which defies its own conceptions, and with the drop of a bucket would measure the ocean." With propriety and force, it appears to us, does Eschenmayer exhibit the unreconciled contradiction between the theses of the above-named philosophy and the clear known results of the latest science of the earth and the heavens, in condemnation of this philosophy.* Yes, the stars of heaven, under the influence of this system, are all threatened with a transformation into monsters. And how will it defend itself, when it has arrayed against it all the Scriptural hosts and rolling orbs of heaven which glorify God, and above which even He is exalted and praised as the LORD OF SABAOth. How will it stand against these bright and blazing arguments of day and night, which prove the littleness of earth and the greatness of the heavens, and which induce us so easily, so naturally, and so necessarily to infer the existence of manifold orders of heavenly spirits over and above the human race! Are even the above-mentioned conceptions defended by strong and good men, yet, in the long run, they will not be able to accomplish anything in opposition to the heavenly armies; they will drop their colors when the Great and Little Bear, the Lion and all the threatening powers of the starry world are marshalled out against them. We confess that the system, in its dialectics, may be called strong; it arises like a true Achilles; but the astronomical conceptions which it publishes as its

* When therefore Strauss holds up to view the philosophy of Eschenmayer as somnambulist, it may be remarked in reference to it, that it is nevertheless not *monomaniac* through the magnetic influence of one moon, but rather has become *clear-sighted* through the united influence of the bright universal which it contemplates.

own, this is its weakness, this is the heel of Achilles. Hence it will not in the least astonish us, if sooner or later, the blazing Dragon—the Northern Serpent of the heavens, shall dart forth like lightning to wound the heel of this Achilles with a deadly bite; or if the Archer of the firmament shall let fly his golden arrow, and triumphantly prostrate this heroic enemy. The proud giant form will fall and sink, but the immortal part of it will be saved. We may, then, from the same work, from which the most of the Hegelian quotations are made—Goethe's *Faustus*—select its epitaph, and, with the alteration of but one word, say:

To give the human spirit honor rare,
This Titan-system blows sun, moon,
And stars, like vapors into empty air.

Lancaster, Pa.

H. H.

ART. VI. SHORT NOTICES.

ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. *By his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman.* In three volumes. London: Dolman. Baltimore: Murphy & Co. 1853.

NO ONE needs to be informed that what Cardinal Wiseman writes is always worthy of being read. As a man of varied and extensive learning, his reputation has long been firmly established on both sides of the Atlantic. Who has not heard of his celebrated "Lectures on the connection between Science and Revealed Religion," commended to attention in this country, twenty years since, by the late Professor Stuart of Andover? To thorough scholarship, he adds fine taste, and an exquisite sympathy with all that is classical and pure in literature and art. In both respects, his education is continental rather than insular European and not merely Anglican, uniting with English training the culture and learning also of Italy, France, Germany to some extent, and Spain. His writings in this way, have a character of teeming freshness and fulness, beyond what is common. Science, with him, is never cold and dry. The didactic, in his hands, encircles itself continually with flowers. Even where we find a want of care, as we do occasionally, in the style of some of his more hastily written pro-

ductions, we seldom miss the presence of a living flow of thought, which imparts to it, notwithstanding, an interest more eloquent than that of simply fine periods. As a general thing, however, he combines the eloquence of words with this richer eloquence of thought. In the use of imagery, he is often indeed exceedingly happy. Many are familiar with the beauty of his style, as it appears in his popular course of "Lectures on the Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church." For its own purposes, a book could hardly be better written.

The volumes before us are made up almost entirely of articles, originally published in the "Dublin Review;" which was started, it seems, in the year 1836, by a triumvirate, consisting of Quin, O'Connell and Wiseman, as an organ of Catholic principles and sentiments, with reference particularly to the theological movements of the time in the Church of England. The collection is so formed as to give each volume a somewhat separate character of its own. The first is more especially for Catholic readers, containing Scriptural essays and papers intended to unfold the significance of certain parts of the Catholic worship. Here will be found of particular interest two articles on the Parables and Miracles of the New Testament, and another at the close of the volume, on the Actions of the New Testament. The second volume is occupied with articles on the Oxford Controversy; while the third is made up of papers and essays of a more miscellaneous character—historical, artistical, archeological, and controversial. The second is of special interest and importance, as having to do with the most momentous movement which has appeared in the English Church since the time of the Reformation; for so, undoubtedly, the Tractarian controversy must be regarded, whatever opinion we may have of its merits. We have here in a series of essays, well worthy of being preserved, the argument of the Catholic Church ably maintained against the pretensions of Anglicanism, as set forth in the "Tracts for the Times," the "British Critic," and other so-called Puseyite publications. Seldom has the world seen a more interesting religious controversy. There was learning and earnestness on both sides; and the questions in debate were felt all round to be of the most profound and far-reaching practical concern. Cardinal Wiseman's share in the controversy, as presented to us now in these essays, speaks greatly to his praise. He shows himself throughout, mighty in learning, powerful in argument, uncompromising in principle, kind in spirit, and gentlemanly in manner. No wonder that such controversy should have been felt to car-

ry with it weight and force, in the minds even of his adversaries themselves. We find Dr. Newman more than once, since his conversion, acknowledging what he considers his own obligations to it in this view.

If it be asked now, what is to be thought of the actual merits of the discussion itself as a whole, we have no hesitation in saying that we consider the advantage to be completely on the side of the champion of Catholicism. The great body of the Protestant world can feel no objection, of course, to this admission; inasmuch as it refuses altogether to see or own in the Tractarian system, any true representation of what it holds to be its own proper cause. That system indeed itself disowns the cause of Protestantism in its common and general view; and any triumph it might be able to assert in its own favor would be taken for a defeat of this general interest, almost as much as the triumph of Catholicism itself. General Protestantism, therefore, will not count it any very serious matter, to be told that this particular shape or type of Protestantism has been found totally unable to maintain its ground in controversy with Cardinal Wiseman. Of the fact itself no one can doubt, who may seriously read these able articles from the "Dublin Review." Anglicanism, after the Oxford fashion, is here shown to be a system which cannot stand. It is necessarily destroyed by its own *premises*, or first principles. Grant these, and there is no logical stopping place short of the Catholic Church itself. Whether the system choose to be called Protestant, or refuse this appellation, as it does sometimes, affecting to be a simple continuation of one particular branch of the Church, in its own separate line, makes in the end no difference, as regards this point. In either view the scheme is inconsequential and untenable. To stand at all, Episcopacy must be Protestant, must plant itself on the Protestant principle; and this principle, by the very nature of the case, must be of wider force and range altogether than it is allowed to be by any theory of such narrow sort. All this Dr. Wiseman shows with overwhelming demonstration; and in such view it is, we may say, that the Anglo-Catholic controversy is fairly at an end. It is a matter now fixed and settled, that the cause of Protestantism can never be successfully upheld in *that* form. To place it on any such ground, is virtually to give it up as a mere schismatical usurpation of powers and rights that belong properly only to the Catholic Church. So regarded, its pretensions resolve themselves necessarily into sham.

It is much to know this. The case, however, involves more.

Tractarian Anglicanism is after all the only form in which it is possible to assert with any sort of consistency, the ordinary pretensions of the Episcopal Church, over against the position of other Protestant denominations. These pretensions are worse than idle, clearly, unless they can be made to rest on some such conception of a real Church, with really supernatural prerogatives and powers, as is maintained by Puseyism ; and on this conception besides, as identified with an exclusively true line of succession, supposed to lie in the particular organization of the Episcopal Church. If it be found then, that the High Church theory cannot be carried out successfully in favor of Episcopacy, in the way that Puseyism has been trying to do it, Episcopalianism as a whole must be content to part also with the notion of any peculiar prerogative belonging to it in this way, in virtue simply of its outward constitution and order. To stick for anything of that sort, while refusing to accept the only theory on which it can be done with consistency, is a species of ecclesiastical pedantry only which deserves in truth but small respect. The controversy between Protestantism and Catholicism must hold now in another form. The question is not whether Anglicanism (or Episcopacy in any shape) in one direction, or Independency and rationalistic Zuinglianism in another, can sustain the full weight of this argument over against the pretensions of Romanism ; for it is evident enough that they cannot do it ; but whether it be possible to place the cause of Protestantism, under a truly churchly and historical form, on some ground intermediate between these contrary schemes, where it may be able to maintain itself without the inconveniences of either, so as not to fall over to the arms of Romanism on the one side, nor yet to become a prey to open deadly Rationalism, on the other. With this view of the Catholic controversy, these essays of Cardinal Wiseman, of course, do not pretend to meddle. They confine themselves to that one phase of it which belongs to Oxford and the Tractarian school. Here, as we have said, his victory is complete. But this only serves to throw the controversy over upon that broader and more free ground of which we have just spoken ; while it goes to show, at the same time, what a world of interest is at stake on the form it must be made to assume here, as being nothing less in truth than the issue by which is to be settled in the end the universal question of the Protestant Reformation.

N.

JUSTO UCONDONO, PRINCE OF JAPAN. *By Philaethes.* Baltimore: Murphy & Co. 1854.

THIS volume of 344 pages, handsomely printed and cleverly written, is intended to represent, under the form of a tale, the general argument for the truth of Christianity in the first place, over against the claims of Paganism, Mohammedanism, and modern Judaism, and then for what the author holds to be the only true form of Christianity, the Catholic Church, over against all systems and forms of it besides. This is not, to our mind, the best form for either didactic or controversial divinity. Such mock disputations, carried on by men of straw, carry with them less persuasion and force, and have also less interest, generally, we think, than the same argument would have under a more direct form. For those, however, who have a taste for theology in such shape, the volume here noticed may be recommended as one well worthy of their attention. As regards the latter part of it, the argument, namely, for the Catholic Church, different readers, of course, will have different views, according to the state of their minds previously, in relation to the whole subject. The argument itself, does not pretend to be new. Its object is rather to make itself popular only and plain.

N.

THE POWER OF THE POPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES; OR AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE HOLY SEE. *By M. Gosselin, Director in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. Translated by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, Maynooth.* Two volumes, 8 vo. Baltimore: Murphy & Co. London: Dolman. 1853.

THIS highly respectable work forms the first and second volumes of the *Library of Translations from Select Foreign Literature*, a series of works now in course of publication by Mr. Charles Dolman of London, and the Messrs. Murphy & Co. of Baltimore. The object is to bring a number of valuable works, which have appeared lately on the Continent of Europe, in the service more particularly of Catholic Literature, within the reach of English readers in Great Britain and also in this country. The publishers propose to furnish annually, four volumes, octavo, of such choice literature, averaging from four to five hundred pages each, at the price of six dollars per annum to each subscriber. The undertaking certainly deserves encouragement. That there is room for a most valuable selection in this form, from the existing continental authorships of the old world, no one who knows anything about it needs to be informed; and it is just as plain that there is much need for it

also in the wants of our English theological learning at the present time. The great matter will be to make sure of good and sufficient translations. So far as that point is concerned, the work now before us speaks well. We have had no opportunity of comparing it directly with the original; but it reads smoothly, makes easy and clear sense, and in its general style moves freely and without constraint—the proper evidences in any case of a translation which is master at once both of its subject and its text.

We shall not pretend to go here into the merits of this work of Gosselin. That would demand a long article. Of its claims to attention, however, there can be no question. The name of its author, and the favor with which it has been received already in the continent, since its first appearance in 1839, are a sufficient guaranty of its worth. Its great learning and general ability show themselves on the whole face of the work itself. The subject, too, with which it is employed is one of the deepest interest, not for Catholics only, but for Protestants also; for all, in a word, who care to understand either the history of religion or the history of politics and civilization, in the wide and important period to which it refers. We may not be bound to accept the author's views at every point; but we *are* bound to make ourselves acquainted, as far as we can, with facts, (if we presume to have opinions,) and not to surrender ourselves blindfold here to the guidance of mere prejudice and ignorance. There is no subject more worthy of the study of the true scholar than the relation of the Papacy to the progress of society during the Middle Ages. The man who does not see and feel it to be of such interest, is not likely to be of much weight for the cause of either theological or ecclesiastical learning in any other view. It is humiliating, indeed, to find, to what an extent the grossest and most childish ignorance is allowed, even in seemingly respectable quarters, to take the place here of true knowledge; and how prejudice and lazy tradition, by a few sweeping and easily convenient formulas, are held sufficient on all sides to settle the most grave and solemn question in opposition to truth and fact, at the expense of what are self-complacently stigmatized as the dark ages. For the honor of learning it ought not to be so, as well as for the honor of religion. Over against all such unrespectable and inexcusable grannysm, claiming the right to rule history as well as theology by its pitiful formulas, we beg leave to recommend an honest and manly examination of the actual relations of the Church to the world in these medieval times, as they

are ably and learnedly set forth in this work of Gosselin. Let no one be deterred from doing so, merely because the title has to do with the "Popes." The inquiry after all regards the Church and Christianity as a whole; for be the case as it may now, it is not possible to separate between these and the Papacy during the Middle Ages. Christianity and the Church existed all that time in no other form. N.

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SACRED SCRIPTURES; IN A SERIES OF DISSERTATIONS, CRITICAL, HERMENEUTICAL AND HISTORICAL. *By the Rev. Joseph Dixon, D. D.* Two volumes in one, 8 vo., pp. 517. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. Pittsburg: George Quigly. 1853.

WHEN this well executed book was received from the enterprising publishers, our first impression was that the work was thoroughly scientific. Subsequent examination, however, has shown it to be of a somewhat different character. It is an attempt to reduce what has hitherto been presented in a scientific form, to a level with the medium popular mind. We would not undervalue it though, on this account. Such works, if of the right character, are much needed just now, and are loudly called for by the masses. The general spirit of our superficial and utilitarian age does not reach after pure science, except so far as this may be brought down to serve some selfish, practical purpose. The book now before us has thus, to some extent, been laid under contribution, to aid in the great Controversy on the Church Question, which has of late grown so immensely in interest and in the earnestness of the partisans engaged on both sides. It is freighted with much useful and interesting information, well suited to any common mind, that is at all awake to the pursuit of biblical study. But the principal object of its author, evidently, has been mainly to afford to the common Catholic, as well as to the ecclesiastical novice, an every day text book. On every point which comes up, in the many subjects treated of in the book, in regard to which there are differences between Protestants and Catholics, the author is especially anxious to forwarn and post up the faithful. The huge spectre of Protestant objections against the doctrines or practices of the Church, keeps him steadily in mind of bolstering up the dogma, even at the risk of omitting something else of positive interest and real advantage.

We are sorry that our limited space and want of time, forbid, at this time, a more thorough notice of the work, in presenting some thoughts suggested by its perusal. What was

otherwise intended, must, therefore, be postponed, at least for the present. Hoping that some other occasion may be given to treat of these matters more fully, we must content ourselves with giving a brief synopsis of the subjects considered in the book.

The miscellaneous character of its contents, of course destroys the unity of plan, if there be one, on which the work was gotten up. The loss sustained here, however, is doubtless more than made up by the comprehensive range of topics considered. Some of the dissertations are deeply interesting and instructive, while at the same time, there may be some parts flat and unsatisfactory to a Protestant reader. In proportion as it is well suited to the Catholic, and is popular in that direction, it will, almost as a matter of course, be objectionable to the ultra Protestant. And indeed few, except the faithful sons of the Roman bishop, will be convinced, by an *ex cathedra* declaration, on a mooted point, where the different branches of biblical science, and especially history, is expected to speak.

On the canon and the inspiration of Scripture, the author is, according to our notion, exceedingly meagre and unsatisfactory. On the form, the texts, the manuscripts, the printed editions, and the versions of the Sacred Scriptures, there seems to be more completeness. The notice of the English version, and the reading of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, we found more interesting and curious than convincing. Biblical Criticism and Hermeneutics, are, of course, treated from the writer's own peculiar stand-point, which is conditioned by his Church relation.

The second general part of the work treats of the Physical Geography of the Holy Land, of the Political, the Sacred, and the Domestic Antiquities of the Jews. And finally, gives some account of Catholic commentators, and other writers on the Scriptures. From this it will be seen that it is something like such a work as Jahn's Biblical Archaeology, and Nevin's Biblical Antiquities.

The whole work amply repays a general perusal, or still more, a thorough study. It should be procured by all Biblical students, who have not, or who design not to have, other more extensive and thoroughly scientific treatises on the same subjects as herein considered. Persons who make such loud professions in favor of the Bible, would do well to get such helps whereby they may become better acquainted with it than many such are found to be.

R.

[Several Book Notices omitted for want of room.]

THE
MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1854.

ART. I.—WILBERFORCE ON THE EUCHARIST.*

It speaks well, on the whole, for the Christian mind of England, that this important work has met with so favorable a reception from it, as to have run already nearly, or by this time perhaps altogether, to the end of its second edition. The first seems to have been exhausted almost as soon as it came from the press. . Considering the character of the book, this is something significant, and as we say furnishes just cause for satisfaction. Our satisfaction with it need not depend at all on the view we may take of the author's doctrine and argument. Whatever may be thought of this, all who care for theology and religion, which are still at last the greatest interests of the age, ought certainly to be pleased that the subject here discussed by Archdeacon Wilberforce, entering as it does into the inmost sanctuary of Christian science and life, should be found able to engage in this form so much prompt and active attention. There is a style of theology, we know, and a manner of religion, which would fain be done forever with all inquiry and discussion looking in any such direction; a theology and religion, for which the whole doctrine of the sacraments resolves itself into the simplest naturalism and every-day common sense, without any sort of mystery whatever, and in whose eyes accordingly every attempt to make more of them in any way is set down at once for solemn super-

* THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST. *By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A. M., Archdeacon of the East Riding.* London: 1853. Republished in this country by H Hooker, Philadelphia.

stitution and nonsense. But this system of thinking carries its sentence of condemnation on its own forehead. Wherever it prevails, Christianity is found to part continually more and more with its proper character, both as life and doctrine. Whether men choose to know it, and lay it to heart, or not, the view that is taken of the Holy Sacraments, as conditioning the view that is taken of the Holy Catholic Church, and through this again the view that is taken of the whole mystery of the Incarnation, must ever be of radical and primary account in all true Christian theology. Especially must this be the case with the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which has been regarded from the beginning as the most solemn among all the services of the Church, the foundation of its entire worship, and the beating, living heart, we may say, of its universal life. Not to feel its central significance in such view, and not to take an active interest in the proper solution and settlement of the great questions which it involves as an article of piety and faith, is to stand convicted at once of being in a false position with regard to the grace of the Gospel generally. It is a position as different, as any that can well be imagined, from that of the ancient Church. It is completely at war also with the tone of thought which prevailed, on all sides, in the age of the Reformation. Its affinities are with heresy, rationalism, and unbelief. We have reason to welcome then any work, which, like this of Wilberforce, aims in a serious and earnest way, with powerful argument and comprehensive learning, to call the attention of the Protestant world to this momentous subject; and it is a gratification to know, that in the midst of the downward tendencies of the present time, a work on such subject and of such character should be received, as this has been at least in England, with so much interest and favor. We would be glad, if it could be brought to have still greater circulation in America. Not, as we have already intimated, for the sake of its own particular doctrine, so far as this may be considered peculiar in any view; but for the sake rather of its general object and purpose, the discussion namely of the true meaning of the Holy Eucharist, and the determination of what is to be

considered the proper faith of Protestantism with regard to it, as measured by the faith and practice of the early Church.

The author tells us in his Introduction, that the present work is the sequel of his Treatise on the Doctrine of the Incarnation, published a few years since. It was there asserted, that the "Sacraments are the extension of the Incarnation," and a chapter was devoted to the consideration of them in this view. But the thought was felt to require more full discussion. Another work followed, accordingly, on the Doctrine of Holy Baptism; and now we have, to complete the plan, this present volume on the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. The same general view of the nature of Christianity, of course, runs through all these three treatises. They go, in a certain respect, to make up a common whole, the view that is taken of the Sacraments being conditioned, as just stated, by the view that is taken of the mystery of the Incarnation. This is a relation, indeed, that must always hold in any theological system. As men think of the Sacraments, so will they be found in every case, on proper inquiry, to think also of the Incarnation. A Gnostic Eucharist or the contrary, implies a Gnostic Christ or the contrary. It must not be supposed, however, in the case before us, that the author's doctrine of the Incarnation and doctrine of the Eucharist are so bound together, as to make this last dependent absolutely on all the details which enter into the first. Some, we know, have taken exception to certain parts of the first work, as involving to their mind a questionable philosophy, which they have pretended to censure at times under the vague and convenient title of pantheism. We do not suppose it to be fairly open in truth to any such charge. But what we wish to say ~~here~~ is, that no philosophical difficulty which any may be pleased to attribute to it in this way, can be regarded as extending to the present work. So far as the author's view of the Eucharist is conditioned by his view of the Incarnation, it is not in any such way as to include the questionable conceptions which have been charged upon him by those of whom we now speak; on the contrary, these are carefully avoided, the consequences being so ordered

here as to refuse rather than to require any sense of that sort for the premises exhibited in the other case. It is simply with the mystery of the Incarnation as a fact, in the form in which it comes before us in the New Testament and in the universal faith of the ancient Christian Church, that the relation is supposed to hold which imparts to the mystery of the Holy Supper, as a parallel fact, its true character and meaning. In the book before us, accordingly, the whole subject is treated as a matter of fact and authority merely, rather than as a matter of theory and speculation. On all points involved in the discussion, the appeal is in the first place to the Scriptures, and then in the next place to the judgment and practice of the Church in the first ages. Not as if this ancient tradition were taken to be an independent and separate authority, co-ordinate with the written word. "Scripture is referred to as the paramount authority, but when its meaning is disputed, the judgment of the early ages has been taken," we are told, "as being a safer exponent of its real purpose than mere logical arguments."

"And surely there is no point," our author goes on to say, "on which the judgment of primitive Christians is of more value than this. For it was a point on which their judgment was entirely unanimous. On many subjects the Church was early rent into parties; so that at times it was difficult to say what doctrine was predominant. But respecting the Holy Eucharist there existed no symptom of disagreement for eight centuries and a half. No doubt the received doctrine had been earlier disputed, but it was not by dissentients within the Church, but by external opponents. The Gnostics, who denied that the Holy Eucharist was the Flesh of our Lord, cut themselves off in the second century from the Church; and the Messalian heretics who denied that this sacred food was either beneficial or injurious, were cut off from it by its public sentence in the fourth. These external assaults throw greater light upon the unanimity which prevailed within. So that Paschasius is the first author who has ever been alleged to have introduced any doctrine, which did not meet with universal

approval; and the statements of earlier writers were admitted at the time to express the collective judgment of the whole community. Now those who look to the first Christians merely as witnesses, must allow that they were so far competent judges of the system which was delivered to them, that they could not all have been mistaken respecting its characteristic features. And those who take a higher view of the Church's judgment, and admit it to possess authority in controversies of faith, cannot dispute its decision upon a point on which there was no dissension. For the eight centuries and a half which precede Paschasius, are those also which precede Photius; they are the period when the East and the West were yet undivided, and when the Church could appeal with the fullest confidence to the promise of a supernatural guidance."

Pursuing this line of argument, the work devotes itself to the task of proving, "that Christ's presence in the Holy Eucharist is a real presence; that the blessings of the new life are truly bestowed in it through communion with the New Adam; that consecration is a real act, whereby the inward part or thing signified is joined to the outward and visible sign; and that the Eucharistic oblation is a real sacrifice." These are considered to be practical points, on which it is possible to produce distinct evidence from Scripture and the primitive Church; whereas the mode or manner in which the general mystery is brought to pass, whether it be by transubstantiation or in some other way, is supposed not to have come under consideration during the first eight centuries; and for this reason it is not allowed to come here into any particular discussion.

The first point considered is the *consecration* of the elements. The words of institution are found plainly to imply, that the bread and wine used in the Eucharist are made to receive a new quality or character, by God's blessing, by which they become distinguished from all other bread and wine, and acquire a fitness for the use here made of them which they would not otherwise have. The separation is not merely nominal, something that is of force only in the minds of those who take part in the service; it exists objectively in the elements them-

selves. They are not what they were before. It is not bread and wine in general that can serve the purposes of this Sacrament, as any water may serve the purposes of Baptism; the case requires bread and wine set previously in supernatural connection with that which they are employed to signify and represent. They are set apart and made meet for this use by their consecration; which therefore is a real act, that joins in a real way the thing signified with the sign. So the words of institution most naturally and obviously teach; and such, accordingly, was the interpretation they received from the first in the Christian Church. With regard to this point, all know, who have given the least attention to ecclesiastical history, that in the first ages, as far back as to the very time of the Apostles, there was but one opinion. The elements consecrated, the Fathers tell us from Ignatius and Justin Martyr onwards, were held to be no longer common bread and wine, but "the Flesh and blood of the Incarnate Jesus." They must be consecrated, to become what the mystery of the Sacrament required; and when so consecrated they were made to possess in fact a new character that did not belong to them before, in virtue of which they might be considered and named the Body and Blood of Christ. Hence the vast importance which was always attached to the act of consecration; and along with this the belief also that it could not be effected, save by those to whom a specific commission had been transmitted, carrying along with it the power of a true priestly office. It is enough to refer here to the ancient Liturgies. They have but one voice on the subject; and every early writer utters himself, wherever he has occasion to do so, in the same general way.

From this view of the consecration of the elements, as being an essential characteristic of the Eucharist, the consequence is supposed necessarily to follow that the inward blessing which results from it is bestowed through its outward form. The connection between the sign and the thing signified, in other words, is so real and objective, that the first carries along with it really and truly the presence of the second. The elements are not only a pledge, but the very vehicle itself of the grace

or gift, to which, by previous consecration, they have become thus sacramentally bound. The relation of course is not physical, but moral; it holds not in the order of nature, but in the order of grace. Still it is none the less sure and certain on this account. In the economy of the Christian salvation, the Sacraments are made, by God's sovereign good pleasure and will, to be real, and not simply imaginary channels of the grace they represent; and in the case of the Holy Eucharist, the instrument of such consequence is not a sacramental act merely, as in the administration of Baptism, but the elements themselves solemnly prepared for the purpose beforehand by proper consecration. To prove the necessity of this view our author first takes up those modern systems by which it is denied, and tries to show that they necessarily run themselves into consequences that destroy faith altogether. These reduce themselves to the two theories of Zuinglius and Calvin. With Zuinglius, all is made to depend on the mind of the receiver. Consecration adds nothing to the elements. The Lord's Supper sinks into a mere outward commemoration. There is no mystery in it whatever. This is such rationalism as runs at once towards open infidelity. So it was regarded by Calvin, who labored accordingly to give the institution a higher character for the Reformed Church. He insists much on the idea of our actual communication with Christ's Body, and maintains, that this interior benefit goes along with the participation of the sacramental elements in the case of true believers; while yet, according to our author, the inward and outward here are not allowed to come, to any true and real conjunction. The connection is regarded as holding only in the mind and intention of God; just as the bow in the clouds is a token of safety for the world, not because it has in itself any tendency to prevent a deluge, but because it expresses the intention of the Almighty to this effect. The efficiency of the institution is made to fall back thus on the secret counsel, by which God wills some of the human family to bliss and others to misery. To the former only are the elements really the seal of an inward gift; to the latter they are but the empty eating of bread and

wine. The objection then against Calvin's theory of the Holy Eucharist, according to Archdeacon Wilberforce, is, "that it involves that dogma of reprobation, which is the opprobrium of his system;" from which it follows, that as the theory of Zuinglius is found to be inconsistent with the first principles of Christian piety, "so is Calvin's with any due respect for the declarations of Scripture and the character of God." These theories being shown to be thus defective and false, the only view which remains is that which supposes the peculiar grace of the Eucharist to be comprehended, not merely in the disposition of the receiver, and not merely in the merciful purpose of God, but actually and truly in the consecrated elements themselves.

The work before us proceeds, accordingly, in the next place, to establish this construction of our Lord's words of institution by the testimony of the ancient Church. This divides itself into three parts. First, the evidence of the ancient Liturgies. These are numerous, reaching back to the first centuries, and representing, not the opinions of a few only, but the faith and worship of the Church in all parts of the world. They are, at the same time, with all their differences in secondary details, wonderfully harmonious in their general conception and sense, being all constructed on a common plan and embodying throughout one and the same reigning idea; a form of unity and universality, which can never be satisfactorily accounted for, except on the supposition of their being derived from a common usage, which extended back to the very earliest period of Christianity, and was regarded as carrying with it in some way the sanction of Apostolical authority. Here the evidence for the point in hand is not simply full, but absolutely overwhelming. The ancient Liturgies turn throughout upon three main points, Consecration, Oblation, Communion; and "all these acts make that which is *done* to and through the elements the prominent consideration, and contemplate them as the medium through which the blessing is communicated. This lies on the face of the service, in every case, from beginning to end. All goes on the assumption of a real transaction

in the consecration of the elements of the most awfully solemn kind, by which they are taken to be afterwards, by the transforming power of the Holy Ghost, the mystery of Christ's actually present Humanity, his broken Body and his shed Blood, exhibited on the altar for the purposes of the Christian salvation. To this one thought these old Liturgies owe all their solemnity and sense. Without it they can neither be understood nor respected. This gone, all becomes mummary indeed and sounding bombast of the poorest and most tasteless kind. But secondly, we have in addition to this form of evidence, distinct statements, numerous and full, on the part of the ancient ecclesiastical writers, directly affirming that in the view of the early Church the elements were considered to be so changed by consecration, as to be themselves afterwards the outward form strictly and truly of the gift they represented, and the very medium of its communication. To this must be added, in the third place, the evidence comprehended in the known usages of the ancient Church with regard to the consecrated elements, plainly implying that they were regarded universally in this light. Such were the practice of sending the elements from one congregation to another as a sign of intercommunion, the practice of carrying them to those who were debarred from attending public worship, the custom of reserving them for subsequent use, the view which assumed that Christ communicated himself as a whole in every portion of the elements, the habit of receiving them fasting, with all the other demonstrations of profound reverence and respect which had regard to them immediately in the solemnity of the Eucharist. Altogether for the particular point here in consideration, and so far as the argument from antiquity is allowed to be of any force, the proof is complete. The Church in the first ages undoubtedly understood our Lord's words of institution, as we have them in the New Testament, to mean that the elements used in the Holy Eucharist, in virtue of what they are made to be by consecration, really include and convey the supernatural gift they are employed to express.

So much for the *subject*, in the words of institution, that to

which in his own hands originally our Lord applied the term "This"—the bread and the wine, namely, not in their common and general character, but as made to be mystically, then and there, by his benediction, the outward, visible form of a higher invisible reality. And what now is it which is affirmed of this subject in the way of *predicate*? The answer is plain: "My Body—My Blood." Here we come, accordingly, to a new section of our author's argument, in which he endeavors to show that the gift bestowed in the Holy Eucharist is the presence of Christ through the medium of his humanity. So much would seem to be implied at once by the words of institution; for what can be signified by the Body and Blood of Christ, if they express not his proper living Manhood, what he became, and what he still continues to be, in virtue of his Incarnation. The presence spoken of cannot be taken, of course, to exclude his Godhead; where his Humanity is, there must his Divinity be also in full reality; but it is emphatically by means of his Manhood, as such, in this case, that the presence of his whole person is represented as taking effect. When Rationalists tell us, that this is a hard saying, and not to be believed, because they see not how or why the Body of Christ should be communicated to men in this way, they do but repeat in fact the infidelity of those who formerly at Capernaum, when our Lord insisted upon the necessity of eating his body and drinking his blood, "went back and walked no more with him." We have no right to say that the thing is impossible; for how little do we know of the nature of material substance, or of the qualities and properties it may be brought to assume in such an order of life as that to which it is advanced in the glorification of Christ? And just as little right have we to pretend that the thing is improbable; unless we choose to go the full length of such rationalistic scepticism, and call in question, for the same reason, the entire fact of the Incarnation. This mystery itself implies that the Humanity of Christ is the instrument and medium of our salvation. So too it is everywhere represented to be in the Scriptures. He is exhibited as the Second Adam—the Principle thus of a new human

creation, in which it is made possible for men to be redeemed and saved from the universal ruin which has come upon the race through its comprehension in the First Adam. He himself plainly teaches, that this redemption is effected by an actual incorporation, in some way, with his Flesh and Blood, answerable to the participation we all have naturally in that Adamic life which is under the curse. Why then should it be said, that the idea of a real communication of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist is incredible? It falls in exactly with the whole mystery of the Gospel. It carries out the purpose for which the Word became Flesh. And when the appeal is made here again to the judgment of the ancient Church, it is found to be unanimous, as before, in favor of just this construction of what the Scriptures teach on the subject, to the exclusion of every other.

Next comes the question concerning the sense which is to be attached to the copula, by which subject and predicate are joined together in the words of institution, "This *is* my Body," and again, "This *is* my Blood." What is the relation, in other words, which is here affirmed to hold between the gift bestowed in the Eucharist and the elements, between the outward and inward sides of this august and mysterious Sacrament? Our author declares it to be that of sacramental identity, as distinguished from all mere representation. The outward and inward, the *sacramentum* and the *res sacramenti*, as they are distinguished by St. Augustine, are by the act of consecration, united into a compound whole. This union is not physical. It has no parallel under any other form; and hence, as altogether peculiar in its kind, it requires a peculiar name. Still it is not on this account any the less real. "The two things are so united, that they must needs go together; and whoso receives the one, receives the other. So long as we remain in the region of the senses, and take account only of that which is visible to the outward world, the *sacramentum* is all which we know of; but judge of the matter by faith and revelation, and we are sure that the *res sacramenti* is present also." Such being the principle then, of the Holy Eucharist, it fol-

lows "that the complete idea of this sacrament implies, not only the maintenance of the two portions of which this whole is composed, but the law of their combination" also; and hence there is room for four errors with regard to it, which it is necessary to watch against and avoid. The true nature of the sacrament may be overthrown, by omitting either the outward or the inward part of it altogether, or by so confusing or so dividing them as to destroy the necessary form of their union. To suppose the Body of Christ present in the Eucharist under the same natural conditions which attached to it when it was upon earth, would be to set aside virtually the outward side of the mystery, and thus to fall in fact into the notion of the Capernaïtes, that he intended his Flesh to be distributed to men as natural food. Just the contrary of this is the Zuinglian error, by which the *res sacramenti* or inward reality is made to be nothing, and the ordinance turned into a purely outward formality. The other two forms of error, the undue confusion of the two parts of the sacrament on the one side, and their undue separation on the other, are represented respectively, as Archdeacon Wilberforce supposes, by Luther and Calvin. Luther's principle of justification by sheer faith stood in the way of his acknowledging any real efficacy in the means of grace; and hence, while he persisted in asserting the old idea of the real presence of Christ's Body in the Lord's Supper, it became in his system something which carried with it no such force at all of its own for the purposes of man's sanctification, as had been ascribed to it before. This was to divest the reality of its true significance, and to deal with it as though it had been still an emblem only, confusing thus the functions of the outward sign and the inward grace. The theory of Calvin, on the other hand, is charged with so distinguishing the two, in accommodation to his doctrine of election, as to destroy their sacramental coherence, overthrowing in this way the purpose of the ordinance. In distinction from these four errors, the true relation in the case is, according to our author, such a sacramental identity as implies that the *sacramentum*, or outward sign, is the medium through which the *res sacramen-*

ti, or inward reality, is communicated ; which is the same thing as to affirm that the Real Presence of Christ is bestowed through the consecrated elements. Such a Presence the Lutheran scheme allows, as does also that Capernaitic view which invests it with a carnal or physical character ; while the false and distorted forms in which they set the doctrine, are of themselves sufficient to set aside the systems without any farther refutation. The notion of Luther is so partial and self-contradictory, that it has found, Wilberforce thinks, few genuine supporters. It is over against the other two conceptions, then, of a merely *Symbolical* Presence, as taught by Zuinglius, and of a simply *Virtual* Presence, as here supposed to be taught by Calvin, that the work before us proceeds to establish the doctrine of a *Real* Presence as this has now been defined ; proper pains being taken still farther to guard against mistake, by urging beforehand these two necessary qualifications : first, that the Presence in question is supernatural altogether, and not natural ; and secondly, that it is sacramental only and in no respect sensible. It holds in an order of things above nature, and is not subject to the conditions of space and form. It cannot be reached by the senses, but only by the mind through the exercise of faith.

Is full justice done here, however, it may be asked, to the system of Calvin ? It is admitted by our author himself, " that he did not suppose the Holy Eucharist to be merely an occasion on which God bestowed the general succors of grace, but that he asserted it to carry along with it a specific and peculiar blessing, namely, that relation to Christ which results from oneness with his glorified Humanity." Again : " It might be supposed that he entered into the relation between this sacrament and the reconstruction of mankind through Christ ; and that he accepted St. Cyril's statements, that the Humanity of our Lord is the appointed medium through which spiritual blessings are conferred upon his brethren. A far deeper man than Zuinglius, he saw that the re-creation of mankind must be based upon that supernatural system of events which had its commencement in the Incarnation of the Second Adam ;

more clear-sighted than Luther, he discriminated accurately between the inward gift and the outward sign." As Eve and her posterity proceeded from Adam's side, he tells us after St. Augustine, so the Church and her children are derived from the side of the Man Christ; whose Flesh, accordingly, is the reservoir of all life for his people, of which all must participate in order that they may have part in the benefits of his redemption. The Lord's Supper involves thus a real communication with Christ's Body. This is not at hand in any carnal or local way. It is exhibited in its virtue or essential power. By this he did not mean a virtual exhibition, certainly, as distinguished from an actual, but one rather that comprehended in it the full force and living substance of Christ's proper Humanity, as it now reigns gloriously exalted at the right hand of God. Only the mode of the exhibition or presentation must be considered to transcend all the conditions of nature. It holds, not in the sphere of nature, but in the sphere of the Spirit. But it is not right to say then, as Wilberforce does, that "Calvin substituted the intervention of the Spirit, instead of the efficacy of our Lord's Body, as the true *res sacramenti*, by which a relation is brought about between God and man." The Spirit with him is but the supernatural element as distinguished from the world of sense, in which the mystery of the sacramental participation takes place. Lifted into this reign of grace and power, the process is supposed to be at once beyond the objection drawn from distance. In the sphere of the Spirit, things at a distance from each other may be made to come really together—incomprehensibly, of course, for the natural understanding, but not therefore incredibly for faith. Whether this be said to be by the lifting up of the soul to Christ, or by the coming down of his virtue to the soul, comes in the theory just to the same thing; for both forms of speech are figurative only, borrowed by necessity from the relations of nature to express a fact which is supernatural, and in regard to which no such local relations are considered to have place. Outward and inward meet here, in a way above all sense or understanding, by the wonder-work-

ing agency of the Holy Ghost. But this agency, as just said, is not itself the life-giving virtue of the sacrament. Calvin made the *res sacramenti* to be really and truly the Body of Christ, acting by its own objective force where the necessary conditions were at hand, and not simply through the mind of the worshipper. To say that the action is not truly that of Christ's Body because it is represented as taking effect by the intervention of the Spirit, is but to say, that it is not so because it is represented as having place in an order of things which is supernatural—the very thing which our author himself finds it necessary continually to assert. True, the inward part of the mystery, with Calvin, is not allowed to be inherent in any way in the elements, and so it cannot be said to be received along with them by the ungodly; but it was none the less certainly joined, for this reason, with the transaction. The *sacramentum* and the *res sacramenti*, in his system, come together truly in the service as a whole; so that while the believer takes part in the outward side of this, the inward side of it is considered as actually exhibited also for His use, by the power of the Holy Ghost—although out of that immediate transaction the symbols include in themselves no such supernatural relation. That the inward or visible reality, the virtue of Christ's Body, takes effect only on believers, according to the theory, cannot be said to contradict the idea of its objective presence in this mystical and supernatural view; for in any case, as our author himself admits, it is necessary to distinguish between the *res sacramenti* and the *virtus sacramenti*, “the effect which follows from Christ's Presence where there is a living relation between him and the soul;” and this distinction being made, Calvin would have had no difficulty, if we understand him rightly, in granting the actual exhibition of the *res sacramenti* in the Eucharist, as he took it, in the case even of those who are without faith. He compares this very case in fact with the falling of rain upon stones and rocks, which does not cease to be rain because it is followed there with no such effect as when it descends upon genial soil; and in another place says expressly, that however the want of faith

may shut out the benefit for unworthy communicants, nothing still fails from the nature of the sacrament, because "the bread is always the true pledge of Christ's flesh and the wine of his blood and there remains always a true exhibition of each on the part of God, (*vera utriusque exhibitio semper constat ex parte Dei.*") The virtue of the sacrament, that by which it takes effect on the worshipper, his system confines to the elect, and to these in a state of grace. But this is not just to "put the intention of Almighty God," as Archdeacon Wilberforce tells us, "in place of the *res sacramenti*, or actual gift." It merely comes to this, that those who by their faith make room for its efficacious action in themselves do so by an ability, which they owe to God's election. The immediate condition of the benefit, subjectively considered, is still the same that Wilberforce himself makes it, namely, a right state of mind on the part of the communicant, whatever cause may be assigned for this back of the thing itself; and it is not easy to see certainly why this limitation should be taken to destroy the reality of the gift, objectively considered, in the one case, any more than it may be supposed to destroy it under the same view in the other.

We readily grant, however, at the same time, that Calvin's theory of election and reprobation does not fall in logically with the idea of sacramental grace, and that the two forms of thinking, therefore, cannot stand permanently in friendly connection. The Calvinistic theology carried in itself in this way a serious dualism, which could not fail to be followed in the course of time by the depression of one of these interests in favor of the other. In most sections of the Reformed Church, accordingly, the scheme of divinity which rests on the dogma of an Absolute decree as its principle, has gradually thrust aside Calvin's view of the Sacraments as being what Dr. Hodge calls "an uncongenial foreign element," that did not cohere with the true life of the system. The course of things, however, in the Reformed Church of Germany shows, that the elimination might be also the other way; since the doctrine of the Sacraments has so far prevailed with what passes for Calvin-

ism there as to hold at bay continually the dogma of the Decrees. We do not see that Calvin's theory of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist, has any necessary dependence on his theory of Predestination. It ought not, therefore, to be so joined with this, that both must be considered to stand or fall together.

Whether, under any circumstances, the theory can sustain itself, is another question. All we demur to here, is the judgment by which it is set down as affirming a simply Virtual Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, in the sense of this book of Archdeacon Wilberforce—such a Presence as resolves itself at last into a mere Divine intention. As related to the *transaction*, the inward reality which Calvin maintained was, we think, much more than this; it comprehended Christ's very Body itself under an objective form. This our author will be ready to say, is such a view as cannot stand without the conception of such a relation of the *res sacramenti* to the elements, and not simply to the transaction, as must involve what he himself takes to be the necessary form of a Real Presence, in the sense of the ancient Church, as distinguished from such a Presence as is either Symbolical only or at least Virtual; and as Calvin, we know, did not allow any such relation, his theory must be considered as falling short of this distinction at last, and so sinking to the character which is here assigned to it, there being no middle ground in truth on which it is possible for any theory to stand. Here, however, the inquiry comes up, on the other side, whether there be any real middle ground between this view of Calvin and the doctrine in full of the Council of Trent. Can the essential points of what was the original faith of the Christian world in regard to the mystery of the Holy Eucharist be so carried out in any other point, (if this may not be considered satisfactory,) that it shall not be found necessary to yield here in the end all that forms any fair matter of dispute with the Catholic Church? We fear not.

Be all this as it may, however, it cannot be said to affect the force of our author's argument, as he goes on in the work before us, to assert points which, according to his view, entered into the original faith of the Church on the subject in question,

and endeavors to establish both from Scripture and from Christian Antiquity, the doctrine of a Real Presence of Christ's Body in the Holy Eucharist, as a mystery made to have place by priestly consecration in the elements themselves, in such sense that it may be said actually to exist and abide in these objectively as its proper outward form.

In the prosecution of this argument, special stress is laid upon the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, which is held to be of classical authority for the proper explanation of other passages in the New Testament referring to this sacrament. Then, agreeably to the plan of discussion originally proposed in the work, an appeal is made to the testimony of the early Church, for the purpose of showing how the sense thus attributed to the Scriptures is confirmed by the judgment of the whole Christian world, in those first ages when the heritage of doctrine was still fresh and this judgment entitled to the greatest respect.

And here, on the field of historical inquiry, the argument must be allowed, we think, to be unanswerably full and triumphant. Make of the matter what we may, it is shown most conclusively that the view taken of the Eucharist by the ancient Church was such, as clearly to exclude, in the first place, the conception of a merely Symbolical or merely Virtual Presence, and then just as clearly to involve and positively affirm, in the second place, the fact of a Real Presence. The difficulty in such an argument, as Wilberforce remarks, is not to find testimonies, but to set them in any order that may be fairly answerable to the richness of the field from which they are taken. "The Holy Eucharist was so constantly present to the thoughts of the early Christians, that the references to it in their writings are almost innumerable." These are often direct, but far more frequently indirect, and in the form of general and passing allusion. Much of the evidence can be fully felt only in its connections. In this way it comes up from different sides, and under different modifications, the variety adding force to the unity, and showing the subject to be woven into the very life of the religious system to which it belonged. To

bring out this consent of antiquity, made luminous and strong by the very diversities under which it appears, the theology of the first seven centuries is exhibited as passing through five different forms or schools, in each of which a different relation to the mystery of the Eucharist prevailed, producing as many various ways of referring to it, while yet it is plain that through all these distinctions the fundamental idea with regard to it remained always the same. The Ante Nicene Period is distinguished for its unreasoning acquiescence simply in the fact of the Real Presence, as something about which all Christians are supposed as a matter of course to be agreed. Next, in the Period following the Council of Nice, we have the Eastern Scheme directing reflection, more than had been done before, to the change effected in the elements by consecration. Then the Anti Nestorian and Anti Eutychian Schools, guarding against wrong to either the outward part of the sacrament on one side, or to its inward part on the other. Finally, the Western School is found uniting the views of the other form, and giving to the doctrine thus a more scientific and comprehensive form. All these schools agree in holding the fact of a real communication of Christ's Body and Blood, through the consecrated elements of the Eucharist. It comes up as a first principle in their theological reasoning. It entered into all their public worship. Every Liturgy involves it from beginning to end. It lies in the view that was taken of consecration. Two general criteria especially may be taken as perfectly conclusive on the subject. Religious reverence and worship were held to be due to the Presence in the elements; and the Body and Blood of Christ were supposed to be orally received through them, even by unworthy communicants. Where these ideas prevail, there can be no question but that the mystery of a Real Presence in the elements, and not merely in the transaction, is regarded as being the essential character of the sacrament. The reservation of the elements for subsequent use implies also the same thing.

But now along with this idea of Christ's Real Presence, as it prevailed in the mind of the ancient Church, goes by a sort

of logical necessity another thought, namely, that the Holy Eucharist is to be considered a *sacrifice* as well as a sacrament ; and one of the most important parts of the work before us, accordingly, (whatever we may think of the matter itself,) is that in which the doctrine and belief of the first ages, in regard to this subject, are brought into view. We will not pretend here to follow the evidence. We only say that as to the *fact* there can be no doubt. The Church in the first ages held universally that the Christian ministry was a real priesthood ; that the so-called altar at which it served was an altar in truth and not simply in name ; that a real offering was made upon it in the solemnity of the Eucharist ; that this offering was nothing less than the body of Christ there present in the consecrated elements ; that in this form the One Sacrifice of the Cross ("once for all" or of perennial force,) was exhibited continually before God for the sins of men ; that the shadows of the Jewish Temple had thus their corresponding reality in the "pure offering" of the Christian Church (Mal. 1: 11;) and that the making of this sacrifice formed in truth the main work and carried with it the main worth and power of the sacred ministry, as it was emphatically the *λειτούργια* also, the true liturgy or service of the Church in all its solemn assemblies. Such is the simple historical fact. In what light it is to be regarded, or what use is to be made of it theologically, is of course another matter altogether.

With Archdeacon Wilberforce, however, the voice of antiquity is allowed to be conclusive in favor of the doctrine ; and one object which he proposes to himself in his book, is the restoration of this aspect of the sacrament, and the revival of it as a daily service, in the Church of England. In following out this design, it is assumed that the English Episcopal Church is fairly and truly the continuation of the Catholic Church of the first ages, and that it carries in itself still all the provisions which are needed for giving effect to the sacramental theory here brought into view ; whilst at the same time it is admitted that there has been a vast departure from it practically since the time of the Reformation. This departure, it is contended,

however, is against the true genius of the Church, and must not be so laid to its charge as to be considered a part of its normal form and order. In this respect it is taken to be in a different condition from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the continent; which by casting off Episcopacy are supposed to have broken radically with the constitution of the Church as it stood before, and so to have lost altogether the power of correcting and restoring subsequently their own aberrations from the faith and practice of the first Christian ages. We have here, in other words, the well known Anglican or Tractarian theory of ecclesiastical legitimacy, of which so much was heard a few years since in connection with the University of Oxford, and on which much stress has been laid by some in this country also as a sufficient warrant for the pretensions of the Episcopal Church, over against all other Christian bodies both Catholic and Protestant.

We do not propose, in the present article, to enter at all into the merits of the main subject, considered as a question of actual theology for Protestantism as it now stands. That would be a task too large altogether for the limits to which we are here confined, even if we had the ability and the heart to undertake it; which we confess that we have not. We feel the difficulties of the subject, without having courage to attempt their solution. Let others, more competent for the service, put their hand to this work. We offer here no theory, we have no scheme to explain or defend. All we aim at, is to urge attention to the subject, to press facts, to set home the problem which calls for an answer, and to make clear the necessary conditions of its solution. Let no one say, that this can be of no use. The interest which is here at stake is so very important, that it is not possible to go too far in urging attention to it, independently of every particular theory or scheme that may be exhibited for its explanation. The facts of the case challenge our most solemn regard, in whatever light they may be viewed; and a properly awakened interest in them for their own sake, may be considered indeed the first necessary requisition for doing any sort of justice to the claims of the great

theological question to which they belong. Indifferentism and obscurantism are the two things which need most of all to be overcome, in order that there may be any chance of having these claims rightly met. What is most worthy of sorrowful lamentation, is the habit of mind, (exemplified on all sides,) by which the subject is either held to be of no serious practical account, or else is passively taken to have its full and sufficient exposition in some vague hypothesis, at war both with history and logic, the unreality of which is not seen only because there is not honesty enough nor energy enough to subject it to any truly earnest examination. How much would be gained for our theology, and for our religious life too, if only this dream, this spell of the inward senses, could be effectually dissolved, and things were made to appear in their own true and proper light !

In such general view it is, as we have said before, that we consider it a privilege to call attention to this "*Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*" by Archdeacon Wilberforce, without pretending either to endorse its conclusions, (that we could not do fully indeed without bowing in form to the claims of the Episcopal Church,) or to set up in the way of criticism any opposing or divergent view of our own. We have read the work with more than usual interest. It is eminently worthy of attention. The author occupies the highest rank as an English theologian. No one can dispute the learning of the treatise, nor its general ability. It breathes throughout also the most excellent spirit. The facts it presents are of universal significance and concern. Its theme is one, the importance of which it is not easy to exaggerate, as related especially to the circumstances and wants of the Christian world at the present time.

It is written indeed immediately for Anglicans or Episcopalians. But so far as the main subject is concerned, it has to do with what should be considered a vital and fundamental interest for all Protestant denominations. For Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and others, whether it be felt or not, there is no more momentous inquiry at this

time than that which regards the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, looked at in the historical and theological relations which are here brought into view. We hazard nothing in saying, that the other subjects of discussion and debate with which these bodies are exercised, so far as there is any care for theology still left, are of far less consequence than this, involving as it does undoubtedly at last all the issues of the Church Question, back to its very source in the mystery of the Incarnation. Not to be alive and awake to the claims of theology in this view, is to be asleep with regard to them in every direction besides, mistaking dreams for realities and abstractions for living concrete facts. New England itself must yet come to see this, if Christianity be not doomed to run itself out there into a barren heath. If her theology is to be saved from starvation and inanition, it must pass beyond the questions which have heretofore engrossed its metaphysical digestion, the *loci communes* of Andover and New-Haven, and grapple earnestly with the questions which enter into what it is now too prone magisterially to waive aside under the title of the Church system, as something at war with evangelical religion and fit only for Puseyites and Catholics. We do not say that it must become either Catholic or Anglican. But it must learn to have some idea of the Church, some faith in the mystery of the Holy Sacraments, some sympathy with the mind of the universal Church with regard to them in the first ages, some sense of the necessity there is for a true historical reconciliation, in some way, between the Christianity of those first ages in this view and what is known as Protestant Christianity at the present time. The day for ignoring and despising these points, is fast coming to an end. The best men in New England are beginning to see and feel it. God grant that they may see and feel it more and more.

Whatever theory any may see fit to adopt in regard to the subject for themselves, there is a common obligation on all to understand and acknowledge at least, as a single fact of history, the view that was actually taken of the Eucharist by the ancient Church. It can never be right to mix up what is pure-

ly historical here with what is theological, in such a way as to confound the one with the other. In this work of Wilberforce, for instance, we have two general things, which, however closely they are joined in this argument, need notwithstanding to be kept continually distinct in the mind of the reader ; his own scheme, namely, of Anglican divinity, and the historical premises from which he reasons in what he supposes to have been the faith and practice of the Church in the first ages. These premises are one consideration ; the conclusions drawn from them are entirely another. To quarrel with the first, merely because we may happen to dislike the first, must be considered eminently absurd. Now it is of these historical premises or data, in the present case, we make the declaration, that they seem to us to be, as to all material points, faithfully represented in the book before us, and that this being so, they give it an interest and importance which all should feel to reach far beyond the range of its own immediate argument. This we may explode, if we please, as theological Puseyism or Popery ; but there still are the facts of history, or what at least claim to be such, which refuse to be exploded in any like summary style. Calling nick-names and starting bugbears here, can answer no purpose. The facts remain just what they were before. No theory can set them aside. The universal Church in the first ages saw in the Holy Eucharist the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood ; they were supposed to be made present in the elements by priestly consecration ; the service became in this way a sacrifice of thanksgiving and propitiation embodying in itself continually the full value of the offering made on Calvary for the sins of men ; all was held to be an awful and sublime mystery, in which was comprehended day after day the objective force of the whole Christian worship, as the full counterpart or antitype in substance of all that had place as type and shadow in the sacrifices of the ancient law. What shall we say to this ? To deny it successfully, as mere matter of history, is out of the question. To say that it does not concern us, is both stupid and profane. It does concern us deeply and seriously. We are bound to see and own the

truth ; to bring it home distinctly to our mind ; to come to some right understanding with it, if possible, in our thinking and in our faith.

Shall we set the whole fact down for a delusion, an open falling away from the true sense and purpose of Christianity as we have this presented to us in the pages of the New Testament ? See then how much this must involve. It is no mere circumstance that is here at stake. We have to do with something which goes to the very heart and core of the ancient faith. The whole theology of the early Church is conditioned by this view of the Eucharist. It forms the soul of its worship, the animating principle of its entire religious life. The doctrine is woven inseparably into the texture of its universal practice and belief. To pronounce it then absolutely false, is at once to turn all the Christianity of these first ages into a lie ; for their error here, if it were such, is so vast and deep, as to leave no room for the least confidence in their system of thinking under any other view. It is only mockery and hypocrisy to talk of respecting and following the Church of these first days in anything else, if we make it radically wrong in that which formed, as the mystery of the Holy Eucharist did, the grand burden of its creed and worship. To be consistent, we must consign that whole Christianity to Satan, and disown in full the fellowship of the fathers, martyrs, and saints, who dreamed of being carried by it in their day to heaven. Are we prepared for that ? Not surely, if we have not lost our spiritual senses. Faith, Hope, Charity, all cry out against such an act of ecclesiastical *felo-de-se*. Infidelity and heresy only have a right to be thus desperately mad.

Can it be pretended then, that we have anywhere among our Protestant denominations, at the present time, this old theory and practice in regard to the Eucharist, still existing and in full force ? For the most part, the answer is very easy. The fact of a very considerable difference between the ancient view and that which these denominations now generally hold, is too plain and palpable to allow a moment's mistake. They avow very distinctly themselves quite another way of looking at

the subject, and have no wish to identify their doctrine with this Patristic scheme. Anglicanism, however, as represented in the able work which has called forth the present article, affects to occupy a different position, and to be truly one still, not in substance merely, but in actual form, with the Church of antiquity, in its doctrine of the Sacraments as well as at other points. Is the pretension properly sustained? We think not. This construction of Archdeacon Wilberforce, however well it may be put together, is not in reality the doctrine or practice of the Episcopal Church either in England or in this country. It will not be so accepted on either side of the Atlantic; for the satisfaction which a certain class may find in it as a merely private entertainment, is something very different from the mind and meaning of the denomination as such. The points of a real bodily presence above nature in the elements, of this as something abiding and not restricted to the immediate service of the communion itself, and of the power of a real sacrifice in the transaction for the sins of men, however they may find some slender hold to hang upon in the confused beginnings of the English system, and the shelter of some slight authority from the views of a few of its bishops and divines since, (views generally in the *wilderness*,) are yet too alien from the reigning make and genius of the Church altogether, to allow the supposition that they can ever be practically ingrafted into its life. In this country, just now especially, the Episcopal communion is in such a state of general self-compromise with regard to all such points, that the grand Apostolic word, "We believe and therefore speak," is about the last thing concerning them that one expects to hear fall from its lips. If there is to be a real lineal connection here between Protestantism and the faith of the ancient Church, this fond dream of Anglicanism will not answer. It must be shown to hold in some wider view and under some different form.

In these circumstances it is, that the theory of Calvin, if it can be maintained, would seem to be after all most truly conformed to the wants and conditions of the problem which requires to be solved, aiming as it does to mediate between the

difficulties of the case as it actually stands on both sides. On the one hand it seeks to avoid Zuinglianism, which by stultifying all antiquity stultifies and kills itself; while on the other it pretends to no such identification with the past, as leaves no room for Protestantism to stand upon in its distinction from the Roman Catholic Church. It asserts, accordingly, a real participation of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist as a transaction; but denies their presence in the elements, and owns in the mystery no sacrifice. In these points it differs from the doctrine of the ancient Church. But must it not so differ, in order to be Protestant? The only question is, whether the difference be essential or simply accidental—the destruction of oneness and sameness absolutely, or such an outward diversity only as may resolve itself fairly into the laws of historical development and growth. And this is the question then for Protestantism as a whole interest; for as we have said before, there is no true middle position anywhere, as it seems to us, between the view of Calvin and the full dogma of the Catholic Church. If this Calvinistic doctrine, as we have it for instance in the Heidelberg Catechism, be not able to stand, it is not easy to see certainly how Protestantism itself can stand, as such, and keeping strictly to its own lines, unless as at open war with the whole faith that lives enshrined in the Liturgies of the Ancient Church.

Mercersburg, Pa. ·

J. W. N.

ART. II.—LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

NO. 1.

BAPTISMAL SERVICE.

A. INFANT BAPTISM.

[Baptism shall be performed in the *church*, before or after the regular service, except in cases of urgent necessity. The water being provided and put into the Font, or some other clean vessel, fit and decent for the sacred ordinance, the minister shall begin thus :]

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Grace be with you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

[Then, after the singing of a suitable hymn, the minister shall address the congregation :]

Dearly Beloved ! Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, after His resurrection and shortly before His ascension to the right hand of God the Father Almighty, instituted the holy sacrament of Baptism for the remission of sins, saying to His disciples according to the gospel of St. Matthew, in the twenty-eighth chapter : " All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Hear also what is written by St. Mark in the tenth chapter of his gospel : The Jews " brought children " to Christ " that He should touch them," and His disciples rebuked those who brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased and said unto them : " Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not : for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you : Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And He took them up in His arms, put His hands upon them and blessed them."

You see from these words and actions of our blessed Saviour, that He would have all men without distinction of sex or age to be baptized, and so to be introduced into the gracious covenant of the triune God, our Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, that they may have part in its privileges, fulfil its duties and obtain finally its everlasting rewards. For He is a Saviour of all classes and conditions of man. He became a child to sanctify our childhood ; a youth to sanctify our youth, and a man to sanctify our manhood. You see, moreover, how He commands especially little children to be brought unto Him, how He rebukes those that would have kept them away, how readily He blesses them, how kindly He embraces them, how He

pronounces them capable of, and entitled to the kingdom of God, how He exhorts us all to receive this kingdom as little children, and declares that no man can enter therein except by being like them in simplicity, humility, and trust. As it was required under the Old Testament that all infants eight days old should be circumcised, the promise being given to Abraham and his seed : so it is right and meet and in accordance with the divine will as well as with the practice of the holy catholic Church in all ages, that all children of Christian parents should receive the sign and the seal of the New Covenant which is far more comprehensive than the Old, and thus be dedicated from their earliest days to the service of the triune God and brought into a saving relation to Christ. And although infants have not committed any actual transgressions, yet are they born in sin and involved in the fall of Adam, our first parent, and must die in consequence of sin. Hence must they also be born again of water and of the Spirit, to enter into the kingdom of God. For "what is born of the flesh, is flesh, and what is born of the Spirit, is Spirit."

Therefore, firmly believing the gracious promises of God which He on His part will most surely keep and perform, and relying on the power of His Holy Spirit, which like the wind bloweth where it listeth, so that we hear the sound thereof but cannot tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth : let us commend this child (*these children*) to the grace of God, and humbly and devoutly pray in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He may receive (*him, her, them*) into His covenant of grace and holiness as a member (*members*) of Christ's mystical body of the Church, and to this effect send down His Holy Spirit upon the water of baptism that it may become to this child (*these children*) a laver of regeneration and a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

Let us pray. (*Kneeling.*)

Almighty God our Heavenly Father, who hast created this child, (*these children*) for thy glory, be pleased graciously to make him (*her, them*) Thine also, by adoption that he (*she, they*) may grow up in Thy fear and serve Thee in true righteousness

and holiness all the days of his (*her, their*) life. O Lord God Jesus Christ, who in the days of Thy flesh didst take little children into Thine arms and bless them; and who didst moreover shed Thy precious blood for them on the cross, mercifully receive also this child (*these children*) and engraft him (*her, them*) into Thy body, the Church, that he (*she, they*) may be Thine forever both in body and soul, in life and in death. O God the Holy Ghost, who camest down from heaven upon Jesus at His baptism on the banks of Jordan, descend also upon this child, (*these children*), wash away his (*her, their*) sin, regenerate his (*her, their*) heart, that he (*she, they*) may become Thy temple and be filled with thy graces according to the promise given to us and to our children, even to as many as the Lord God shall call. O holy, blessed and glorious Trinity, Three persons and one God, bestow Thy rich favor upon this child, (*these children*), grant unto him (*her, them*) true faith, ardent love and firm hope, send thy guardian angels to keep watch over him (*her, them*) day and night, fortify him (*her, them*) against the temptations of the flesh, the world and the devil, lead him (*her, them*) safe through the trials and tribulations of life, and after having served Thee faithfully on earth take him (*her, them*) up at last into the enjoyment of Thy glory in heaven to praise Thee with angels and saints forever and ever. Amen.

Our Father, etc.

Or this :

Almighty and everlasting God, who of Thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the ark by water ; and also didst safely lead the children of Israel, Thy people, through the Red Sea, figuring thereby Thy holy baptism ; and by the baptism of Thy well beloved Son, Jesus Christ, in the river Jordan, didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin : we beseech Thee for thine infinite mercies, graciously to look upon this child, (*these children*) to wash him, (*her, them*) and sanctify him (*her, them*) with the Holy Ghost, that he (*she, they*) being delivered from Thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's Church, and being steadfast in faith, joyful through

hope, and rooted in charity, may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally he (*she, they*) may come to the land of everlasting life, there to reign with Thee, world without end, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Our Father, etc.

[Then the minister shall address the parents or sponsors as follows:]

Dearly beloved, you have brought this child to be offered to Christ by holy baptism as a servant of His laws and a disciple of His doctrine; you have prayed, that God would receive *him* and make *him* a member of His everlasting kingdom. You have heard also what promises God hath made on His part, which are yea and amen, and not one tittle of which shall pass unaccomplished. But you must remember also, that baptism which is a covenant of grace on the side of God, is also a covenant of obedience on the side of man, that God who offers us first His blessings, requires also from us repentance and faith, that His ordinances may prove unto us a savor of life unto life, and not of death unto death. Therefore, you to whose care and responsibility this child is committed, must also on *his* behalf, as *his* surities, until *he* become of age to take it upon *himself*, faithfully promise to fulfil the conditions of this covenant of mercy, to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, to believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and to keep all Christ's commandments.

I ask you then in the presence of God and of this congregation:

Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the devil with all his ways and works, the world with its vain pomp and glory, and the flesh with all its sinful desires?

Answer. I renounce them all.

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?

Answer. I believe.

Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ His only begotten Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, descended into hell; the third day He arose again

from the dead, ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead?

Answer. I believe.

Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic Church, The communion of saints, The remission of sins, The resurrection of the body, And the life everlasting?

Answer. I believe.*

Wilt thou that this child be baptized in this faith?

Answer. I will.

Dost thou solemnly promise to bring up this child in the nurture and admonition of the Lord and in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion?

Answer. I do.

[Then the minister taking the child into his arms shall say to the parents or sponsors: *name this child*, and naming it after them aloud shall baptize it,† saying:]

N. I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.‡

Let us give thanks:

Almighty and most merciful Father, we render Thee our

* According to some ancient rituals these three questions concerning the Christian faith may also be condensed into one, in this wise:

Dost thou believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost and in all the articles of the Christian faith as contained in the Apostle's Creed?

Answer. I believe.

In the Churches of the East, it was customary for the person to be baptized or the sponsor, to repeat the creed after the minister, instead of answering to questions.

† The application of water ought to be plentiful, and may be repeated as each name of the Holy Trinity is pronounced.

‡ The first Zwinglian (of 1523, *Zw. Opera*, ed. Schuler, II, 2, p. 226,) the Lutheran and the Anglican Liturgies, as well as those of the ancient Greek and Roman Churches, attach to this act the ceremony of making a cross on the child's forehead (and breast) accompanied with these or similar words:

We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock and sign him with the sign of the cross, in token, that he may hereafter fight as a faithful soldier under the banner of Christ crucified, against the world, the flesh and the devil, confess Him before men in word and in deed, and continue faithful in His service all the days of his life. Amen.

humble and most hearty thanks, that Thou hast been pleased, by holy baptism, to deliver this child (*these children*) from the power of darkness and translate *him* into the kingdom of Thy dear Son, in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins. And we humbly beseech Thee to grant that *he*, being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in His death, may crucify the old man and utterly abolish the whole body of sin; that as *he* is made partaker of the death of Thy Son, so *he* may be also partaker of His resurrection; so that finally with the residue of Thy Holy Church, *he* may inherit finally Thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Or this:

Almighty and most merciful Father, we render Thee our humble and most hearty thanks, that Thou hast been pleased to grant unto this child, (*these children*) the holy sign and seal of the remission of sin and the washing of regeneration, to receive *him* as Thine own *child* by adoption, and to incorporate *him* into the visible Church of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ. And we humbly entreat Thee, so to govern *this child* by Thy Holy Spirit that *he* may ever remain true to *his* baptismal vows, confess the name of Christ, by word and deed, fight as a faithful soldier under His banner, against all the powers of sin and darkness, and inherit at last the crown of victory and glory. Give grace unto the parents, relatives and friends of *this child*, that they may train *him* up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, instruct *him* in the way of salvation and show *him* a good example in a godly life and conversation. Remind us all who are here present, of our baptismal vows by which we were dedicated to Thy Holy service, and enable us to keep Thy law, to glorify Thy name in prosperity and adversity, in life and in death, and as Thou by Thy infinite goodness hast made us members of Thy church militant upon earth, so give us a part at last with prophets and apostles, with confessors and martyrs in the joys of thy Church triumphant in heaven. Amen.

[Then the minister shall address the parents or sponsors as follows:]

Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, as you have dedicated this child (*these children*) by baptism, to the service of the triune God, you must remember that it is your sacred duty to train him (*her, them*) up by precept and example, in the true knowledge and fear of God according to the articles of the Christian faith and doctrine, as contained in the books of the Old and New Testament and the symbols of the Church. Especially is it your duty, so soon as he (*she, they*) shall be able to learn, to remind him, (*her, them*) often of his (*her, their*) baptismal vows and obligations, and in particular to teach him the Lord's prayer, the Apostle's Creed and the Ten Commandments, that *he* may know how to pray, what to believe, and what to practice. Finally, you are to see to it, that *he* be brought at the proper time to the minister to be instructed in the Catechism and prepared for Confirmation and the Holy Communion, that *he* may heartily renew *his* baptismal vows, renounce in *his* own name, the world, the flesh, and the devil, profess Jesus Christ and ever honor this profession by a holy life and conversation, to the glory of God and the salvation of *his* soul.

Benediction :

The grace of our Lord, etc.

[In case of private baptism, made necessary by sickness, or any other cause, this service may be shortened, if it seem proper, at the discretion of the minister.]

B. ADULT BAPTISM.

[Adults, or persons of riper years, who are able to answer for themselves, are not to be baptized, unless they have been first carefully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, as set forth in the Catechism, and give sufficient evidence of their hearty repentance and their sincere desire to lead a new life devoted to the service of God and His Church.]

Minister :

In the name of the Father, of the Son and the Holy Ghost.
Amen.

[After the singing of a Hymn suitable for the occasion, the minister shall address the person or persons to be baptized, as follows :

DEARLY BELOVED :

That you may know and rightly understand from God's holy word, the meaning and importance of the Sacrament of Baptism, let us hear first the gospel as recorded by St. John, in the third chapter : " There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews. The same came to Jesus by night and said unto Him : We know that Thou art a teacher come from God ; for no man can do these miracles, that Thou doest, except God be with him. Jesus answered and said unto him : Verily, Verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Nicodemus said unto him : How can a man be born when he is old ? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born ? Jesus answered : Verily, Verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh, is flesh ; and that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee : Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth : so also is every one that is born of the Spirit. St. John, 3 : 1-8.

Hear also the words of the institution of this Sacrament, as contained in the last chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark :

" And he said unto His disciples : Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved ; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. St. Mark, 16 : 15, 16.

You see from these words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that we are all by nature in a sinful and lost condition, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God except by a new birth of Water and of the Spirit ; and that there is no salvation without faith in Jesus Christ and a child-like submission to His ordinances. You see, moreover, that the ordinary way of entering into the covenant of grace according to God's appointment is the sacrament of holy Baptism, by which we are divinely assured of

the remission of our sins and become partakers of the gift of the Holy Ghost. Hence also St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, after preaching the gospel of Christ's death and resurrection, called upon the hearers, saying :—"Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, For the promise is unto you and to your children and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." Acts 2: 38,39.

But as the blessing is great, which God in His mercy bestows upon all, who approach this ordinance with a truly penitent heart, so also is the obligation great, which they on their part assume. Remember, that in submitting to baptism, you renounce openly before God and His Church, the world, the flesh and the devil, and dedicate yourself (*yourselves*) with body and soul to the service of the triune God, who has made you and redeemed you and sanctified you; that you are bound, therefore, by the most sacred vows, to live henceforth not unto yourself, (*yourselves*) but unto Him, who gave Himself for you, to obey Christ's commandments and to adorn your profession by a sober, righteous and godly life, until you shall appear at last before the judgment seat of Christ. Remember, that unless you comply with the conditions of God's covenant, you forfeit its privileges and glorious rewards, and that which was intended as a savor of life unto life, will turn by your own guilt into a savor of death unto death. "Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

[Then addressing the congregation, he shall say:]

Let us, therefore, all who are here present, humble ourselves before Almighty God, and call upon Him to grant His blessing and the influences of His Holy Spirit, that the Water of Baptism may become to this person (*these persons*) a laver of regeneration and a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

Let us pray. (*Kneeling.*)

Almighty and everliving God, the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to Thee for succor, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead : we call upon Thee for this person (*these persons*) that he (*she, they*) coming to Thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of his (*her, their*) sins by spiritual regeneration. Receive him, (*her, them*) O Lord, as Thou hast promised by Thy well beloved Son, saying : ask, and ye shall receive, seek, and ye shall find, knock, and it shall be opened unto you ; so now give unto us that ask, let us that seek find, open the gate unto us that knock ; that this person (*these persons*) may enjoy the everlasting benediction of Thy heavenly washing, and may come to the eternal kingdom which Thou hast promised by Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty and everlasting God, who of Thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family by water, and also didst safely lead the children of Israel, Thy people, through the Red Sea, figuring thereby Thy holy Baptism ; and by the Baptism of Thy well beloved Son Jesus Christ, in the river Jordan, didst sanctify the element of water to the mystical washing away of sin : we beseech Thee for Thine infinite mercies, graciously to look upon this Thy servant, (*these Thy servants*) to wash him, (*her, them*) and sanctify him (*her, them*) with the Holy Ghost, that he (*she, they*) being delivered from Thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's Church, and being steadfast, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, may so pass the billows of this troublesome world, that finally he (*she, they*) may come to the land of everlasting life, there to reign with Thee, world without end. Amen.

Our Father, etc.

[Then the minister shall address the person or persons to be baptized :]

Dearly beloved, having heard what the holy Scriptures teach concerning the institution, the great blessings and the solemn obligations of the sacrament of Baptism, and having called upon God, to accompany the use of the same, at this time, with the power of His Spirit : I now ask you, in the presence

of God and this congregation, to answer clearly and distinctly the following questions :

Dost thou renounce the devil with all his ways and works, the world with its vain pomp and glory, and the flesh with all its sinful desires ?

Answer. I renounce them all.

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth ?

Answer. I believe.

Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried ; He descended into hell ; the third day He arose again from the dead, He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty ; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead ?

Answer. I believe.

Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting ?

Answer. I believe.

Wilt thou be baptized in this faith ?

Answer. I will.

Dost thou promise to follow Jesus Christ and to keep His commandments all the days of thy life ?

Answer. I do.

[Then shall the minister ask the name of the Catechumen, and requiring him to kneel down, shall baptize him saying :]

N. *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*

[After a short pause the minister shall lay his hand on the head of the person or persons baptized, still kneeling, and CONFIRM them severally, saying :]

Defend, O Lord, Thy servant, with Thy heavenly grace, that *he* may continue Thine forever, and daily increase in Thy Holy Spirit more and more, until *he* come unto Thy everlasting kingdom. *Amen.*

Or this :

Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who out of His infinite mercy has granted thee the remission of all thy sins and the gift of His Holy Spirit, confirm thee by His grace, strengthen thee for every good word and work unto everlasting life. *Amen.*

[Then the persons rising, the minister shall proceed:]

Let us give thanks:

Almighty and most merciful Father, we render Thee our humble and most hearty thanks, that Thou hast been pleased, by holy Baptism, to deliver this person (*these persons*) from the power of darkness, and translate *him* into the kingdom of Thy dear Son, in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins. And we humbly beseech Thee to grant that *he*, being dead unto sin and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in His death, may crucify the old man and utterly abolish the whole body of sin; and that, as *he* is made partaker (*partakers*) of the death of Thy Son, *he* may also be made partaker of His resurrection; so that finally, with the residue of Thy Holy Church, *he* may be an inheritor of Thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Or this:

Almighty God, our most merciful Father, we render Thee our humble and hearty thanks, that Thou dost mercifully defend and daily increase Thy holy catholic Church, and that Thou hast been pleased to add this person (*these persons*) to the number of Christ's flock, granting *him* the forgiveness of sins and making *him* Thy child, and an heir of life everlasting. And we humbly beseech Thee, ever to defend us and *this Thy servant*, against the powers of sin and darkness, to strengthen us with the Holy Ghost, and daily to increase in us Thy manifold gifts of grace, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness; that, walking in Thy ways and keeping Thy commandments, we may obtain at last the inheritance of the saints in light, and praise Thee, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

[Then the minister shall give the person or persons baptised, the right hand and say :]

I now give you the right hand of Christian fellowship, and receive you into the congregation of Christ's flock, and admit you to all the privileges of the same. May you ever walk worthy of your high and heavenly calling, and may the God of peace sanctify you wholly and preserve your whole spirit and soul and body blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

[The minister shall then conclude the service with a hymn and the usual benediction.]

NO. 2.

THE FORM OF MARRIAGE.

[The parties to be married shall appear, standing before the minister, with their friends and neighbors or other witnesses; the Man on the right hand, and the Woman on the left. The minister shall then begin and say :]

In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Dearly beloved, we are assembled, in the sight of God, and of his holy angels, to join together this man and this woman in the bonds of matrimony, which is an honorable estate, instituted of God in the time of man's innocency, confirmed by the teaching of our blessed Saviour, and compared by St. Paul to the mystical union, which subsists between Christ and his Church.

Hear what the word of God says concerning it :

"And the Lord God said, It is not good that man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him. And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and of the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, this is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh."

Hear further what is said by our Lord in the Gospel of St. Matthew :

“ The Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause ? And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and said, ‘ For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife : and they twain shall be one flesh ? ’ Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.”

Hear also what St. Paul says, in his epistle to the Ephesians, as touching the duties of husbands towards their wives and of wives towards their husbands :

“ Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it ; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing ; but that it should be holy and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives, as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself, for no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church.

Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church : and he is the Saviour of the body. Therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing.”

Into this holy estate these two persons are come to be joined. Therefore, if any man can show any just cause why they may not be lawfully joined together, let him now speak, or forever after hold his peace.

[And then, addressing the persons to be married, he shall say :

Also, I charge you each and both, as you will answer before God at the day of judgment, if either of you know any reason why you may not be lawfully joined together in matrimony, confess it now. For be well assured, that all those who are

brought together contrary to the word of God, are not joined together of God ; neither is their marriage lawful.

[If there be no impediment alleged, or no suspicion raised, the minister shall proceed, and say unto the man :]

Wilt thou take this woman to be thy wedded wife ?

Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honor and keep her, in sickness and in health ; and forsaking every other, cleave to her only, so long as you both shall live ?

[The man shall answer :]

I will.

[Then shall he say unto the woman :]

Wilt thou take this man to be thy wedded husband ?

Wilt thou obey him and serve him, love, honor and keep him, in sickness and in health ; and, forsaking every other, cleave to him only, so long as you both shall live ?

[The woman shall answer :]

I will.

[Then shall the minister say :]

As a seal to this holy vow, give each other the right hand.

[Then shall he address these words to the bridegroom, who shall repeat them after him :]

I, M., take thee, N., to be my wedded wife, and pledge thee my troth.

[In the same way the bride shall repeat these words after him :]

I, N., take thee, M., to be my wedded husband, and pledge thee my troth.

[Then shall he lay his hand upon the hands of the pair and say :]

The marriage vow, which you have here made, before God and these witnesses, I confirm, in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen !

What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

Let us pray :

O God, who by thy mighty power didst create man in thine own image, and then ordain for his happiness the estate of marriage, to be continued through all generations, look mercifully, we pray thee, upon these thy servants ; that both this

man may truly love his wife, according to thy word, and also that this woman may be loving and amiable, faithful and obedient to her husband ; and in all quietness, sobriety and peace be a follower of holy and godly matrons.

O Lord, bless them both and grant them an inheritance in thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil : for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.

[Then shall he bless them :]

Almighty God, who at the beginning did create our first parents, Adam and Eve, and did sanctify and give them in marriage, pour upon you the riches of his grace, sanctify and bless you, that you may please him both in body and soul, and live together in holy love unto your lives' end. Amen.

NO. 3.

A FORM OF SERVICE TO BE USED AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF A CHURCH.

[When the people have assembled at the spot where the new church is to be built, the minister, standing near the corner-stone, shall say:]

Christian Brethren:—It is right and proper, in all our doings, to beseech Almighty God for his most gracious direction and help. But especially, as we are now assembled to begin a House, which is to be set apart for His honor and service ; for the worship of His holy name, the preaching of His holy Gospel, and the administration of His holy Sacraments, let us devoutly look up to Him for assistance, protection, and blessing.

Almighty and everlasting God, who art always more ready to hear than we are to pray, and art wont to give more than

either we desire or deserve; grant us, we beseech thee, the fulness of Thy mercy. Prosper and bless the work which we have here undertaken, that by thy favor it may promote Thy glory and secure the salvation of many souls; through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Our Father, who art, etc.

[Here the minister shall read the 96th Psalm, or some other suitable portion of Scripture.

The inscription of the stone, if it have any, shall be read, and notice given of the deposits made therein.

Then the corner-stone being laid in its place, the minister shall say:]

Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.

Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.

[Striking the stone three times with the hammer, he shall say:]

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.* I lay the corner-stone of an edifice to be here erected by the name of ——— church, and devoted to the worship of Almighty God, agreeably to the principles and usages of the German Reformed Church in the United States of North America.

Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ; who is God over all, blessed forever; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

[Then shall the minister say:]

Let us pray:

Blessed be thy name, O Lord, that it hath pleased thee to put it into the hearts of thy servants to commence the erection of a building in which thy holy name is to be worshipped, the messages of reconciliation proclaimed and the means and pledges of thy grace and mercy administered. Prosper thou them, O God, in this their undertaking. Guard by thy prov-

idence everything which may appertain to the building, which is now begun in thy fear. Excite the skill and animate the industry of the superintendents and workmen. Shield them from all accidents and dangers. And grant unto them, and all of us here present, the influences of thy Divine Spirit, so that we may become in soul and body living temples of the Holy Ghost, and be prepared for that eternal city which hath foundations, whose maker and whose builder is God. All which we ask through the abundant merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

[Here an address may be delivered. After which a collection will be made and the service concluded with the singing of the 100th Psalm and Apostolic benediction.]

ART. III.—CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION.

It is an encouraging fact, that amid the radical and unchurchly tendencies of the present age, the subject of *Catechising*, has of late years received increased attention on the part of all the leading branches of the Protestant Church. Not only have pastors, and professors of theology advocated in various religious publications this time-honored, and Scriptural mode of carrying forward in a healthy and vigorous form the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, but the highest ecclesiastical judicatories, have expressed anew, and with increased earnestness, their hearty confidence in this mode of inculcating divine truth, and, by the weight of their solemn authority, directed the ministers and churches under their care to prosecute the work of systematic, catechetical instruction, with increased diligence and zeal. And as the Church, to whose interests this publication is especially devoted, is emphatically a *catechetical Church*, and was thus characterized from the beginning, it has been deemed appropriate to prepare a paper on this particular department of her religious policy.

The word *chatechise*, is derived from the Greek word *κατηχεω* and signifies properly to teach the rudiments, or first principles of some particular doctrine. In a more general sense, when applied to the doctrine of the Church as such, it means, to teach the first principles of the Christian religion. The word catechism, *κατηχισμος*, may be defined, *a summary of Christian doctrine, reduced to the form of questions and answers.*

The *origin* of catechising, according to the technical and proper import of the term, cannot be precisely fixed. In its more essential features and elements, however, it may be said to have obtained in the early history of the Old Testament Church. In the covenant God made with Abraham, (Gen. 17: 7,) he said, "I will be a God unto thee, and thy seed after thee." And as the acceptable worship of God, presupposes as its ground and necessary condition, a competent knowledge of divine truth, God earnestly enjoined upon the Jews, the duty of catechising, or instructing their children in the doctrines of religion as then revealed. In the 12th and 13th chapters of Exodus, he expressly commands to give their children a particular explanation of the passover, its institution and design. In the 4th chapter of Deuteronomy, God commands parents to repeat to their children, the entire history of the law which he had given them. And in the 6th chapter of the same book, it is solemnly enjoined upon Israel to adhere to, and love with a supreme affection the one true God, and to inculcate with persevering diligence, into the minds of their children, the precious doctrines which had been revealed to them. "*And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.*" The pious Jews, accordingly, under the Old Testament dispensation, by no means overlooked the religious education of their children. Parents not only dedicated their offspring to God in the sacrament of circumcision, but as they grew up, made them acquainted with their relations to God, and his Church, their duties and responsibilities, as well as with the

privileges and immunities involved in their peculiar and favored position. Besides, special attention was paid to the religious education of children in the schools. The schools of the prophets, it may be supposed, were not intended simply to prepare youth for the prophetic office, but offered their advantages to all who might be disposed to attend upon the instructions there imparted.

In the New Testament Church, religious training, the instruction of children and youth in the doctrines of religion, was earnestly insisted on. The blessed Redeemer himself commanded that little children should be brought to him, and laid his hands upon and blessed them. The command, "Feed my lambs," contemplated not only kind pastoral attention to such as were young in grace, but such as were young in years also. "Ye fathers, bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," was the injunction of an inspired Apostle. Timothy, a young minister of the gospel, and distinguished for his symmetrical, intelligent, and ardent piety, knew the Scriptures from a child, and by them was made wise unto salvation. And there is reason to believe, that already in the apostolic age, ministers of religion observed due order and system, in instructing children and others who were ignorant, in the doctrines of the gospel. The apostle Paul speaks of the "principles of the doctrine of Christ," some of which he proceeds to enumerate in regular order. These, he elsewhere denominates "milk for babes." It is evident, therefore, that the Apostles adapted their teachings in due order to the capacities and circumstances of those whom they engaged to instruct.

And at an early period succeeding the apostolic age, history bears ample testimony to the zeal and diligence of the Church, in carrying forward the system of catechetical instruction. Already in the second century, catechumenical schools were established in connection with almost every Christian Church. In these schools, not only the children of Christians, but the heathen also, were instructed in the doctrines of religion, and were thus prepared for full communion with the Church. Besides these parochial, Christian schools, others of a still higher character were established, where youth were more fully and

thoroughly instructed in religion. A school of this character was opened in Alexandria in the middle of the second century, and was presided over by such men as Pantaenus, Clement, and Origen, under whose government it became justly, and universally celebrated. Eusebius writes, that Origen restored the custom of catechising in Alexandria, which had been suffered to grow out of use during the times of persecution. Socrates observes, in relation to the system in the primitive Church, thus, "*Our form of catechising, is in accordance with the mode which we have received from the Bishops who have preceded us, and according as we were taught when we laid the foundation of faith and were baptized, and according as we have learned from the Scriptures.*"

The reasons which induced the early Christians to pay such very particular attention to the instruction of children and candidates for church fellowship, are well described by Jamieson, in the following extract:

"While those who were entitled to partake of the Lord's Supper were exclusively denominated the *faithful*, and considered as occupying the rank of perfect, or approved Christians, there were several other classes of persons who though connected with the Church, and forming constituent parts of it, were yet separated from, and inferior to the former, being in various stages of advancement towards a qualification for the holy rites of the gospel. These orders, known as catechumens, were distinguished from each other by lines of demarkation, beyond which none was allowed to pass without a long and gradual preparation; and between a newly made catechumen, and a Christian in the rank of the faithful, there was as wide a difference in the eye of the primitive Church, as between an infant of a day, and one who has attained the stature of a full grown man. In the records of apostolic times, we shall in vain look for any traces of this distinction,*—for then a heathen no sooner made an avowal of his faith in Christ than he received the initiatory right of Christianity. His con-

* That is, we have no evidence that the apostles prosecuted the work of catechization in the *same form*, in which it was subsequently carried forward by the Church.

version was immediately followed by his baptism, and whatever shades of difference there might be in the knowledge of the new converts, all were considered as equally entitled to the outward sign, as they were to the inward spiritual benefit of the ordinance. But in process of time when the Church was enlarged by a daily influx of members from Heathenism, and when her purity was no longer guarded by the presiding care of those who possessed the miraculous gift of discerning spirits, the pious solicitude of her rulers in after-times, gave rise to the custom of deferring the admission of converts into the fellowship of the Church, till clear and satisfactory evidence was obtained of their fitness, in point of knowledge and sincerity, to be enrolled in the ranks of the disciples. The dear-bought experience of the primitive Christians, had convinced them, that the gross habits of idolators were not easily, and all at once, in many instances relinquished for the pure and spiritual principles of the Gospel, and that the multitude of professed believers held their faith by so slender a tie, that the slightest temptation plunged them anew into their former sensuality, and the first alarm drove them back into the enemies' camp. To diminish, and if possible to prevent the occurrence of such melancholy apostacies, which interrupted the peace and prosperity of the Christian society, and brought a stain on the Christian name, was a consummation devoutly wished for by the pious fathers of the primitive age, and accordingly, animated by a spirit of holy jealousy, they adopted the rule, which soon came into universal practice, of instituting a severe and protracted inquiry into the character and views of candidates for admission to the communion of the Church,—of not suddenly advancing them to that honorable degree, but of continuing them for a limited period in a state of probation. It was thus that the order of catechumens arose, an order which though unknown in the age of Peter and Paul, boasts of a very early introduction into the primitive Church; and, at whatever period its date may be fixed, its origin is to be traced to the laudable desire of more fully instructing young converts in the doctrines of the Christian faith; and at the same time, afford-

ing them opportunites to give evidence of the sincerity of their profession, by the change of their lives, and the holiness of their conversation."*

From this extract alone, we may learn in what estimation catechising was held in the primitive Church. Men of the highest rank in the Church appear to have exercised themselves in this work. Origen's close mode of Catechetical Ministry, was blessed to the conversion of many heathen bystanders of influence. Cyril and Augustine, two of the most eminent Church Fathers, gave their strong testimony in favor of this method of promoting intelligent and solid piety. But this primitive, and scriptural system of disseminating divine truth, and promoting the true interests of the Church, was gradually thrust aside, and rendered almost nugatory, as the dark ages of papal tyranny and superstition advanced. No sooner, however, had the light of the glorious Reformation dawned, and cast its first rays upon the Church and the world, than the ancient custom of catechising was again revived.

The blessed Reformers, whom God raised up to restore in his Church purity of doctrine and of worship, were men emphatically of the *Catechism*. And whilst these servants of Christ, spared no pains to enlighten, by their verbal instructions, as well as by their writings, those of mature age, they entered with the utmost vigor and perseverance upon the work of resuscitating the ancient system of catechising. And for this purpose a large number of catechisms, adapted to the different capacities of children and youth, were prepared and extensively circulated. It was earnestly enjoined upon parents, to co-operate with their pastors and teachers in the work of indoctrinating their children in the truths and principles of the blessed gospel. And so potent did these efforts prove, in dissipating the clouds of superstition and error, that the Romanists bitterly complained of the "mischief which the Protestants have done the Catholic Church, not only by their tongues, but especially by their writings called *Catechisms*."†

* *Manners of Prim. Christ.* pp. 180—2,

† Preface to *Catechism*, published by Council of Trent.

And it is indeed hard to see how the Reformation could have been carried forward with any degree of success, *without* the Catechism. It was necessary, that the friends of evangelical truth should enter the very nurseries of the Church, the family and the school, and there, on the soil of young and tender minds, scatter the precious seed of God's word. But not only for children, was this mode of disseminating divine truth necessary; it was likewise necessary for adults, and those of mature age. For so dense was the moral darkness before the Reformation, to such a degree did ignorance of the Holy Scriptures prevail, that in point of knowledge, nearly all might properly be regarded as *children*. Hence it was necessary to instruct them also in the "first principles of the doctrine of Christ." Accordingly catechetical instruction was a very efficient means of promoting evangelical truth among adults, as well as among children and youth.

Having said thus much on the origin and history of catechising, we will proceed in what we have yet to say, to take a more narrow and practical view of our subject.

In prosecuting our subject, we would not insist on any one mode, or plan of catechising, to the *exclusion* of every other. We need be concerned mainly, that the divine seed should be faithfully sown, in whatever way, in order that the fruits of righteousness may be duly realized. In reflecting, however, upon the practical prosecution of the catechetical system, we naturally recur in our minds to the *family*, the *school*, and to the *pastoral lecture*. We will, therefore, consider the entire catechetical process, as comprehended in the three departments just named. And first, the *family*. But before the duties of parents can be properly understood, it is necessary to inquire, in what relation their children stand to the Church. For peculiar relations involve corresponding duties. Children, it is admitted, are included in the atonement of our blessed Redeemer; and are the objects, therefore, of the divine mercy and love. The Church is a divine institution, the depository of the oracles of God, and comprehending in herself such means and ordinances as are necessary for the salvation of man.

Salvation, therefore, is not to be sought *outside* the pale of the Church,—not by passing by, and despising the channels of grace she offers to all those who would draw nigh unto God, that they may be saved. If children then are included in Christ's redemption, then it is evident they need salvation, salvation from original sin, from inherent depravity. It follows, therefore, as a consequence, that children should be admitted by holy baptism, to the covenant and Church of God. Baptized children are, consequently, *in* the Church, and not *outside* of it; they are members of Christ's visible Kingdom, "for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Accordingly, the relation parents sustain to their baptized children is profoundly solemn, and involves corresponding obligations and duties. Even the *natural* relation of parents to their children, lays the foundation of important duties to them; it requires of them the exercise of "natural affection," a suitable provision for their wants, and their constant watchfulness and care. But much more solemn, are their moral, or spiritual relations to their children. Both they and their offspring stand related to a spiritual economy, that infinitely transcends all mere human and natural relations and connexions. The duties of parents may be contemplated as three-fold,—their duties to the Church as individual members,—to their children in view of their relation to them as members of the Church, and to the Church, as a consequence of such relation to their children.

And, in treating of parental duty, it is proper to observe, that the family is divinely constituted, inasmuch as the marriage relation was instituted by God himself. Parents, accordingly, are divinely appointed and authorized to "bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Hence the right discharge of parental duty, is accompanied by a divine, super-human force. For parents are God's agents; He directs them to train their offspring for himself, for his kingdom and glory. Accordingly, already in their infancy, parents dedicate their children to God, in the holy ordinance of Christian baptism. Thus they testify publicly, that their children are in the highest sense the property of God, and give,

at the same time, their solemn pledge, that, by their prayers, their instructions and example, they will do all they can in a humble reliance upon divine grace, to rear their children for God and for heaven. It is their duty, therefore, to *catechise* their children. And upon this duty they must enter even before their children may be able to read, before they can peruse and study the catechism for themselves. From a *child*, Timothy knew the Holy Scriptures. Just as the soul of the child unfolds and develops itself, as its capacities for the reception of truth are enlarged, should the precious seed of the divine word be scattered upon the soil of the young and tender heart. The spirit of the child as it develops itself into conscious being, should be pre-occupied by the elements of gospel truth, that thus the seeds of sin lodged in its moral constitution, might be prevented from germinating, and producing the mortal fruits of sin and transgression. Children should be made acquainted with God, his attributes, and will, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. They should be made to understand their relations to God as their Creator, Preserver and Redeemer, and also their relation to his Church, by virtue of their baptism.* The privileges as well as the duties involved in this last relation, should be clearly explained, and seriously impressed upon the minds of children. They should be made to understand "that they are not their own, but belong to their faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who with his precious blood has fully satisfied for all their sins." Such a representation of their relation to the Church, together with the other neces-

* Thus P. Henry, in dealing with his children about their spiritual state, took hold of them very much by the handle of their infant baptism; and frequently inculcated upon them that they were born in God's house, and were betimes dedicated and given up to him, and therefore were obliged to be his servants. Life, p. 68. Compare Ps. cxvi. Thus his son bears his personal testimony to the value of this ordinance. "I cannot but take occasion," said he, "to express my gratitude to God for my infant baptism; not only as it was an early admission into the visible body of Christ; but as it furnished my pious parents with a good argument, (and as I trust through grace a prevailing argument) for an early dedication of my own self to God in my childhood. If God has wrought, any good work upon my soul, I desire with humble thankfulness to acknowledge the moral influence of my infant baptism upon it." Treatise on Baptism, p. 118.

sary gospel truths, may be expected, under the divine blessing, to become richly productive of the precious fruits of righteousness.

But in order to prosecute properly, the work of catechising, *Catechisms* are necessary. These, however, have been happily supplied. Catechisms, not only adapted to persons of mature age, but such also as are strictly elementary, and well adapted to children and youth. In our own Church, it is our privilege, in the merciful providence of God, to possess, and to hold, as our only symbol and confession of faith, the purely evangelical *Heidelberg Catechism*. And to render its doctrines easier of comprehension to children, it has, as is generally known, been successfully *simplified*, and in several forms, by one of the ministers of our body. Among others, we might yet mention the excellent Catechisms prepared for children and youth, by Dr. Watts. Parents should, accordingly, avail themselves of the excellent helps, made ready to their hand, in the form of those useful summaries of gospel truth. Instruction should not only be imparted to children at an early age, and in an easy and familiar manner without the catechism, that is before children are able to read, but when able, every parent should require each child to commit to memory an approved Catechism, together with the proof texts, and explain to them its doctrines as far as they may be capable of doing so.* The importance of requiring children to commit to memory the Catechism, cannot well be over-rated. It is important even as an intellectual exercise. Especially is this true in communities where but little attention is paid to education, where the school system exists in its most imperfect state, and where as a consequence, the opportunities of mental culture, or intellectual improvement are of the most inferior order. In such circumstances especially, it is not a matter of slight importance to children, in the way of mental discipline, to com-

* In the biography of the Rev. John Newton, it is stated, that when a child four years old, "he could read well, repeat the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, all Dr. Watts' smaller Catechisms, and his Children's Hymns."

This remarkable instance of mental precocity and training, we do not produce of course as a model for universal imitation.

mit to memory a Catechism, together with a large number of proof-texts. This exercise furnishes for the mind a healthy and pleasant excitement, and frequently serves as an important stimulus in leading the mind forward in the general direction of education.

But this exercise is especially to be recommended, as it renders the mind familiar with the most important of all truths, the precious doctrines of the divine Scriptures. And this familiarity with the *letter* of religious truth, could not be secured in any other way. It is by a continued rehearsal, that the language of the Catechism, or of the Bible, is impressed upon the memory, and when this is done in early youth, it will usually be retained in a great measure, even to old age.*

Parents, in prosecuting the great work of Christian nurture, should take special pains to impress their children with the sacredness of divine things. The Church should always be spoken of with due reverence, as a glorious, and divine institution. The office of the ministry, and all the ordinances of the Church, should be treated with similar reverence and respect. In a word, parents should endeavor to infuse into their children a sound churchly spirit, and an aversion to all insubordination and schism. Especially is this necessary in our own age, so distinguished for blind self-will, disorganization and schism, and every species of the wildest radicalism. If these alarming tendencies are to be checked and eventually overcome, Christian nurture must receive more general attention, the principles of truth, of a sound, churchly orthodoxy, must be more universally, and assiduously instilled into the minds and hearts of children. The foundation of an intelligent religious character must be laid in the family. We will yet observe, that in order to secure, under God, the richest fruits of parental culture, instruction must be accompanied by a liv-

* The writer, about a year since, paid a pastoral visit to one of his members, a woman of *eighty-six years*, and being no more able to read, she observed with much apparent emotion, that in her youth she committed to memory the Heidelberg Catechism, and many Scripture passages, to which she can still revert in memory with great satisfaction and benefit. And then, to our great surprise and gratification, she repeated correctly the first, and several other questions and answers of the Catechism.

ing commentary in the form of parental example, as well as by earnest, believing prayer. Paul speaks to Timothy, not only of his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures when yet a child, but in the same connection refers also to the "unfeigned faith" of his grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice.

We next notice the work of catechising as designed to be carried forward in the *school*. At an earlier period, since the Reformation, the *parochial school* was regarded as indispensable. In these schools, which sustained to the Church a very close and intimate relation, the Catechism held a very important place. Children were not only instructed in letters, but in religion likewise. School teachers, consequently, sustained to the Church also an intimate relation. Teachers, therefore, were regarded with a peculiar respect, approaching that which was entertained for the ministry itself. In the schools, the Bible was the principal book. After having reached a particular point in the progress of their education, all the scholars were required to read in the Bible as a regular school book. In connection with the Bible, the children also studied their catechisms, and recited them to their teachers, who offered upon their contents, a brief and familiar exposition. Besides, in those parochial schools, the delightful exercises of singing and prayer, were by no means uncommon. But alas! a later period, which, although it brought with it many improvements, has also ruled out much that should have been retained, and the want of which, is sincerely lamented by many of the wisest and best men in our land. And as the absence, in a great degree, of a positive religious element, in our Common Schools, is beginning to be more generally and deeply felt and deplored, there is reason for indulging the hope, that perhaps ere long, a reformation in our common school system, will be happily effected in this respect. It may be hoped that the School will not always stand practically divorced from the Church, to the serious detriment of both Church and State. The influence of a merely secular education, upon the interests of the Church and religion, must, in the very nature of the case, be prejudicial, and equally so upon the vital interests of the State.

The strong pillars which support our glorious civil fabric, are education and religion. Mere intellectual light and power, unaided by the superior force of Bible truth and principles, would prove utterly impotent in perpetuating our free institutions. We will here allow ourselves to quote the testimony of Dr. Chalmers on this subject: "It is not scholarship alone," he says, "but scholarship impregnated with religion, that tells on the great mass of society. We have no faith in the efficacy of mechanic institutes, or even of primary, elementary schools for building up a virtuous and well-conditioned peasantry, so long as they stand dis severed from the lessons of Christian piety. There is a charm ascribed to the scholastic system of Scotland; and the sanguine imagination is, that by importing its machinery into England and Ireland, it will work the same marvellous transformation there on the character of their people, that was experienced amongst ourselves. But it is forgotten that a warm and earnest Christianity was the animating spirit of all our institutions, for generations after they were formed, and that, wanting this, they can no more perform the function of moralizing the people, than skeletons can perform the functions and put forth the faculties of living men. The scholastic is incorporated with the ecclesiastical system of Scotland, and that not for the purpose of intolerance and exclusion, but for the purpose of *sanctifying education, and plying the boyhood of our land with the lessons of the Bible*. The scholarship of mere letters might, to a certain extent, have diffused *intelligence* among the people; but it is mainly to the religious ingredient that the moral greatness of our peasantry is owing."

Since, however, in our country the ecclesiastical element has unfortunately been in a large degree separated from the school system, it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the Sabbath school has come, in a good degree, to take the place of the parochial school. The Sabbath school does not, and could not, if even universally established, serve as a full equivalent, or proper substitute for the parochial school, yet it should be gratefully acknowledged, that it supplies in some good degree a serious defect in our school system.

The Sabbath school, in order properly to accomplish its object, should be entirely awake, and fully conscious of its relation to the Church. The Sabbath school is not to be regarded as an independent association, separate from the Church, or congregation. To a great extent, it forms part of the congregation. It is as such, an agency, which the congregation employs to assist parents in the great work of Christian nurture, of training, and educating their offspring, who are, at the same time, her own children, the children of the Church, formally constituted such in holy baptism, and thus preparing them instrumentally, for her full communion and fellowship. The school should, therefore, keep continually in full view its proper position and calling, and should labor earnestly and prayerfully for the spiritual welfare of those whom God regards as his Lambs, that in due time they may be properly qualified in every respect, to assume covenant engagements and to be fully admitted to the fold of Christ. In this view the school cannot be regarded as substituted in the place of parents and thus exonerating them from their peculiar and solemn duties ; it is simply the particular mode of action employed by the Church with the view of aiding parents in their important work, as well as discharging her own duty to her baptized membership. The school cannot possibly perform the work which God requires at the hands of parents ; that is a work which they only can perform. And whatever important service the school, or any other individual may perform for children, the duties of their parents still remain in their full, original force, and it is not possible for them by any means to rid themselves of those duties and obligations. The parental relation itself, would first have to be dissolved, before the duties necessarily growing out of that relation, could be abolished. It is absurd, therefore, to speak of transferring parental duty in a way that would release parents from those obligations which their very position necessarily involves. The Sabbath school, then, is to be regarded as an auxiliary, and if its work is properly prosecuted, a very important and efficient auxiliary to the domestic economy. And as an institution sustaining to the Church such an

intimate relation, the school deserves the favor and encouragement of all the friends of morality and religion.* Pastors, parents, and Church members generally, should manifest for the school a cordial interest, and should be disposed to do what they can to render it as efficient as possible. And if all schools were conducted upon right principles; if the catechism were more generally introduced in connection with the Bible lesson, and if all the classes were supplied with truly pious and competent teachers, the fruits of Sabbath school instruction would be far more abundant and precious than they have hitherto been.

The last department of catechetical labor which yet remains to be noticed, may be denominated the *pastoral*. To this department of pastoral duty, reference has already been had in this paper, in our remarks on the *history* of catechising. We have seen, that, in the most enlightened and purest periods of the Church, the system of catechisation was carried forward with the greatest vigor and perfection. And thus it will ever be. The position of pastors, therefore, in relation to this system, is one of no ordinary importance and responsibility. "Feed my lambs," is the solemn and authoritative injunction of the "chief shepherd." Pastoral catechising admits of a wide and diversified sphere. The pastor may prosecute this work with much success in the form of *family* catechising. He may appoint a day on which he will meet one or several families, convened together in a neighborhood, and thus an opportunity will be afforded to instruct all present, parents, children, and domestics. This particular form of catechization was formerly prosecuted with much vigor and success by our highly venerated sister, the Presbyterian Church. And it is gratifying to know, that the highest judicatory of this body has felt itself called upon to take suitable action in relation

* "It is to these seminaries that we are to look for a succession of youthful branches, which, having been grafted into the body of Christ's Church at baptism, may here imbibe the sap of holy principles, and be prepared by culture under the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit, sought for in prayer, to become 'trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord.'" Bishop of London's Primary Charge, 1880.

to this important subject, with the view of restoring this "ancient landmark," which had been partially removed, to its original and highly important, and churchly position. In view of the pastor's peculiar relation to the *Sabbath school*, he may exert in this institution, a very happy influence in favor of sound, elementary instruction. He may do much in the way of counsel, and in giving proper direction in the entire business of teaching, and in the general management of the school. And there, he will have frequent opportunities of scattering the seeds of divine truth upon the mellow soil of young and tender hearts.

But the most solemn part of pastoral catechising is that which contemplates the preparation of the young for full communion with the Church. This is the last and most important stage of the general process of catechetical training. Having passed from the family to the school, they are now placed under the more special and thorough instruction of the pastor, that, by the divine blessing, they may be duly prepared to pass from the school, through the catechetical class, into the Church, and ultimately from the Church into heaven! This work the pious pastor properly regards as profoundly solemn, and as involving a more than ordinary responsibility. The young persons placed under his care are candidates for full communion with Christ's holy Church. They are looking forward to no distant period when they expect to appear before God's holy altar, and there, in His divine presence, and in the presence of his people, renew in their own persons, their baptismal engagements, profess their faith in Christ, renounce satan and his works, and partake of the second sacrament, instituted by the Redeemer for his sincere followers. In these circumstances, the pastor is made to realize, in a degree peculiarly solemn and affecting, that the most vital interests of precious souls for whom Christ died, are entrusted to his care. He at once realizes, however, that his success with his class, will be conditioned very much by their previous training. If they were properly instructed in the family; if, from their childhood, they were surrounded by a healthy, religious element, even should

they not have enjoyed the advantages of a Sabbath school, the pastor will enter upon his work with the pleasant stimulus of a cheering hope, that the seed he is about casting upon well prepared soil, will, under the genial influences of the divine Spirit, germinate, and in due time produce the precious fruits of righteousness.* In the case of such, however, as are brought up in ignorance and in sin, there is far less hope. In their case, the seeds of sin, lodged in our fallen nature, have already germinated, and in a measure produced even at an early age, the noxious weeds of sin and unrighteousness. These foul weeds are to be removed, and the soil of the heart prepared for the precious seed of divine truth. Such need to be instructed in the simplest elements of the gospel. They may be compared to rough, unhewn blocks, just taken out of the quarry; and, it is hardly to be expected, that the sacred sculptor should be able, by the most skillful use of the gospel chisel, to produce in a few months, a beautiful, symmetrical, and life-like figure. Still, all things are possible with God, and by the effectual influences of his Holy Spirit, accompanying the simple exhibition, and persevering inculcation of divine truth, the darkness of spiritual ignorance will gradually be dissipated, the heart be melted into penitence, and Christ, the hope of glory, be formed in the soul. At all events, there cannot be a more favorable opportunity desired by the faithful pastor for instructing the young in the doctrines of religion, than the catechetical class. Here the ignorant and uninstructed, may be encouraged to commit to memory the Catechism and portions of the sacred Scriptures; and here *all*, whatever may have been their previous opportunities, can be clearly and fully in-

* "My first and greatest success," says Mr. Baxter, "was upon the youth; and so it was that when God had touched the hearts of the young with the love of goodness and delightful obedience to the truth; in various instances their friends, their fathers, and their grandfathers, who had grown old in an ignorant and worldly state, did many of them fall into a liking and loving of piety, induced by their love to their children, who now appeared so much wiser and better, and more dutiful to them." So sensible was Dr. Doddridge of the importance of this work, that he resolved at his entrance into the ministry, "I will often make it my humble prayer that God would teach me to speak to children in such a manner as may make early impressions of religion upon their hearts."

structed in the doctrines and precepts of the blessed Gospel. In this capacity, the pastor can with propriety, be especially free and familiar in imparting instruction. And he possesses every opportunity of being close, direct, and personal, in his instructions. The catechumens on their part will understand and feel, that what is said, is said to them and for them. Hence, the truth spoken and earnestly applied and enforced, will be the more likely to make upon their minds a deep and permanent impression. If, accordingly, pastoral catechising is properly and faithfully conducted, and if connected with earnest, believing prayer, the most happy results may be confidently anticipated. And should such results not always appear immediately, they will, in many instances, be realized at a future period. And the *form* of piety produced, under the faithful prosecution of the catechetical system, is eminently normal, and evangelical. As we have seen, this system is designed to bear upon the human soul, already in early childhood, at the very dawn of moral accountability. The aliment to be imparted, is the "pure milk of the word;" and throughout the entire process, nothing is to be presented and inculcated but the pure, unadulterated doctrines of the blessed Gospel. Such wholesome instruction is to be accompanied by earnest and believing prayer, and a living exemplification of the doctrines taught. This system as now defined, excludes all error, it discards all human devices and appliances in the sphere of religion. It relies solely upon God's truth and grace in Christ Jesus. It stands equally removed from dead formality, and wild, senseless fanaticism. The piety produced by this system is intelligent, deep, and living,—not unnatural, wild, fitful, and periodical. Its internal fruits are humility, love, faith, purity, joy, and peace; and its outward manifestations are, all the fruits of a living faith, a cheerful and constant obedience to all the commandments of God. This system contemplates the renewal of our nature, which is totally depraved, into the image of God. It proposes a living union with Christ, the second Adam; such an ingrafting into Christ, that the renewed believer becomes a member of his mystical body, and ani-

mated by his Spirit and life. A living, active piety, accordingly, is the legitimate product of this system. Its soul is supreme love to God, and equal love to man.

If then the Church of Christ would assume her true and proper position, if she would stand forth in her peerless majesty and glory,—she must “lay fast hold of instruction.” In no other way can she accomplish her mission.

Lebanon, Pa.

F. W. K.

ART. IV.—ZWINGLI AT BERN.

THE selections from the works of the great Swiss Reformer, which appeared in two earlier numbers of the Review, gave our readers some idea of his character as a Commentator. We now propose to furnish a specimen of his power and skill as a *controversialist*. For this purpose portions of the famous Disputation of Bern have been selected. This choice has been determined by the simple fact, that the discussions upon that occasion seem to have been conducted more systematically than most others, and so can more readily and fairly be presented in separate parts, without violating their integrity. And, moreover, the particular themes handled in the debate are more definitely and comprehensively stated, and are likely to have more interest just at this time, than those discussed in the Disputations of Zurich, Marburg, or Baden.

After Zurich none of the Cantons of the Swiss Confederacy, seem to have been more deeply agitated by the Great Awakening of the memorable era of the Reformation, than the Canton of Bern. In vain was the influx of the “pernicious and soul destroying heresies,” as the doctrines of grace were styled by the adherents of Rome, resisted. The breath of heaven, which was disturbing and purifying the waters, was

too potent, and the mountain waves, rising high above the stagnant pools of death in which so many had perished, were too mighty to be withstood. In spite of priestly tears, and archepiscopal deprecations, the waves rolled on, washing and cleansing as they went,—possibly carrying away in their resistless course, some things harmless in themselves, and susceptible of good and pious use, but which could still be yielded without regret, seeing they had become so inseparably intertwined, by cunning Popish spindlers, with what was wrong and ruinous. In the storms and earthquakes which occur in the natural world, our minds are readily reconciled to the devastations and even deaths which track their terrible course, by the consideration of the physical benefits which they secure. Why should we be more reluctant to judge as rationally of the more memorable and effective moral movements which have at times upheaved existing social institutions, and reformed or improved them? The advocates of Popery are ever ready to defend their system against the charge of errors, whose existence *even they* have not the hardihood to deny, by averring, “errare est humanum.” Why should the friends of evangelical Protestantism be denied the privilege of the same reply, when defending their system, or rather the mighty world movement which led to the resuscitation of their religious system, against the charge of far less criminal and bloody blunders, than have from time to time been committed and exulted in by Rome?

Whoever might hesitate to answer such queries, the pious and earnest Bernese would not. They felt and said indeed that a storm was approaching. There was a rustling in the tops of the Mulberry trees which they could not misinterpret. And there were other signs and omens too which gave solemn intimation that the storm might be frightfully severe. But they knew a storm was needed. The quietness of spiritual death had reigned too long already. So with faith and courage to sustain their hearts, they were willing to let the storm come on. With God to guide it, it could do no harm. With God to govern it, would it not do much good? Accordingly, the proper authorities, in solemn council assembled, resolve to

afford a fair public opportunity to all concerned and interested, to debate upon the merits of the "new doctrines" preached by the Reformer of Zurich and his first followers, so that those denouncing them might enjoy a full opportunity of exhibiting the ground of opposition, and in like manner those maintaining them show why they preferred them to the then prevailing doctrines of the Romish Church. After due consideration, and the necessary preliminary arrangements, the first Sunday after Circumcision, 1528, was fixed upon as the day for the opening of the Disputation. Notices of the appointment and earnest invitations to attend the meeting were sent out in all directions. The four Bishops of Constance, Basle, Lausanne, and Valois, were respectfully entreated to be present, and to bring their Doctors with them. The Bishops, Priests, and Laity of all the confederated Cantons were also notified, and requested to bring the most learned of both parties along. The Zurichers were especially urged to attend, as being best acquainted with the points at issue, and among the rest Zwingli was by no means to be forgotten. All were assured that their persons should not only be sacredly safe, but comfortably and gratuitously provided for during the continuance of the Discussion. And they were furthermore assured that no attempt should be made to obligate any of the confederates who might come, by the decisions adopted, excepting so far as they voluntarily offered to yield to such obligation. One important condition, however, was to be observed by all the Disputants, viz: that no other authorities would be admitted in defence of a dogma advanced, but only the authority of the sacred Scriptures. The testimony of the Fathers and councils might be cited as collateral or circumstantial testimony, but not as authoritative proof, by either party.

At length the appointed 17th of January, 1528, arrived, the most important in the history of Bern. For several days before, delegates had been pouring in from all directions, and it was evident that the hearts and minds of all were deeply and intensely interested in the great object of the convocation. The Bishops, with many other friends of Rome, had indeed

refused to dignify the Assembly with their presence, partly through fear of the enlightening influence of the discussion, but also partly, no doubt, under the conviction that no good could possibly result from what seemed to them so radical a movement. It is sometimes hard for men to see the broad difference between rabid radicalism, and a sober, prayerful effort at reformation.

Besides the Bishops named, five Cantons refused to participate in the proceedings, viz: Luzerne, Uri, Schweiz, Unterwalden, and Zug. The other Cantons were all represented, and some very fully. And among those present were many eminent for piety and learning, and occupying the most important and influential positions in the Confederacy. The meetings were held in the Barefooted Monk's church. After mutual deliberation it was agreed upon that the following theses should be discussed, and in the order in which they stand:

"I. The Holy Christian Church, whose only head is Christ, is born of the Word of God, and will ever hold fast thereto, refusing to hear the voice of a stranger.

II. The Church of Christ enacts no rules or laws without the authority of the word of God. Wherefore all human ordinances, declared to be the laws of the Church, are no further obligatory, than they are founded and commanded in the word of God.

III. Christ is our only wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and satisfaction for the sin of the world. Hence, to acknowledge any other ground of salvation or satisfaction for sin, is to deny Christ.

IV. That the body and blood of Christ are substantially and corporeally received in the bread of the Holy Supper, cannot be proved by the sacred Scriptures.

V. The Mass now celebrated by the Church, in which Christ is offered as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead, is contrary to the Scripture, blasphemous to the most holy sacrifice, sufferings and death of Christ, and, on account of the abuses to which it leads, an abomination to God.

VI. As Christ alone died for us, so He also is our only Me-

diator and advocate before God the Father, and to be called upon as such by believers. Wherefore we henceforth refuse to address any other as mediators or intercessors, unless we are furnished with demonstrations from the Bible.

VII. That the Scriptures teach of no purgatory after this life. Hence, all services for the dead, as vigils, masses, prayers, offerings, tithes, yearly festivals, burning of candles, &c., &c., are utterly vain.

VIII. The making of pictures and images for adoration is contrary to the Word of God, both of the Old and New Testament. Wherefore they are to be removed from all places in which there may be danger of their being worshipped.

IX. Holy Matrimony is forbidden in the sacred Scriptures to no class; on the contrary that impurity and harlotry may be avoided, it is recommended to all.

X. Whereas a public whoremonger is under solemn condemnation according to the Word of God, it follows that impurity and harlotry is more scandalous in the sacerdotal class than any other.

All to be discussed for the glory of God and His holy Word."

The theses having been read, the convention was formally declared ready to proceed to the Discussion, by Dr. Joachim von Watt, Burgomaster of St. Gall, in the name of the presiding officers, and after a brief and affectionate address by Franz Kolb, Predikant in Bern, exhorting all to maintain good will and order in the course of the discussion, the first article was once more read, and the debate commenced.

"The Holy Christian Church, whose only head is Christ, is born of the Word of God, and will ever hold fast thereto, refusing to hear the voice of a stranger."

Berthold Haller, Preacher in Bern, then stated the reasons why the Disputation commenced with the doctrine concerning the Church. The word "Church" is not generally understood by the people; this ignorance is abused, inasmuch as the word is sometimes used in reference to the Church universal, and then again of a representative Church, and in this second sense is transferred to the Hierarchy alone. In this way much

error and false worship has been introduced in the name of the Church, and advantage has been taken of the misapprehension thus existing, to impose spiritual tyranny upon the souls and consciences of men, and to set up the authority of this representative hierarchical Church against that of the word of God. The Greek word *ἐκκλησία*, means in German an *assembly*. And "Church," in the Bible means an assemblage of good and bad, many or few. This "Church," Christ compares to a *field* on which grow wheat and tares until the time of harvest; or to a *net*, in which good and bad fish are caught. The Scriptures also use the word "Church" for the general assembly of all those who believe in Christ, and are predestined unto life, which Church Christ promises to build and found upon the Rock, which is Himself, Math. 16: 18. It is further called the Body of Christ, Eph. 4: 12, etc., and in our old Creed, the Communion of Saints, by which all sincere Christians believe the Church is meant. It has in common those things designated by Paul, Eph. 4: 4-6, "One body, one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all." As many, therefore, in all the world, as have communion herein, constitute one Church of God. The head of this Church is Christ, Eph. 5: 23, etc. He is her Leader, governs and protects her, and possesses all blessings common to her. Her life and strength proceed from Him alone, with whom she is incorporated, as the branch with the vine. No mere man, therefore, can ever be head of the Church, dispense the gift of God to our heart, or be Saviour of the body.

This Church now is "born of the Word of God," the internal word, the word of faith, which God makes lively and active in us, declaring it in our hearts, (Rom. 10: 8., Peter 1: 22, 23,) which is none other than that publicly proclaimed and contained in the Holy Scriptures. And as the Church is enlightened, renewed, and regenerated by the word of God, so it continues therein, and will not listen to the voice of a stranger, John 10: 5. Hence, according to Scripture, the Church is not a congregation of Cardinals, Bishops, &c., but of those who trust and believe in God through Christ; and neither the

Pope, nor any other man may be the head of the Church, save Christ alone.

But if any one will show us otherwise, from the word of God, we are ready to hear him. Or if any are not willing to recognize this assembly, we are also ready to answer his objections.

Haller having resumed his seat, all were invited, without reserve, to speak in defence of this thesis, or in opposition to it, according to their individual convictions and belief.

Oecolampadius then arose, and commenced with a refutation of the objection that they (the Evangelical party) were apostates from the Holy Christian Communion of Saints. We regard this, he said, as the most horrible crime which could be charged upon a Christian. Every Christian is bound so to live as he may hope to be able to answer for it before God, and to regard the judgment of God far more than that of man. He must, therefore, see carefully to it, that he stand within the limits of the true Church elect of Christ, and not only within the general mixed Church on earth. They are not to be considered apostates from the congregation of the faithful, who labor to persevere in the faith of Christ, and for Christ's sake, to exercise themselves in love towards all men. Such cannot but be fellow-members of the household of faith. But by faith I do not here mean the knowledge of all the particular items of Scripture doctrine, but confidence in God, and in Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, by which faith we are made willing to hear the word of God, and that with such ardent longing, that one would rather forsake the whole world than abandon this faith in Christ.

To this *Alexius Grat*, Preacher and Confessor in the vicinity of Bern, rejoined. If the proposition, "Christ is the only Head of the holy universal Church," is to be understood of the internal influence of grace, and a gracious life, it admits of no dispute. It is to be observed, however, that in that small word "*only*," which is not found in the Bible, something unfair may lie concealed. The head, however, does not only communicate life to the body, but also governs the external movements of the members. And Christ, when he left the

earth, appointed Peter as his representative to govern the Church on earth, and that Peter's authority in this capacity, extends even to heaven. Math. 16: 18, 19. Wherefore also, Christ calls him Cephas, that is head, from the Greek word *κεφαλῆ*.

Haller. If the word "*only*," is not expressly stated in Scripture, it is still substantially there. For when it is said, "Christ is the Saviour of the body," (Eph. 5: 23,) assuredly neither Peter nor the Pope, can be our Saviour. He also alone governs the members, who without Him can do nothing, (John 15: 5.) The vicegerent whom Jesus left behind Him on earth, is none other than the Holy Ghost, who leads us into all truth and holiness, John 16: 7, etc. But whither does the Pope lead men, who grants his soldiers indulgence to shed blood? Peter is neither the foundation nor corner-stone, but the stone which is laid upon the corner-stone. Peter is called a stone, a rock, because he acknowledged the true Rock; for the name Cephas means *rock*, and is a Syrian word, (in which tongue Christ spake,) and not derived from the Greek.

Bucer remarked further: It does not follow, that because a man instructs and directs, he is therefore *head*, any more than that every one is king who may possess some of the qualifications of a king; *e. g.*, as to have a knowledge of the constitution and laws. Only he is king who is invested with full authority to govern. Paul calls Christ the Head of the Church because He gives her life and salvation by his Spirit. None else has power to do this; even the Apostles, of themselves, could do no more than impart outward instruction, which, of itself, is powerless, if Christ does not make it exert a living and saving power in the heart; for God only giveth the increase. The Scriptures call the office of the apostles a stewardship, and thus make Peter a servant and not the Head. 1 Cor. 4: 1.

Alexius Grat was about to reply to this, by quoting Chrysostom's allegorical exposition of Luke 5: 4, 5, but was requested to confine himself to Scripture proofs. Then he defended Peter's authority by quoting Luke 22: 32: "Strengthen thy brethren;" Math. 16: 18, 19: "Rock and key;" John 21:

15, etc. : "Feed my Lambs." By these, he and his successors, as vicegerents of Christ, are empowered to bind and to loose, to direct and teach, to command and forbid. Even inferiors are sometimes denominated Heads in the Bible, and Math. 16: 19, constitutes Peter Head of the Church.

Bucer. Yes, if you can show that Peter or other Apostles, had power to change and sanctify the heart of man.

Grat. I stated at the outset, that I was speaking of the external government of the Church. And now Bucer brings forward the internal. I conceded before that Christ is the only Head of the Church. But He has invested a vicegerent with so much power, that his authority has not reference simply to the external government of the Church, but also reaches over to its internal affairs, if these become known to him through confession or open acknowledgment; for it is manifest that to forgive or not forgive sins, concerns the conscience or soul alone. By this, however, I will not pretend to justify abuses that may have crept in.

Thus ended the Disputation for the first day.

The next morning, *Haller* opened the discussion, by confirming the assertion, that the Apostles are not Heads, but servants of the Church, with the citation of 1 Cor. 8: 5; 1 Peter 5: 2. If the *authority*, he said, conferred upon Peter made him Head of the Church, then all the Apostles were Heads; for all possessed similar authority and office, especially Paul, who labored more than they all. If *teaching* constitutes him Head, then every Apostle, as well as Peter, would be Head wherever he taught. And as neither the Pope, nor any other man, can teach a whole land, much less the entire world, it follows that none can be Head. If Peter taught in Rome, and was pastor and minister there, but wrote an epistle for our instruction, then would he also minister for us. All the passages cited by Grat, ascribe to Peter nothing but authority to minister unto or serve the Church. In John 1: 48, Cephas, or Peter, signifies rock, one built and established upon faith and the Word, and forming with other living stones, a building raised up upon Christ. 1 Peter 2: 5, Math. 17: 24,

show that Christ has subordinated Himself and the Church to the temporal and civil authorities, in all outward things, relating to earthly goods and possessions. If Luke 5: 4, is to be allegorically interpreted, it means as much as: Be diligent in your calling! Luke 22: 32, alludes to a service to be rendered. And so too, John 21: 15, "Feed my sheep." For if feeding the sheep constituted a man Head of the Church, we would all be Heads, who teach from the word of God. In Math. 16: 19, to bind and loose, to forgive and retain sins is one thing, and this authority is conferred equally upon all Apostles, according to John 20: 23, and means nothing more than to proclaim the conditions of salvation according to the word of God. God alone truly forgives sins, and by His own authority, Isaiah 43: 25. But the Apostles forgive sins by preaching the Gospel, that unto those who believe, forgiveness is granted for the sake of Christ, but that the sins of unbelievers remain unpardoned, as in Jer. 1: 9, 10, where God, in a certain sense, ascribes to the prophet what He himself does. And the peculiar circumstances of the texts quoted, show that this is meant in each of them.

Grat. A King is also a servant, and a Grand-duke is a subject in reference to the King. But in reference to those placed under their authority, they are superiors and rulers.

Haller. We ask for proof that Peter was such a superior.

Grat. Peter exhibited, in a most remarkable manner, the power of healing which Christ conferred on the disciples, performing a cure even by his shadow, Acts 5: 15. He proposed the filling of the vacancy in the apostolical college, Acts 1: 15, etc.; he was the first to give his opinion in the council at Jerusalem, Acts. 15: 6, etc.; he inflicted the punishment upon Ananias and Sapphira, Act 5: 1; he was the first to preach on the day of Pentecost, Acts 2: 14; and thus, as is foretold in Psalm 45: 17, he was appointed to be Prince over all the earth as well as over the Apostles.

Bucer. To teach the Church, (and no Apostle could do more than this,) is to be the Church's minister and servant, not her Head. Grat should produce Scripture to show that Peter is called Head.

Grat, in reply, demanded Scripture for the word "*only*," which is not synonymous with "*one*." I have shown that Peter, by Christ's command, exercised superior authority in the Church.

Bucer. Since no one but Christ possesses that power, which belongs to a Head of the Church, it follows that He must be the only Head. And since no one can intercede between God and man, but Christ alone, it follows that in 1 Tim. 2 : 5, "*one*" is equivalent to "*only*," as in the Articles, "I believe in *one* God," &c.

Grat. I am not speaking now of *one Mediator*, but of *one Head*. None of those passages which speak of the ministrations of Peter, destroy the authority over the flock with which Christ invested him. It is said of Christ also, Rom. 15 : 8, "Christ was a minister of the circumcision." Your interpretations I do not receive. No Scripture has been cited to invalidate the power or office of the Pope.

Bucer. The experience of faith unites with all Scripture in testifying that Christ alone can give the Holy Ghost, and that therefore He alone is qualified rightly to teach and govern his Church ; wherefore He alone must be acknowledged Head of the Church. It is not enough for *Grat* to reject our interpretations ; he should show reason for so doing from the word of God. The notion of a human co-head, and vicegerent is a dangerous human invention, by which God and Jesus Christ are shamefully blasphemed.

At this point *Huter*, of Appenzell, came to the aid of *Grat*, and said : I grant that Christ is the only Head of the Church. But he has appointed a temporal power to bind and loose ; for to do this requires authority ; and He made Peter a principal vicegerent for the execution of this authority of His word and commandment.

Haller. If Christ is the only Head, there is no need of a vicegerent ; for to Him all power is given in heaven and on earth. The mere declaration of a man, "I release you from your sins," is not enough, unless I am assured in my heart by true faith, that he has power to say so. It is "God who

openeth and shutteth," Is. 22: 22. And to proclaim this is the Apostles' office.

Huter. No Apostles, Popes, or Priests, ever were empowered to absolve any one from sin who had not faith. But in confirmation of their authority, and its extent, I may cite, 1 Tim. 1: 20. There Paul exercised authority to give Hymeneus and Alexander over to the power of the devil, that they might learn to blaspheme God no more.

Haller. The Apostles did not grant forgiveness on their own authority. Christ commands every Church to exclude stubborn sinners, Math. 18: 17.; 1 Cor. 5: 3-5.

Huter expressed great joy, that *Haller* conceded to the Church the power of excommunication; for until now, it was supposed that it was against the exercise of this authority, that the Reformers chiefly complained. But this power necessarily required those who could exercise it, and to guard against a misinterpretation of Scripture, requires divine authority to interpret it.

Haller. But this is not to be done in an arbitrary way. And now I demand Scripture to show that there is another Head of the Church, besides Christ, invested with power to govern her on earth. In Math. 18: 17, the power of the ban is conferred upon the Church; but not upon the universal Church, which can never be assembled; nor the Church as a convocation of the Pope and the Bishops, nor to one Prelate or Bishop alone, but upon each particular Church which receives the word of God, and within which the offender may be found. Thus the Church in Rome is commanded to excommunicate the Pope, if he becomes an open transgressor; so also that in Bern, Appenzell, and all others. This power is conferred by Christ for the punishment of public offences and sins, and not to afford a covering for the levying of taxes, collection of monies, &c. But now it is plain as open day, that most of those who have hitherto dealt in excommunication, have permitted the grossest transgressors, such as drunkards, gamblers, whoremongers, murderers, to continue undisturbed in their iniquities; and have only used their power in a way to bring reproach upon religion, to protect themselves in their iniquity and tyranny.

Here *Zwingli* took hold of the argument: "Faithful, beloved friends and brethren in Jesus Christ! Inasmuch as the Pastor from Appenzell has referred to the power of excommunication, allow me very briefly to say something upon this point. And, first of all, it is necessary, as in all things that are doubtful appeal must be taken to the law and the testimony, that we turn in this case also to the law of excommunication laid down by our Lord. This we find in Math. 18: 15-17. From this passage we learn, first, that it is not allowed for *one* person to excommunicate, but only privately to admonish; consequently, Popes and Bishops have abused their office by administering admonitions publicly before the whole congregation, seeing this is to be done in a private and friendly manner. In the next place, we learn here, that two or three are not allowed to excommunicate an offender, but simply to exhort, and be ready to testify in the case, should it prove necessary. Then he is to be admonished by the Church, so gracious and merciful is God. And should the offender continue obstinate, and persist in his sin, then first is he to be regarded as an heathen man and a publican. From all which, it is evident, that no one is permitted to excommunicate but the Church council, or congregation, together with the pastor or bishop. And in view of this, we cannot think otherwise, than that Paul pursued this course in the cases referred to; as we may also see in 1 Cor. 5: 8-5, where he tells us that he did not excommunicate in his individual capacity, but in connection with the Church. And allow me, most worthy Sir, Pastor from Appenzell, to point out to you here, why the Apostle Paul calls the ban the destruction of the flesh. He calls flesh what we commonly call *external*, as Heb. 10: 18, where he speaks of "the purifying of the flesh," meaning an external act or cleansing. Take an example. According to the law of Moses, every mother, after the birth of a child, was required to offer two turtle-doves, or young pigeons, for her purification; but this offering did not render her inwardly righteous; for the offering was of itself a mere external ceremony, appointed for her re-admission to the congregation. By fleshly purifications,

therefore, Paul means external purifications. And so in this passage, by "giving him over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh," he means external destruction. For the ban is nothing else than a casting out and exclusion of a bad member, who was previously already rejected by God, and consumed by sin. Wherefore the Pastor from Appenzell did not fairly reject the assertion of our beloved brother, Oecolampadius, in which he stated, according to the prophet Hosea 13: 9. "Thou hast destroyed thyself, O Israel." For just as the priests in the Old Testament did not make a man leprous, but simply examined and detected the leprosy in him, who was previously leprous, so also may the Church exclude none but such as prove by their grossly and openly wicked lives, that they are not the friends of God. But until the exclusion of such, they continue to be regarded as members of the Church, in common with the most devout; but before God they are not righteous, unless they have true repentance and faith in their hearts, which cannot co-exist with a boldly sinful life; although the person excommunicated in Corinth, appears to have amended his ways and repented soon after his excommunication. And this proves that the grace of God, which permitted him to fall, also raised him up again; whence it appears, that he was again received of God before he was restored to the Church. It follows, therefore, that they are to be excluded who have fallen away from God, and they again received who have been previously pardoned by God. On this account, therefore, Paul calls exclusion from the whole congregation, an external destruction, because that one who formerly stood in regular connection with the Church, becomes exposed as a disobedient and rejected member of the fold of God. The ban, therefore, is an exposure of the offender by whom reproach has been brought upon the Church, so that the Church may be vindicated and the offender chastised. But it is a great mistake in the worthy Pastor from Appenzell, continually to insist, that the ban is a power conferred on man by God, hoping thereby, as I perceive, to be able to introduce an earthly Head in which this power must centre. For the power of banning be-

longs to Christ alone, as Paul plainly shows when he says, "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." All, therefore, who would exercise this authority, must do so according to the Spirit of Christ, otherwise they exercise it violently and wantonly. Let him suppose, that a Church council is altogether composed of ungodly men, who refuse to acknowledge the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, and it should say to the congregation under their care, you worship idols, and are idolaters, (even if it were not so,) they would then excommunicate those holding to truth and righteousness, upon the false charge of their being in error and sin. It follows, hence, that the power to ban does not so belong to man, as has been contended. For where God does not authorize it to be exercised by His word and Spirit, there it is a tyranny and an abuse, and not a discipline beneficially applied. And when my friend attempted afterward also to bring in the words of Paul, 1 Tim. 1 : 20, "Of whom is Hymeneus and Alexander, whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme,"—hoping thereby to show that Paul exercised the power of banning on his own authority, he also erred through an oversight of the usage of Scripture, in which the figure *synechdoche* frequently occurs,—a form of speech in which either the parts are put for the whole, or the whole for its parts. As if we should call the delegates from Bern, the Bernese; or should say, they from Bern replied, when but one spoke in the name of the rest. Thus Paul speaks here, meaning not that he did it of himself, but that, on account of their apostacy, which he brought to the notice of the Church, they had been excommunicated. Thus much I desired to say, with reference to this point, dear brethren, that Pastor Huter and others, might see that the thesis now before you, is sustained and not condemned by 1 Tim. 1 20.

Here several rose and said, that the Disputation did not seem to be conducted in a truly impartial manner, inasmuch as one party enjoyed better opportunity of defending their views than the other. When they assembled, therefore, again the next morning, after opening the meeting as usual with

prayer, the President, in the name of his associates, invited those who desired to oppose the theses, to come forward and sit together on one side of the platform, so that they might freely consult together and make such arrangements as they wished for replying to the arguments offered in their defence. Hereupon *Dr. Konrad Treger*, Provincial of Freyburg, whom the clergy of Strasburg had requested to attend the Disputation, came forward and took a seat. When the meeting was then brought to order, *Dr. Treger* arose and said : That he had not been commissioned to attend this public Disputation by the authorities of Freyburg, or by the Bishop of Lausanne ; but that as he had been specially invited, he had come of his own accord, out of respect to these worthy gentlemen of Bern, and this Disputation, to contend against the ten articles. But he wished to be understood in all that he said, as desiring to be in subordination to the proper authorities of the Church, and a general Council, and willing to be instructed thereby. The first two articles, he then added, are, according to the letter at least, not contrary to the doctrine of the Christian Church ; though everything depends upon the sense in which they are used. For explanation sake, I will state two in contrast with them : "The Holy Christian Church, which is eternally preserved and governed by the Spirit of her Bridegroom, as she will not hear the voice of a stranger, so also is he a stranger to her and her Bridegroom, Jesus Christ, who will not hear her voice. Wherefore, secondly, she excludes from the Christian fold, all who violate the Christian unity, and all heretics, inasmuch as the highest authority to execute ecclesiastical functions, is found with her as the pillar and ground of the truth." Those two articles deny this, and demand that the word of God shall be the only judge in matters of faith, and life. This I contradict. If a controversy arises in the Church upon matters of faith, it is necessary to have a judge, who shall decide which is the shepherd and which the wolf. The Church is this judge, according to Math. 18 : 17.

Dr. Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, Predicant in Strasburg, rejoined upon this : It is evident that *Dr. Treger* has used the

word "*Church*" in a double sense, and then assumed that the external Church was judge. The Holy Christian Church is the spiritual assembly of all the faithful, as members of one body, which is begotten and governed only by her Head, Jesus Christ. "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet is judged by no man," 1 Cor. 2: 15. Inasmuch, therefore, as the Bible is certainly given by the Spirit of God, no better external means for suppressing error can be found than the Scriptures, seeing the Spirit will not oppose itself. The Bible tells us what are the fruits of the Spirit, and thereby the Church detects the wolves, which are excluded then not upon her own authority, but upon that of Christ.

Treger. If the spiritual man may judge all things, then assuredly, he may also judge the Scriptures. And yet some of you have thought that the Bible would allow of no judge. When Christ saith: "If he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a publican," he spake of no heavenly and invisible Church; for such a Church cannot act or decide or ban in matters of faith. In Math. 18: 19, the Lord gives us an external visible Judge in doctrinal controversies, not one that is invisible and undiscoverable.

Capito. Certainly the spiritual man judgeth all things subject to judgment. But the Bible, which is from God, is not thus subject to human judgment. The Church, which possesses authority to excommunicate, is every particular assembly of the faithful; it is indeed an external assembly, but one which judges by the Holy Ghost alone, and whose judgment extends only to offenders. In matters of faith, the office of the Church is not to decide what is truth and error, but to show simply what the Bible declares to be such, all according to the fair analogy of faith.

Treger. To judge, is not to reject the Scriptures, which is given to us by the Church, as revealed by the Spirit of God, and therefore holy; but to ascertain the spirit and sense thereof, and in how far they are written by the Spirit of God. Our opponents cannot deny this right to the Church, inasmuch as some of them arrogate to themselves this right, extolling some

of the books of the Bible as being full of the spirit and truth of the Gospel, (as *e. g.*, the Epistle to the Romans, the Gospel of John, &c., &c.) and disparaging others, (as the Epistle of James, the Apocalypse, &c.,) though the Church has regarded them as sacred and divine for more than a thousand years. Why then should not the whole catholic holy Christian Church not have the power and right, to judge of the spirit of the Scriptures, and decide by whom they were written? John says: "Prove the spirits, whether they be of God," &c. Therefore, the Scriptures may be judged. If, furthermore, we should concede, (which, however, is not the case,) that Math. 18: 19, speaks only of offenders, and is not to be understood of matters of faith, then I would ask, where will you find a greater offender than he who causes dissension and schism in the Church, contends against the true sense of the word of God, and raises new sects and parties? It is doubtless to such an offence as this our Lord alludes, when he says: "If a member offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee." And here no single congregation is meant, which may err, and is, therefore, incapable of judging in spiritual matters; we must have an infallible judge.

Bucer replied to this at considerable length, insisting upon it, that no one was allowed to receive or reject Scripture at pleasure, or to be a judge of the Bible in this sense; that whilst it was the privilege and duty of all to examine and ascertain what the Bible taught, their right did not extend beyond this. And this was the privilege of each Christian, not the exclusive prerogative of a council. For as each one must live by his own faith, so each one must examine and be convinced for himself. He acknowledged that they who caused distractions and schisms were indeed guilty of a great sin. But we must be careful to ascertain who really do this, lest we blame the innocent with the sin of the guilty. He reminded them how frequently Councils contradicted and condemned each other, and of the bitter contentions between various parties in the Romish Church, some of which stood in deadly hostility to each other, as *e. g.*, the regular clergy and the Barefooted Monks. And

as to infallibility; he denied that it was to be found among men, as that prayer of our Lord implies: "Forgive us our trespasses," a prayer which the whole Church needed daily to offer. But where there is sin, there is error. To all this *Treger* made a long and vigorous response, admitting, indeed, that neither the Church nor any Church council, possessed authority to reject a portion of Scripture belonging to the canon, But he insisted that the opinion advocated by his opponent, must and did lead to hopeless confusion, as was most sadly proved by the diversities and dissensions existing between the various parties connected with the new movement. Although scarcely ten years had passed since the agitation had commenced, all present knew how angrily the parties were arrayed against each other. There were Lutherans, Zwinglians, Carlostadians, Oecolampadians, Anabaptists, and he knew not how many others, with equally singular names. Luther condemned Zwingli, declaring that his view was the only true one, And so again Zwingli condemned Luther, and so of the rest, Who could tell which was right, or where these dissensions would end. For all this there was no remedy but in the old doctrine of the established Church; he therefore exhorted the good Bernese to adhere to that.

Thus another day had passed. The next morning was mainly occupied by *Bucer*, in a full and able reply to the speech of *Treger*, made the day before. He acknowledged the existence of far more disagreement than should be found. But this was not to be laid to the charge of the truth, or of the principle for which they contended. Moreover, the point to be settled was not, whether carrying out the doctrine of Scripture upon this subject led to distraction for the time, but whether the Bible gave authority to the earthly Church, arbitrarily to settle such disputes. Their opponents must not evade this point by bringing in things which have no bearing, as proof, upon it. There were divisions and distractions in the early Church, in the days of the Apostles, which were met not by violent outward force, but by the Scriptures and Spirit of Christ alone. And *Bucer* again, in conclusion, admonished the good Christians of Bern,

not to follow the dictates of any arrogant vicegerent, or fallible council, but the footsteps of Him who said, "Come unto me all ye that are heavy-laden, I will give you rest."*

After these remarks by Bucer, *Zwingli* again arose to reply to the allusion made to him by Dr. Treger: "Inasmuch as my respected fellow-citizens of Zurich, that venerable ancient town, which has always, both in peace and war, conducted its affairs so discreetly and honorably, have been charged with having suffered themselves to be misled by me; it may be expected, however gratuitous the charge may be, that I will not suffer it to pass unanswered. I therefore utterly repel that reproach. They were not misled by me, neither was it my doctrine they believed. It was not until, like the more noble Berean Israelites, (Acts 17 : 11) they compared the doctrines I preached, which are not mine, but God's, with the word of God, and found them to be in full harmony therewith, that they embraced, not my teachings, but those found thus in the Divine Word, and resolved firmly to adhere thereto, and to reform and organize the Church in their city according to those doctrines, irrespective of all opposing human inventions. As to the personal charge preferred against myself, that I boast of my knowledge of the sense and spirit of the Holy Scriptures, it is unworthy of reply, as it is most unjust; in proof whereof I would merely refer to my published writings, and to those who have ever heard me preach. I must, therefore, beg the worthy Provincial, henceforth, to abstain from such calumnious and false statements, and confine himself more closely to the word of God, for the vindication of his opinions, so that our time be not unnecessarily squandered. As for the rest, full account will be given of the views of Oecolampadius as well as my own, in the course of this Disputation, should it be continued by the will of God.

Treger rejoined. Martin Bucer employed the greater part of this day with the delivery of a long sermon, and the intro-

* On account of the great length of these speeches of Treger and Bucer, they have been given in a condensed form, so as to allow more room for presenting the remarks of Zwingli in full, as reported.—*Translator.*

duction of a large amount of curious matter into his discourse. Here he was interrupted by the President, supposing that he was about to go into a lengthy speech about the doings of the meeting in Strasburg, which they said had nothing to do with the present Disputation. They, therefore, asked him to remember the rules adopted for the government of the Discussion, and urged him to shun all abusive language and personalities, and adhere to Bible proofs. The difficulty between him and the Strasburg ministers might be settled between themselves at some more suitable time. On the other hand, he was at full liberty to oppose the Articles under debate, with all the Scripture arguments he could adduce, and thus contend with Scriptural weapons against those who maintained them. Against this *Treger* protested. If he was not allowed the unrestricted privilege of saying whatever he thought appropriate in the case, he would not take any part in the debate, seeing such privilege was granted to Bucer during the former part of the day. The proceedings of the Disputation would probably be published, and if he were not permitted to reply as circumstances might require, it might be thought that he was unable to do so, if a law existed "bridling his tongue." The President then guaranteed him all proper liberty, only that he must abstain from personalities. Others also assured him that the President no way intended to interfere with his liberty freely to argue the subject under consideration. Nicolas Briefer especially reproved both parties for having introduced things into their discourses which did not belong to the discussion, and said this would not be allowed in future. Capito and Bucer apologised by saying, that as *Treger* had commenced those personal attacks, they were compelled to reply, though they endeavored to do it with Scripture, and pledged themselves to do this still more carefully in what they might yet say. They reminded further, that they had requested for *Treger* the privilege of answering this time in his own way, so that he might have no excuse, but that it was refused as being contrary to the rules of order adopted.

Hereupon *Zwingli* entered a counter-protest to that of *Tre-*

ger, stating that he misrepresented the case by declaring that privilege of speaking, and particularly of answering him, had been denied him, (Treger,) whereas nothing was refused but indulgence in slanderous remarks, &c. After this, Treger did not again appear at the Disputation.

Huter then took notice of what Haller had said in reference to the ban. In Acts 20 : 28, and Eph. 4 : 11, it is sufficiently plain who are authorized to govern the Church. Paul does not say that every one is allowed to govern according to his own mind. This in brief : our opponents may also abstain from their prolix and tedious speeches.

Haller. But what does the word *Bishops* signify ? Watchman, pastor, not Lord ; one whose ministry is to teach, (Eph. 4 : 12,) not to be *head*. Otherwise there would be as many Heads as Bishops, and several even in one Church, (Eph. 4 : 11.)

Huter. A man may at once be a Pastor or Teacher, and the head or ruler of those whom he teaches. Christ calls Himself the light of the world. But the Apostles were also lights. They were likewise shepherds, and yet Christ calls Himself the only Shepherd.

Haller. The passages in 1 Cor. 12 : 4-6, and 1 Peter 5 : 2, 3, show that all the offices appointed in the Church were for ministration, and not lordships. If, in any case, they direct how things are to be done, it is not by virtue of any authority lodged in them, but according to the word of God, they declare what God enjoins, God speaking in and through them by His word. Christ is the light of the world essentially. The Apostles only by reflection, *per participationem*.

Huter. Then the Apostles may also be heads or rulers *per participationem*.

Haller. There are many offices and office-bearers. But these are all *members* of the body of Christ, but not the *head*, by which life is communicated to the members, and the body saved. The Apostles were lights who received their light from Christ, as do all believers ; but it does not thence follow that all are heads of the Church.

Zwingli. I desire, briefly, to explain in what sense Christ

is the light, and in what sense the Apostles. Christ is the true essential light, (John 1 : 9,) and all the light which the Apostles possessed, He gave to them. Take an example : The sun sheds light in upon us through the windows and makes it day ; the day or light, however, are nothing of themselves, for as soon as the sun ceases to shine it becomes dark. So too the Apostles have only so much light as Christ, the sun of Righteousness imparts to them, and where this sun does not shine there is no light. Christ alone, therefore, is the light, the life, the power, which illumines and revives and sustains all men. The Apostles, therefore, are enlightened members of the Church, and such as have been made alive by the power of Christ, and not heads, as you will permit me to say, worthy Sir Pastor, for your benefit and that of others who may not know it.

Huter. When Mr. Berthold stated that the twelve Apostles were not of themselves essential lights of the world, there was no need of argument ; for none denied it. But when he added that Christ was the only essential light, and the Apostles not in any sense, we cannot admit it. As for Mr. Ulrich Zwingli's example, about the light shining in upon us through the window, I am ready to acknowledge, without such illustrations, what is true light and the source of all light. Only I hope he will allow some of those rays beaming through the windows to shed light upon me too. I wish to be understood as confessing that Jesus Christ, my Lord, my preserver and the preserver of all the world, is a Head of the Church. But no one can prove to me that He has not left behind Him an appointed temporal head, to govern the Church, as I have shown by those passages adduced from the Holy Scriptures. as every Christian reader of the Scriptures can see for himself.

Zwingli. I did not introduce my comparison for the purpose of founding thereon the Divine word, but to enable all thereby the better to apprehend the sense of Scripture, in imitation of the manner of Paul, (Rom. 1 : 19.) It seems, then, that Pastor Huter acknowledges that Jesus Christ, his Lord, his own and the world's preserver, as a head over the Church.

These are his own words, as you all have understood them. Wherefore I praise God, who hath promised that if any call upon Him He will hear, that He hath this day heard the pious Christians of Bern, who have been so earnestly entreating Him in these days, to illumine the hearts of the benighted,—inasmuch as the worthy Pastor, our brother from Appenzel confesses that Christ the Lord is his preserver, and preserver of the whole world. For in so far as he may have declared this in true hearty faith, he will henceforth desire no other Head, no other Helper, no other Light, no other Father or Comforter. For whoever has once drunk from this fountain, will never thirst (John 4: 13) after any other salvation; will never desire other light or other consolation. From which I readily perceive, that he considers all the comforts which creatures afford as worthless. For this concession, in a word, I praise and thank the Lord.

Here the discussion closed for the day.

January 11. The Disputation was resumed by

Huter. In thy name, Lord Jesus Christ! AMEN. Worthy fellow-Christians! When I asked Master Ulrich Zwingli to explain his illustration and example of the window and the two lights, he answered: that he had not introduced it as an argument drawn from Scripture, and forthwith followed with a great cry and hurrah! as though I had fallen in with his opinion. I think, however, that no such concession will appear on the official record of this assembly. In acknowledging God as my Saviour, and the Saviour of the whole world, as all sincere Christians should do, I only did what I had done long before I knew Master Ulrich Zwingli; but I contend, nevertheless, that a spiritual power and authority have also been established on earth, as I clearly proved from the Holy Scriptures, as may be seen by turning to the Clerk's record. And I now protest before this entire honorable assembly, that I do not hold to Master Ulrich's faith or doctrine, and never will, but that I adhere to the unity of the Christian Church of ancient date, and if necessity requires, will die for it.

Zwingli. Worthy fellow-Christians! As to what Pastor

Huter says of his not being of my faith, although he yesterday affirmed that he acknowledges the Lord Jesus Christ as his Preserver and the Ruler of the world, I beg leave to say, that this is my faith, and would merely refer every one of you to his language as found on the record of yesterday, in order to see how far his declaration now made, corresponds with what he then said.

Nicolas Christen, of Zofingen, now rose and said, That it seemed very painful to him to dispute about doctrines which holy and learned men had fully settled 1200 years ago. For his part he would do no more than give account of his faith. He desired, however, in advance to recall anything he might inadvertently utter, which might conflict with the universal Christian Faith or the proper sense of the holy word of God. The authority and power of the Apostle Peter, and that he was constituted the Head of the Church, is shown by Math. 16: 19, where it is affirmed that Christ gave the keys to Peter alone. It is true Christ gave power to bind and loose to all the Apostles, but to Peter in the highest sense.

Haller. Peter spoke in the name of all the rest, and received the power of the keys in the name of all.

Christen. Why then did not Christ say: I give unto *you* the keys?

Haller. This is explained by John 20: 22, 23: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," &c. In many passages we find a part used for the whole, and so the reverse. What the Lord said to Peter and Andrew, "I will make you fishers of men," also applied to all the Apostles.

Christen. Math. 16: 19, and John 20: 23, are not similar. It does not follow, therefore, that what Christ said in the one he meant in the other also.

Haller. And yet these two passages do correspond. In Math. 16: 19, it is not said: *Tibi soli dabo*; but to "Feed my sheep," is enjoined upon all ministers of the word of God.

Zwingli. I desire, dear brethren, to offer a few remarks, in explanation of the words of John 21: 15, "Feed my sheep." And I do not select this single passage, in order to defend the

power and authority of the Scriptures alone, but to demonstrate, that the opponents of the Pope find a true and proper sense agreeable to the Gospel, in the doctrine for which they contend over against the doctrine maintained by the adherents of the Pope. You doubtless know, worthy Master Nicolas, that holy Augustine has a discourse upon this thrice repeated question, and command to Peter, in which he says :—"As Peter had thrice denied Christ, therefore, the Lord thrice asked him, whether he loved Him, and thrice exhorted him to feed His sheep. From which it appears, that Christ sought to remove from Peter the shame and reproach in which his denial involved him before the other disciples; so that Peter might not be despised by them on account of his infirmity and sin, as though he had thereby rendered himself unworthy of the apostolic office, notwithstanding that he fell rather in word and through fear, than with the heart, as appears from his melting into penitence immediately upon our Lord's turning his eye upon him." Whence it is seen, that Augustine regards these words not as exalting Peter to the primacy, but as simply restoring him to the dignity and confidence of the apostleship; which apostolical or pastoral dignity and honor belonged to all the disciples, as has been already sufficiently shown.

Christen. Inasmuch as Master Ulrich Zwingli supposes that this text of John 21 : 15, "Feed my sheep," proves, according to Augustine's explanation, that, as Peter had thrice denied Christ, he was required thrice to avow his fidelity, and not that the keys were thus conveyed to him, as Christ had promised, I wish to reply: that the words of the Holy Scriptures are susceptible of many interpretations. I will, therefore, not contradict the explanation which Augustine gives in this case. But as Christ thus openly recognizes him as a shepherd, it is plainly to be understood, that He also gives him the authority of a shepherd to feed, to punish, to bind and loose; for to a shepherd belongs a crook, that is, authority over the sheep.

Zwingli. It is the pastor's duty to feed the flock, not to exercise lordship over it. Christ says, "Feed *my* sheep," not *thy* sheep. Both the sheep and the shepherd are the Lord's.

Jacob Eddibach, (also of Zofingen,) repeated what had already been said in favor of Peter's supreme authority, and was referred by Haller to the arguments which had been urged in reply. He then added yet, that the keys were transferred to Peter because he confessed that Christ was the Messiah, the Son of the living God. All the Apostles believed the same, and Peter merely made the confession in their name, wherefore the keys were not given to Peter alone.

Christen then proceeded to say—Although Christ is the chief Head and centre of authority in the Church, there are still, according to His command, to be other rulers, superiors, and heads, for the maintenance of order in the Church. I will not quarrel about the word "*head*;" either of the terms used has the same force as the others. Such supreme authority existed in the Jewish Church, and all disputes were referred to it for decision. Shall the Christian Church be less perfect in form than the Jewish?

Haller. The Church is not above Christ but subject to Him. The Scriptures know nothing of spiritual lords, but only of pastors, preachers, and ministers of the word. The constitution of the Church is prescribed in 1 Cor. 12: 4-6, and Eph. 4: 11. The priests of the Old Testament decided upon disputes not arbitrarily, but according to the fixed law of God.

Christen. Both, Head and Church, are incorporated with each other, and so inseparably united. Haller must produce Scripture to show that a Prelate or Bishop may not be head of the Church. Of course, they are not to be tyrannical rulers, but heads which teach, protect and punish, and also make provision for the temporal wants of the Church. 1 Cor. 4: 21, Paul says: "Shall I come to you with a rod, or in love?" (See also 2 Cor. 13: 1, etc.) If there were no discipline, but each one was allowed to do as he pleased, how should order be preserved? According to 1 Cor. 12: 5, there are "differences of administration." There must consequently be a superior, and those subject to him. In Heb. 13: 17, Paul exhorts to obedience to those "who have the rule over you; for they watch for their souls, as those who must give account."

Haller. None of the Apostles says Christ is incorporated with us, but, we are incorporated with Christ. What name does Scripture give for Prelates? "The rod," Paul explains as meaning the excommunication of adulterers, 1 Cor. 5. To reprove vices, and show the people their sins according to 2 Cor. 13: 1, etc., is the duty of every pastor. 1 Cor. 12: 5, as also Heb. 13: 17, refer to temporal authority. Above, (Heb. 13: 7,) the Apostle is speaking of such as are set over the congregation, with the explanation, "who have spoken unto you the word of God." Consequently no text has yet been adduced in favor of spiritual heads.

Christen protested against these remarks, as though he were unwilling to acknowledge Christ as our life and salvation. I know, he said, no Saviour, no Redeemer, but Christ Jesus, our Lord and Preserver.

Oecolampadius now remarked, that *Christen* seemed indeed unwilling to transfer the honor of Christ to any creature, and yet insisted upon having one head under Christ, a centre of authority limited to one person, as Peter and his successors, a Pope. Where there is but one head, however, it must be able to supply the wants of all the members; but this no man can do, wherefore there were many Apostles. Besides Christ, there can be no other spiritual monarch.

Christen. The second part of the Article now under discussion, affirms that "the Church is begotten of the word of God." But the Scriptures use the term, "word of God," in various significations, as: the eternal word, (John 1,) the written word in the Bible, the word preached, the secret word communicated to the heart by God. (Ps. 65: 9. 2 Cor. 13: 3.) Is it meant now that the Church is begotten of these combinedly, or of one in particular?

Haller. Briefly: The Church is born of that word of God which God invests with living power. He does indeed speak in our hearts, but not otherwise than in the word commanded to be preached, or the word as contained in the Holy Scriptures. James 1: 18. 1 Peter 1: 23.

Christen. But I am further constrained by the Scriptures

to hold, that a Christian is bound to receive and believe more than is expressed outwardly in the Scriptures, all things namely taught by the twelve Apostles. (2 Tim. 2: 2, and Titus 1: 5.) They taught and preached, and reported to others whatever they had received, without limiting themselves to the written word. It is further my opinion that the Holy Church existed previously to the Gospel, and the writings of the twelve Apostles, and will continue to exist throughout eternity, when there will be no longer a written word. In 2 Tim. 3: 16, Paul also says: "All Scripture which is given by God, is profitable," &c. Now it is well known, that many things were written by the holy saints after the Scriptures were written, in order to explain them and spread the knowledge of them; and my opinion is, that God may have communicated those things to the saints, especially such traditions as the universal Christian Church has accepted. It is also written, (Acts 15: 22-29, and 16: 4,) Ye shall keep the commandments of the twelve Apostles, and the appointment of the elders. And to the same effect Paul says, (1 Cor. 11: 2,) "Now I praise you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances as I delivered them unto you;" and further promises, "and the rest I will set in order when I come." But we nowhere find these things recorded, although he doubtless kept his promise. He says also, 1 Cor. 7: 12, "But to the rest speak I, not the Lord," &c. Of such traditions as were not immediately written, we may also find some notice in 2 Thes. 2.

Zwingli. And what do you wish to prove by all this?

Christen. My object in quoting these passages, is this—Inasmuch as the rules for the regulation of this Disputation allow only of Scripture proofs, and of arguments based thereupon, I thought I would show how far we are justified by Scripture, in following such traditions as were not originally written, in observing the rules and customs of the ancient Christian Church.

Zwingli. The passage quoted from 2 Tim. 3: 16, has not been correctly translated by Master Nicolas: "Every Scripture is profitable to teach;" which is not at all the meaning of

Paul ; for then we might maintain that everything ever written would be profitable, which of course can never be admitted. The meaning of Paul is, " Every Scripture which is given by the inspiration of God, (this is the language of the original text) is profitable for doctrine," &c. You perceive, therefore, beloved brethren, that the opinion already advanced by one of my worthy colleagues, remains unshaken, viz : that the Apostles preached and taught nothing but what was in accordance with the inspired Scriptures, and furthermore, that all divinely inspired truths were received by them as holy Scriptures, with this condition, that all the prophets, even unto John, ceased in the Lord Jesus Christ, Luke 16 : 16. Wherefore they receive no new reports of revelations, afterwards proclaimed, which disagree with what was written down to the time of Christ, and including the doings of Christ ; for nothing can be allowed as of divine authority, which is not revealed in and by Christ, as the light of the law and the soul.

January 12.

Christen. renewed his protestation that he acknowledged Christ as the Supreme Head, although he also acknowledged another head or other heads, as taught by the Scripture passages adduced. The honor of Christ is noway diminished by Kolb and Haller being called Bishops, as indeed Zwingli admitted. In Heb. 13, spiritual rulers are meant.

Haller. To be a head of the Church, is equivalent to being the source of vitality and salvation, which no human creature can be. A bishop and head are not the same thing. The Church is but one body and has but one head. The episcopal office among men, is limited to the external word, and can in no wise extend its power to the soul, unless by the co-operation of the Holy Spirit.

Christen. Christ, according to His Divine nature, existed before the Church, but not according to His human nature. The living Christian Church was formed at the Cross. Colos. 2 : 12, 13, Eph. 1 : 7, etc. The Church which existed before the advent of Christ, was not properly a living Church ; for all the members of that Church were still under the wrath

of God, and not yet made partakers of grace unto salvation, but all of them at death, descended into the prison of purgatory.

Haller. The assertions of Christen betray so utter a misapprehension of divine things, that it seems to me he should carefully refrain from contending against the truth of God for which we are pleading. To God all future things are present; He knows whom He hath elected unto salvation from the foundation of the earth, (Eph. 1: 4.) So also was the death of His Son eternally present to Him. Wherefore he forgave the sins of Adam and Eve, of Abel, and all the saints who lived from the beginning, and granted unto them His Holy Spirit, and so permitted them, as well as us, to attain unto spiritual life in Christ, through faith, although He was not pleased so fully to reveal unto them the mysteries of the Gospel. (Eph. 3: 9.) Let Christen, therefore, prove by the Scriptures, that the Church of God, before the advent of Christ, was not a living Church, such as it became afterwards, and that its members continued under condemnation, and after death went down into purgatory. We hold that "the just shall live by faith," which faith all the saints from the beginning possessed, and that they were consequently justified by the merits of Christ, and departed, after this life, to rest with Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, and not to suffer in the prison of your fabricated purgatory. Although, as already said, the revelation of the Divine mercy became clearer after the advent of Christ; wherefore He says to His disciples: "Blessed are your eyes, for they see," &c.

Christen now declared that he would no longer continue *this* debate, but would leave these points to be disposed of by abler hands. If we are not allowed in this Disputation to introduce the writings of the holy Fathers, but must limit ourselves to the sacred Scriptures alone, and not even determine the sense of these by reference to the Fathers, I am at a loss how to proceed. I receive for truth whatever the Holy Catholic Church holds as such, and will live according thereto; for unto her is promised the Spirit of truth, and that Christ will be with her unto the end. He will not suffer her to err.

Haller. Even the greatest Apostles, Peter and Paul are ours, and not we theirs, but Christ's. They are but servants of the Church. The Church has but one Husband, otherwise she were not virtuous; but one Head, Christ. God be praised, that He hath so powerfully manifested His truth in our midst, that Christen must confess he cannot prevail against us if we are bound to the Holy Scriptures alone. He concedes, therefore, that our theses are founded upon the Bible. The Holy Catholic Church is formed of those only who hold the true faith of God, according to the word of God; to this they will firmly cling; with them Christ dwells, and His Spirit instructs them.

Daniel Schatt, priest of Gundiswyl, now resumed the argument. There are three things to be considered in Christ; the divinity alone, the humanity alone, and then the divinity and humanity united. Now I ask, is Christ to be regarded as the Head of the Church, according to His divinity alone, or His humanity alone, or His divinity and humanity combined?

Zwingli. Jesus Christ, true God and man, wherefore He is called Christ Jesus, is in both natures Head of the Christian Church, with this explanation, that according to His divine nature, He is especially and peculiarly the source of being for all things, and that in his human nature he made satisfaction, by an atoning sacrifice, for our sins, and thus reconciles to us the divine righteousness. In proof hereof, no Scriptures need be cited, but I may merely refer more particularly to the entire gospel of John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Schatt. That Christ is very God and man, and head of the Christian Church, is correct. But that little word "*only*," cannot be allowed. For, according to His divinity, He is one with the Father and the Holy Ghost. But these are three persons, viz: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; and these three are the true actual head of the Christian Church, who governs the same, gives it life, preserves its life, and grants its salvation. Wherefore, it cannot be said that Christ *alone* is Head of the Christian Church, but He with the Father and Spirit.

Zwingli. Our worthy friend Schatt does not seem to know, that although there are three persons in the Godhead, these three constitute, nevertheless, but one God; and that consequently, when God the Father is spoken of, or God the Son, or God the Spirit, there is meant still but one God. Of this, however, it can assuredly not be necessary further to speak; for it seems like mockery, to indulge in such foolish quibbling before an assembly like this, on the part of those who pretend to split up the unity of the one God, in the style of which we have now had a specimen. The argument of Schatt is powerless. And until he produces some other person who is both very man and very God, our Lord Jesus Christ must remain the *only* true head of His Church, even if we had not brought forward Scripture authority for the word "only," which our records, nevertheless, will show has been done.

Schatt. The learned Master Ulrich Zwingli said at the commencement of his last speech, that I do not understand the nature of the unity of the divine Trinity. I must say, that in this he does me great injustice; for I have used the creed long enough in my prayers to know its meaning. And when he further repeats, what he said before, that the Son of God, begotten of His heavenly Father from all eternity, is the head of the Church, I also concede that. But when he affirms, that therefore Christ is the only head, I do not assent; because "*Christ*" is a title applied to the temporal nature of our Lord; as Christ he was born in time, as Luke testifies, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive," &c. Wherefore I assert, that Christ, according to his humanity, cannot be called the only head of the Christian Church.

Zwingli. This argument requires no answer. In my preceding remarks, I proved clearly that Christ is here taken for Him who is very God from all eternity, and in due time became man.

Schatt. Zwingli desires me to prove that the Church has another head besides Christ. This proof I find in 1 Cor. 11: 8, "The head of the woman is the man, but the head of Christ is God." There you have another head besides Christ, and consequently Christ is not the only head of the Church.

Zwingli. The words of Christ, "The Father is greater than I," teach plainly in what sense God is the head of Christ, namely, in reference to Christ's human nature, nisi velit hic inducere prioritatem originis, de qua apud Theologos, which, however, does not apply here. The passage already cited from 1 Tim. 6: 15, may also serve to explain and prove this point, in which we see that Christ is called "the blessed and only Potentate," instead of which word Potentate, we use the word Head.

Schatt. Well then, leaving the rest, I suppose we are to understand Master Ulrich as affirming, that, inasmuch as Potentates or Princes are synonymous with *heads*, they should be deposed.

Gilg Murer, minister in Rappersweil, now took Schatt's place, and said: It cannot be proven by Scripture, that there is no other power or authority besides Christ. In Rom. 13: 1, it is said, "There is no power but of God." If now all power or authority is of God, spiritual authority must also come from Him, and continue as long as Christianity itself endures.

Haller. That passage refers only to civil power.

Murer. Paul makes no exception—"all power."

Haller. That there is authority in the Church, I never denied according to the Scriptures; but to this no temporal head is required, but it is merely authority to teach and preach the word, &c.

Murer. I admit readily what Haller says, concerning authority in the Church for edification, by virtue of which we are commissioned to preach the word. But where there is authority, there must be officers to execute it. This I will show from the Old Testament. The Jewish synagogues represented the Christian Church, and they had Rulers. If now this type or figure shall be fulfilled, we must also have spiritual superiors in the Christian Church. And inasmuch as Jewish synagogues had not only one High Priest, but two, namely, Moses and Aaron; there must be something corresponding therewith in the New Testament. Accordingly, we have Christ and Peter. Proved by Exodus 4: 16.

Haller. Moses and Aaron were both figures of Christ.

Edelbach. Christ incorporated the Church with Himself, not the Church Christ. From Him, as Head, flow grace, wisdom, salvation, and all perfection and goodness. But the Pope is appointed as Head in the Church in order to govern her by virtue of the power of the keys given to Peter. The assertion of Bucer, that every church or congregation may take action upon what concerns the interests of the whole Church, is incorrect. For we know that the Church in Antioch, even when Paul and Barnabas were present, would not decide upon certain points before them, but sent the matter to Jerusalem, Acts 15; inasmuch as such things pertain to the Rulers of the Church.

Bucer. The declaration concerning the incorporation of the Church with Christ, I accept. As to the mission of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, it is my opinion, that the Church in Antioch had power to decide the matter, without appealing to any other authority. Inasmuch, however, as a controversy arose, and some malicious persons opposed the influence of Peter and James to the opinion of Paul and Barnabas, these preferred having the questions settled by other Apostles. Thus I think, also, that the Church in Bern had better received the sure word of God from their own ministers, (as doubtless many 'did,) without further debate. But as there were some among them who desired to hear the views of others, they resolved to hold this Disputation. Not that they will learn more from us, (even though each of our four thousand members were more learned and pious than Paul,) than their ministers could instruct them concerning divine things. Every Christian, and every single church must believe for themselves, and be assured of what the word of God teaches,—let others think as they please.

With these remarks the discussion of the first article closed.

J. H. A. B.

ART. V.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELLER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

I. ATTICA AND ATHENS.

The Scenery of Attica, its Productions, Climate and the Manners of its present Inhabitants.

ATTICA may be considered as a peninsula, in the form of a triangle, having for its base the mountain ridge of Cythäron and Parnes, on the north dividing it from Bœotia, and on both sides the Sea; on the east that part of the Ægean by the ancients called *Myrtoon Pelagus*, from the island Myrtos, and on the west the beautiful *Saronic* gulf, having its name from Saron, King of Trœzen, who perished in its waves. The prolongation of the western side northward, till it reached the base of the mountains, including the island of Salamis, served as the line of demarcation between the Athenian territory and that of the small independent State of Megara. But in earlier times, long before the great Doric invasion of the Peloponnesus, the frontiers of Attica, then called Ionia, being inhabited by the Ionian or Pelasgian race, extended as far as the Corinthian Isthmus, where, according to Strabo, the geographer, a *cippus*, or land-mark in the form of a pillar, was raised with the inscription, on the north side: *This is Ionia and not Peloponnesus*, and on the side of the isthmus: *Here is Peloponnesus and not Ionia*.*

Beautiful is the mountain scenery of Attica. The Cythäron rises steeply from the Corinthian gulf to a height of more than four thousand feet; its flanks are covered with pine and oak forests, which have given it its modern name *Elatia*,

* The pillar was destroyed by the Dorians during their conquest of Megara. A later imitation of the inscription we still read on the arch of Hadrian in Athens.

or Mount of Firs. Several defiles, celebrated in the military history of Greece, open a communication between Megara and Eleusis on the south, and Plataeæ and Thebes on the north. Eastward it joins the high woody Parnes, by the moderns called *Ozya*, from the fine beach-trees, which cover its northern slope. In the narrow and romantic passes, from which magnificent views extend toward the plains of Bœotia and the strait of Eubœa, or the plain of Athens and the islands of the Saronic gulf, we still admire the well preserved and picturesque ruins of the castles of Oince and Phyle, and the foundations of Decelia, so renowned in the times of the Peloponnesian war. Eastward the Parnes sinks steeply down on the strait of Eubœa forming a low promontory crowned with the ruins of the castle and temple of Rhamnus.

A brisk ride of three hours, or thirty miles, through valleys covered with fir, pine, arbutus, wild olive and myrtle, in picturesque variety, carries us down to the fertile, and now again highly cultivated plain of Eleusis, with many ruins of aqueducts and ancient structures scattered over its surface. It is divided from the still larger plain of the Cephissus by a low, barren ridge, Aegaleos, extending westward to the strait of Salamis, where it forms the promontory Amphiale, now *Skaramanga*, from the height of which Xerxes, the proud Persian King on his golden throne, beheld the destruction of his immense fleet in the year 480 B. C.

From Eleusis, around the gulf of Salamis, the Sacred Road, on which the solemn processions from Athens moved on to celebrate the mysteries of Ceres at her great Eleusinian temple, ascends through the defiles of Daphne near the ruins of a temple of Apollo situated in a laurel grove or *daphnon*, from which the pass itself received its modern name, and then descends upon the broad plain of Athens, bounded at a distance of twelve miles, by Mount Pentelicon on the east, Parnes on the north and Hymettus on the south. On the south-west the plain opens on the Saronic gulf, opposite to the islands of Salamis and Ægina. From the centre of this plain rises the steep prominent rock of the Acropolis, the Acropia of the

mythical times, with its undulating hills, the Areopagus, Museion, Pnyx, the more distant precipitous peak of Lycabettus and the lower ridge of Brilessus, now *Turkovouni*, losing itself north eastward in the plain. The Acropolis is lying five miles from the coast and presents, with its gold tinged temples, a bold and most beautiful relief against the huge masses of the purple Hymettus, hovering to a height of twenty-five hundred feet above the sea.

On the south of Hymettus the large inland plain, the *Mesogaion*, extends to the hills of Laurion, where the Athenians opened their rich silver mines. This ridge terminates with the high southern promontory of Sunion, by the mariners called *Caro Colonnas*, from the glittering marble temple of Minerva Sunias, crowning its summit. The view from beneath the columns is one of the most delightful in the world, extending across the dark blue waters of the Ægean and embracing an immense horizon, studded with the high and picturesque Cycladian islands. Thirteen columns of the Doric temple are still standing, with part of the architrave and the antæ of the cell. On one of the pilasters I read a curious inscription, apparently from the first century of our era, stating that Onesimos, here on the promontory, remembered his beloved sister.* We likewise see Lord Byron's name, by himself engraven on one of the columns. The western coast presents a continuation of low, rocky hills, barren and without cultivation; the eastern, on the contrary, is more diversified by craggy promontories, deep, indented bays, forming the fine harbors of Thoricus and Panormus and the glorious battle-field of Marathon, at the eastern base of Mount Pentelicon.

Attica is not a rich country, and nature has not granted it a fertile soil; its geological formation is primitive limestone, and its light, dry mould, therefore, produces only fruits, such as grapes, figs, oranges, lemons and olives, in great abundance and variety; but the stronger and more nourishing cereal grains, Indian corn, wheat, and barley, require diligent culture, and yield a scanty harvest. The tobacco raised on the plain

* Ονησιμος εμνεσθη της αδελφης χρηστης.

near the Peiræus, is aromatic and excellent, though inferior to the yellow *Rapnos*, from the hills of Argos and Volos, which vies with the celebrated Pasha-tobacuo of Turkey. Cotton and Indian corn (in Greece called Kalambokki and Arabositi) grow luxuriantly, where the fields can be irrigated during the dry summer months, as for instance on the banks of the Cephissus and the upper plain of Marathon. Barley is used as provender for horses, and the ancient custom, by the Hellenes called *Krastis*, and by the moderns *Krasidhi*, still prevails at Athens, of grazing the horses in the green barley fields during the months of April and May. You may then see hundreds of fine Thessalian steeds, belonging to the royal stables, the Greek chieftains, residing at the capitol, and the army, tethered in the verdant plain, whilst the grooms and military in attendance, are sitting in their showy dresses and red skull-caps, before their tents and arbors, ornamented with flags, where they smoke their chiboukies around the blazing fires and form quite animated and picturesque groups. The green pasture serves as a necessary restorative for the horses, which thus refreshed, are enabled to endure the oppressive heat and dust of summer, with renewed strength.

It is highly distressing to observe how averse the Greek farmer is to any of the useful agricultural inventions of western Europe; even the harrow, the roller, or threshing machine are entirely unknown to him, and he is still using the *classical* plough of old Hesiod, the Poet, three thousand years ago, a clumsy beam of crooked timber, with only one shaft, the plough-share of which is made of hard wood, seldom tipped with iron. The reaping is a time of rejoicing; the villagers gather in their harvest in common, and pile their corn around the open threshing-floor, *aloní*, where it is trodden by a number of horses, tied to a stake in the centre and driven around in full gallop.

“As with autumnal harvest cover’d o’er,
And thick bestrown, lies Ceres’ sacred floor;
When round and round with never wearied pain
The trampling steers beat out th’ unnumber’d grain.”

This very ancient, oriental custom of having the corn trod-

den by unmuzzled oxen, we still witness both in Asia Minor and Palestine. The wheat ripens a month earlier in Attica than in other parts of Greece; generally in June, sometimes even in May; but being hardly sufficient for the country people themselves, the bread-stuffs for the provision of the present capital are still mostly imported from Trieste and Odessa. Even during the most brilliant period of the Athenian republic, the interval of seventy years, between the Persian and Peloponnesian war, when agriculture and civilization were at their height, but the population had risen disproportionately to the resources of the country, the Athenians imported their grains from Boeotia, Eubœa and Thessaly. Therefore, the fertile island of Eubœa and the flourishing Ionian colonies on the coast of Thrace and Asia Minor, which all were tributary to Athens, became of the highest importance to the city during the war with Sparta and the Dorians, when all the transports from the main land were cut off by hostile armies occupying the fortress of Dekelia, and all the passes of the mountains. And yet, on the other hand, has this unproductiveness of Attica, and its want of more substantial food, by its ancient historians, been considered as the principal cause of a remarkable phenomenon in history of which the Athenians were not a little proud, namely, that Attica never suffered from any permanent hostile invasion, and as Rome in Italy, owed its early development to the crimes of robbers and outlaws, so did Athens owe her independence to the poverty of her Pelasgian rustics. "Thus, by a singular fatality, were the two most civilized and powerful republics of antiquity founded by the wicked and the weak."* Nor did Attica enjoy this constant tranquillity only during the early migrations of the different Pelasgian tribes, but even in a later period, while all Hellas was overrun and the Peloponnesus subdued by the war-like Dorians in the tenth century before our era. The conquerors, who had abandoned the rugged and barren valleys of Mount Pindus, directed their course southward to more fertile regions and they

* Athens by Sir W. Young. London, 1804, page 16.

preferred to settle on the beautiful plains of Argos and Messenia, and in the rich valley of Laconia, sooner than with toilsome labor, cultivate the more accessible, but dry and parched hills of Attica. Its rustic population, at that time, scattered about in open villages, without fortresses or any well organized political or military union, would have become an easy conquest to a Dorian invader, and both Thucydides and the witty Aristophanes, therefore, frequently rally at the haughty pride of their countrymen of being *Autochtones*, or aboriginal children of the Attic soil, who never had mixed their blood with any foreign nation.*

Yet, though Attica has no abundance of the more important necessities of life, benign nature has embellished it with other ornaments! All the ancients praise the luxuriant vegetation of shrubs and sweet scented flowers as more profuse on the lovely hills of Attica, than in any other part of Hellas, and the extraordinary productiveness of the sacred olive-tree, was by the pious Athenians esteemed as the gift of Pallas Athene herself, to her beloved region.

An important article of export, even at the present day, is the delicious honey; for

“Still his honied wealth Hymettus yields.”

This huge marble mountain is thickly grown with thyme, tentiscus, agnus-castus, myrtle, sage, and many other odorous shrubs and herbs, which sucked by the bees, produce a perfectly white and fragrant honey, considered superior to any in the Levant, and even to that of Mount Hybla near Syracuse in Sicily. The Athenians place the entire honey-comb on their breakfast table and eat the honey, together with its delicate cell. The monasteries on Hymettus and Pentelicon, and the villages in the plain, possess many thousand bee-hives in the chasms of the rocks, where they produce more than fifty

* The Athenians, before the times of Solon, wore their long hair braided on their fore-head in a cluster of curls, *krobtylos*, which they stuck full of golden ornaments in the form of grasshoppers, because they regarded the *lettix* or *cicada*, as sprung from the Attic soil, and they considered as a sweet music the shrill and deafening noise which it makes in the olive groves during the burning heat of a summer day.

thousand *kila* of honey and five thousand *kila* of wax, giving a revenue of twenty thousand dollars.

"A better gift yet," says Xenophon, "is the abundance of costly marbles, of which the Athenians form the noblest statues of their gods and their magnificent temples,"—and indeed the pure white marble of mount Pentelicon, the blue marble of Hymettus, and the glossy black stone of Eleusis, are alike excellent, and of an easy access.

But the ancient republic possessed a still more important product of its soil, than the splendid marbles; I mean, the rich silver mines of Mount Laurion, the income of which, more than one hundred talents, or two hundred thousand dollars of our money, was justly considered by Xenophon and Aristotle as the best and most certain resource of the public revenue. If, therefore, we except the happy situation of Attica, its excellent and liberal institutions and the extraordinary mental superiority of its active and enterprising inhabitants, no other circumstance, perhaps, contributed so much to the prosperity of the State, as the possession of her mines. The power of Athens depended on her fleet, and her wealth on her foreign commerce. It was the produce of the Laurion silver mines, which first enabled her great statesman, Themistocles, to create the naval force of his native country, and nothing so much promoted her trade and credit, as the *purity* of her coin, which was everywhere exchanged with profit; while, on the contrary, other States of Greece, such as Sparta and Thebes, were circulating a metal, current *only* at home. This wise arrangement was, no doubt, in a great measure, called forth by the possession of silver mines, within the territory of the republic herself. For centuries they were worked with great activity, but in the age of Demosthenes we already meet with loud complaints of unsuccessful speculations in mining, and in the first century of our era, they appear to have become exhausted. Strabo, the geographer, therefore, remarks, that in his time the poorer ore, which formerly had been removed and thrown aside, was *then* melted together with the scoria, from which metal had been but imperfectly separated by the ancient Athe-

nians, and that in this manner a considerable quantity of silver was extracted by the more careful process of the practical Romans; as we find it similarly repeated in some of the now exhausted mines in South America and Mexico. Near the ruins of an Hellenic castle, on the woody hills of Laurion, the deep shafts and pits sunk in the rock are so numerous, that travelling there by night would be attended with almost certain destruction, owing to the narrow opening of the shafts, which are concealed by shrubs and bushes. The scoria is still lying about in large heaps, and seem to have been melted down on the spot, where the silver-ore was produced.

These dangers to which the traveller is exposed on Mount Laurion, remind us of another serious accident, which happened to a party of gentlemen, with whom we, for the first time, visited the mines in the year 1837. On a bright and beautiful day in December, during the Christmas vacations, some of the professors of the Colleges, the Danish architects, and several Bavarian physicians and officers, took a ride to the promontory of Sunion. Having during the day enjoyed the delightful view from the temple-ruins and visited the shafts, we in the evening arrived at the village of Keratiæ, situated at the base of Mount Laurion, where the Greek archimandrite, Pappa Nikolas offered us the hospitality of his house for the night. As we had been on horse-back all day and the chilly night-breeze came whistling most uncomfortably through the ruinous dwelling of the Greek pappas, the gentlemen proposed to take some warm restorative, and there being plenty of oranges and lemons in the village, our servants were ordered to make some hot punch. Supper had in the mean time been served, and part of the evening spent with song and lively conversation, when on a sudden the whole party began to feel so exceedingly ill, that the physicians at once pronounced that we had been poisoned. And indeed it was soon discovered, that our servants, searching, with some difficulty, for a large kettle, had borrowed one from a neighbor, which had not been tinned and was covered inside with *vers-di-gris*. In this dilemma, a stout, old Albanian shepherd entered, and learning our sad accident, re-

plied, that this was a common occurrence, and that he soon would find a remedy. He then hurried away to the *mandra* or sheep-fold, on the outskirts of the village, and quickly returned with some large vases of fresh goats milk, which indeed proved an excellent antidote, and enabled the sufferers next morning to return to Athens; but none of them afterwards ever travelled through Greece without carrying their bright copper-kettle, well tinned, slung on the saddle behind them.

Not only the poets, historians and orators vied with one another in praising the beauty of their native land, nay, even the Olympian gods themselves disputed and strove for the possession of Attica! A tradition of high antiquity says, that Neptune first claiming his right to a region which so long had been covered with his waves, fixed his trident on the rock of the Acropolis, from which a salt-spring issued forth, while the prudent Minerva, devising another gift more conducive to the prosperity of its inhabitants, planted the Olive, ever afterwards venerated in her sanctuary on the castle-hill. The sea-god then offered the horse, but Minerva, cunningly, by a quick glance, induced the hero Erichthonios to attach the steeds to her chariot and hurry away with them! Cecrops and the assembled gods then awarded the prize to Pallas Athene, and the irascible Neptune, in revenge, launched his terrible trident and submerged the Thriasian plain, which afterwards formed the gulf of Salamis. This rivalry of the gods, which so poetically expresses the early tastes and occupations of the Athenians before the Persian war, some devoting themselves to foreign commerce and maritime expeditions, while the mass preferred the quiet vocations of the ploughman and shepherd, was represented in splendid colossal statues by the master-hand of Phidias, on the western pediment of the Parthenon.

The horse of Neptune never prospered in Attica; it required the rich pastures of Bœotia and Thessaly. The Athenians, therefore, had no Cavalry in the battle of Marathon, and even later, during the Peloponnesian war their horse consisted only of twelve hundred young, rich knights or *hippeis*, and some squadrons of Thessalian auxiliaries. At the present day, the

Royal Studs or *hippotrophæia*, are situated in the plain of Argos, where a large number of fine colts are raised for the service of the army.

The Olive was the glory of Attica, and her most valuable product. Its cultivation was encouraged by the Solonian laws, which threatened the infliction of severe penalties to whoever injured that precious tree. The sacred Olive from the Erechtheion, had, according to the belief of the pious Athenians, by the agency of the goddess herself, been propagated to the grove of the Academy on the banks of the Cephissus, and from thence to other parts of Attica, where it was attended with particular care. It was called *moria*, and produced the holy and Panathenaic oil, which, as the highest prize, was presented to the victor at the public games, both in Greece and Italy, in a beautifully ornamented vase, having the curious inscription : “ *I am one of the prizes from Athens.*”

When the Athenians fled from their city and the temples on the Acropolis were burnt and destroyed by the Persians, the prisoners, with astonishment, beheld fresh scions shooting forth from the roots of the Sacred Plant, which they hailed as a propitious omen of final victory. Even the Spartans, during their devastating incursions in Attica, spared the Olive-groves with religious reverence. So did the Turks, and for centuries they remained the wealth and pride of the Athenians, but the war of independence has made a deplorable havoc among the fine Olive woods of the plain. Hundreds of old trees have been cut down, no young ones planted, and their large open glades are now laid out in vineyards or melon gardens. We felt greatly disappointed at this indifference of the modern Athenians, to restore and cultivate their precious Olive-groves, while in many other parts of Greece, as for instance, in Messenia and Laconia, we, with intense pleasure, visited the nurseries, *phyteiae*, of young trees, reared with the utmost care by the Moreotes, for the transplantation of the scions. Like their forefathers, they engraft the wild Olive; and on Mount Zavitzia in Argolis, we behold the interesting sight of entire forests of wild Olive trees in the different degrees of their domestication.

The American traveller, being accustomed to the deep and florid verdure of his native forests, generally considers the pale, silvery tints of the Olive devoid of beauty.

"It possesses neither the majesty of the forest-tree," says Mr. Hillhouse, in his valuable article on the Olive, "nor the gracefulness of shrubbery. It clothes the hills without adorning them and considered as an accident in the landscape, it does not change the picture sufficiently to contribute to its beauty. The rich culture for which the southern provinces of France are celebrated, is less conducive to rural beauty than some of the humbler species of husbandry. The richest country is not always the most lovely; a country of mines, for example, is usually ungracious to the eye, and the Olive is called by an Italian writer, a mine upon the surface of the earth."*

This statement is certainly just, with regard to the dwarf Olive of France, which only in the celebrated valley of Vaucluse, near Avignon, has something like an Italian character. Yet, in order to see the Olive in its full development and beauty, the traveller must descend to Italy and Greece. Already the average produce of the Olive in Provence, of ten pounds of oil, compared to that of the larger trees in Greece, of three hundred pounds, will show the difference. There the Olive is a large, elegant and eminently beautiful tree. The extensive Olive-groves of Attica, Laconia, Messenia, and the Grecian Islands, where the bright, silvery color of the Olive, intermingled with the cypress and orange, stands in the most beautiful contrast to the deep verdure of the vineyards beneath,

* The North American Sylva by Michaux. Paris, 1819. Vol. II, page 172. The European Olive was successfully cultivated in East Florida, at New Smyrna, on the west bank of the Mosquito river, where an Englishman, Mr. Turnbull, had founded a settlement of Greeks and Minorquies. William Bartram, who visited the colony in 1775, describes its beautiful situation in an extensive Orange-grove, and the thriving condition of the town. But the poor Greeks were soon driven to despair by continual hardships and the oppression of the Spaniards. They abandoned their new home, and, courageous as their forefathers, some of them attempted, in an open boat, to cross over to Havana, while the rest cut their way through the savage Indians and reached St. Augustine.

In 1783, a few decayed cottages and a number of large Olive-trees, were the only remaining traces of Grecian industry in America. Vide Michaux, *ibid.* p. 199.

and the violet hues of the rocky summits above; there they present that rich and picturesque southern landscape, so enthusiastically admired by the poet and painter; there the groves of Minerva, by the soft and yet distinct outlines and variegated shades of the masses, give the true character to the classical soil, which our imagination delights to people with the grand and venerable visions of antiquity.

Before the Turkish war, forty oil mills, of an almost primitive form, and driven by mules, were in activity at Athens; they yielded an average produce of five hundred thousand *kila* of an excellent oil. Six thousand barrels, worth one hundred thousand dollars, are exported every year, mostly to Constantinople and Russia.

The Turks of Athens, being a sedentary and indolent people, are fond of gardens with purling fountains and shady bowers; they surround their mosks with clusters of fine plantanes; their burial grounds are dense thickets of dark cypresses, and everywhere they rear the palm in memory of their prophet and oriental origin. All these Turkish gardens, so beautifully described by Lord Byron, have vanished, together with their harems and cemeteries; yet two elegant palm-trees still adorn the city of Athens, and the lifeless seated stem of a third is seen on the Acropolis. The palm is rare in Greece; on the islands of the *Ægean*, principally at Naxos, Paros and Santorin, entire groups of these graceful trees embellish the landscape, and give it an oriental character, but their dates do not attain maturity, and it is not until you land at Acre, Yafa, or on the banks of the Nile, that you enjoy the first exciting and enrapturing sight of a palm-grove.

Attica is a dry country; it has neither lakes nor rivers, and the torrents, descending from the mountains, flow only during the winter season and dry up in summer. This is the case with the celebrated Ilissus, losing itself in the fields south of Athens, and the scanty rivulets of Marathon and Eleusis. The Cephissus bursting forth from a beautiful source at the base of Mount Pentelicon, has, on the contrary, a perennial stream, not always fordable in winter, but during summer led off by numer-

ous channels to irrigate the gardens and vineyards in the environs of the city.

Beautiful are the walks on the woody banks of the Cephissus, when on the stillness of the evening, the nightingale, the lovely Philomele, is heard warbling through thickets of laurel, myrtle and oleander. Nothing can be more delightful than the calm, bright moonlight nights at Athens. The Attic sky is the most transparent, the most brilliant and deeply violet in the Levant; there is a charm thrown over all the distant objects on that clear horizon, which we have seen nowhere so perfect on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The plain being on three sides surrounded by lofty mountains, the winter at Athens is colder than at Smyrna, or on the islands of *Ægean*. The north wind, the fierce Boreas, sweeping down from Mount Cythæron is chilly, and we have often in the early morning hours felt more uncomfortably cold in our airy wood-built house in the Peiræcus than in the cheerful domicile of Lancaster; but the glorious winter-sun rising gorgeously above Mount Hymettus, soon dispels the freshness of the morning, and a bright, warm and sunny winter day in the plain of Athens is as agreeable as the loveliest May day on the hills of Pennsylvania.

The fields in Attica, during the winter season, are covered with a rich carpet of flowers. The olive, orange, and lemon groves, the laurel, myrtle, cypress and oleander, together with a great variety of other ever-greens, vie in freshness and beauty, while the high snow-capped mountains around glitter in all the pomp and majesty of Alpine regions.

This luxurious vegetation continues during April and May; at every step on Mount Parnes we meet with the wild hyacinth, the lily, the crocus; the plain whitens with the asphodelus, the bulbous root of which was eaten by the ancient Pelasgi, according to the statement of Hesiodus. At the present day this plant is used in the French sugar manufactories at Thermopylæ and yields eight and ten per cent. of an excellent white sugar.

The banks of the rivulets are adorned with the purple *olean-*

der and the blue and white *agnus castus*. Vegetables, such as cauliflower, beans, peas, artichokes, salads, and many others, succeed one another throughout the season. Summer, on the contrary, presents a bleak and parched landscape, but an abundance of all kinds of southern fruits in their full perfection. The joyous period—the most pleasant in Greece, as in America—is the fall, the season of the vintage, *o trigos*, in the month of September, though the grapes begin to ripen so early as July. The general gathering of the olives begins in November and continues to February, every second year. The grapes for the wine-press are, in Greece, kept low on the ground, like in Sicily, but those reserved for the table the Greeks draw on poles along the front of the houses, or across the streets, where they form beautiful and shady bowers. The late Turkish war has destroyed all the splendid vine-bowers, *klimatezia*, on the Baazars of Athens; but on the islands of Naxos, Paros and Santorini, the inhabitants still pass from one street to another beneath their shady and fragrant canopy. A single cluster of these immense grapes often weigh seven *okhas*, or fourteen pounds, which is quite a sufficient desert for the numerous guests at a dinner party.

The vineyards in Attica are not separated by fences; they cover the whole plain, as a continual garden, and each owner knows his own lot by piles of stones and other marks.

During the vintage season a watch, *phylax*, is placed on a high poplar, overlooking the fields. Among its branches he fastens some mats, forming an awning against the sun; there he is seen sitting all day long with his long Albanian rifle resting in his arm and smoking his pipe. During the night his fierce wolf-dogs scour the vine-gardens, and woe to the imprudent wanderer or grape-thief who then approaches the forbidden fruits. An English sea captain, who, in 1839, visited Athens, and late at night, perhaps in a somewhat frolicsome mood, after a good dinner with the British Consul, John Green, crossed from the high-road into the vineyards, was torn to pieces, and so entirely devoured by the dogs, that only his scull, some knawed bones and his blue coat with brass buttons

was found the next day, to the amazement of Court and Capital. When the watch in the day time leaves his aerial mansion and goes to the Baazar in search of his provisions, he generally places his dogs in the mat, and we have often beheld the curious sight of a wild, shaggy shepherd's dog, barking, snarling and furiously springing about in the top of a lofty plane tree, without any possibility of getting down.

During the month of July the heat of Athens rises to 100, 105, and even sometimes to 112 degrees of Fahrenheit, in the shade ; but the atmosphere is then refreshed morning and evening by the delicious sea breeze, *embatis*, which from the Saronic gulf, breathes softly over the plain. In winter the thermometer generally stands between 58 and 48 degrees ; when it happens, however, that it descends to 40 degrees, or even lower, then the Greeks, enveloped in their shaggy capotes, disappear from the streets and public places and bemoaning the horribly cold winter—*o tromeros chemon*—shut themselves up in their dwellings unfit to undertake anything.

In Athens and the principle cities on the coast, the foreigners have now begun to introduce iron stoves, *sobas*, and other comforts of European life ; but their use is not universal ; the Greeks content themselves with their small earthen brasier, called *μυρριτι*, filled with live coals. In Constantinople and in the houses of some families at Athens, who still adhere to the old oriental manners, this fire-pot is replaced by a large brazen vase, *tandauri*, standing in the middle of the room or beneath a table which is covered with a large table cloth, hanging down on all sides. The family, young and old, then sit around on low taborets and place their feet beneath the tablecloth, while the person who may be more suffering will raise the cloth over his shoulders and thus warm all his body. These precautions are needless on the islands, and we have spent several winters on Elgeria, Zante and in Symrna, with open windows and without ever kindling a fire in our study.

The immense snow-crowned and precipitous mountains of Greece impart a grandeur to the scenery, which we look for in vain in Italy, where the outlines are more level and less striking,

but on the other hand, the atmosphere is in Italy more impregnated with light vapors, the exhalations of which, beneath the warm and genial sun, diffuse a glorious coloring of mellow tints, which the elastic transparency of the dry air on the Grecian table-lands cannot produce. This is particularly the feature in the scenery of the higher mountain regions of Arcadia, Phocis and Epirus. But on the plains of Athens and Sparta, on the lakes of Boeotia, and on the islands, these highly colored, warm, purple and violet hues are seen in all their intensity and splendor, as Lord Byron so truly says, in his description of the Corinthian gulf:

Where the tints of the earth and the hues of the sky
In color though varied—in beauty may vie,
And the *purple* of ocean is deepest in die.

This transparency of the atmosphere in Greece, is really astonishing to every northern and even American traveller. All objects at a distance, mountains, towers, trees, high on the summits of the rocks, present themselves with such a clearness, and their outlines detach themselves, as it were, so distinctly from their background, that you would suppose them to be situated much nearer, than they are in reality. Often during our excursions on the hills of Attica and the Morea, we have remarked this curious phenomenon, and sometimes, weary with a long ride, and observing on the slope of an opposite mountain, the convent or village, where we intended to encamp for the night, we would have supposed it to be quite near at hand, from the perfect distinctness with which every object could be recognized—and yet, it would cost us many a toilsome hour's ride, before we, late at night, could reach our resting place.

“The extreme parts of the earth”—says the father of history, old Herodotus—“have, I do not know how—received the most benign gifts of nature. India possesses the most gorgeous birds, the largest quadrupeds and trees, which, instead of fruits produce the finest wool. Persia has the fleetest steeds; Arabia frankincense, myrrh, and precious spices; Æthiopia gigantic elephants and impervious forests—nay, even the remotest shores of Europe furnish tin and precious amber, and

the uncouth Arimaspi, in the hoary north, have plenty of gold ; but Hellas, kind nature has granted the brightest and most genial of climates, and *man* in his greatest perfection and beauty."

The dry and temperate climate, and the almost constant serenity of the Attic sky have essentially contributed to preserve the elegant monuments of Hellas and the happy and lively disposition of her spirited inhabitants. They are a healthy, vigorous race, still retaining the full antique form alike perceptible in the regularity of their features, the animated expression of their countenance, and easy independence of their carriage. The men of the main land and the women of the islands, present the true type of classical beauty ; it fades more rapidly among the females, while the hardy mountaineer often in his eightieth or nintieth year, still follows his wont occupations in the fields and the chase. Thus the venerable Notaras, of Corinth, in the 110th year of his age, presided at the opening of the National Assembly in 1848. Little children languish during the summer heat at Athens ; many die, and all the more independent families generally retire to the Convents on Mount Hymettus during July and August. Fever, *pyretos*, is the most prevailing disease which is brought on by the exhalations of the marshes, or by want of precaution, exposure to the sun, or night air, or irregularity of diet. Consumption, rheumatism and pulmonary complaints are almost unheard of ; many an invalid has recovered his health in the mild and delightful climate of Greece, and if thousands of Philhellenes and Bavarians have perished, they themselves were, by their intemperance, the cause of their death.

Thus the chorus in Euripides, hails the ancient Athenians : " Ye god-like sons of Erechtheus, who in your sacred, never conquered native land, nurtured in the noblest science of wisdom and virtue, breathe the purest air, beneath the brightest skies, where the nine sisters, the gifted muses, leaving their chaste retreat on the Pierian mountain, have planted among you their golden seat of harmony and love !"

Such was the land of fair Athens and the pleasant climate,

which the Olympian gods had granted her. Such it is even to this day, and we may rejoice that the Muses, whom the revolutions and devastations of twenty centuries had frightened away to the west, have once returned to their beloved hills of Attica, where they again, under the mild government of a noble minded prince, king Otho, the Beloved, spread light, love and harmony among her lately so distracted and unhappy sons.

Our next article will give an outline of the little known, but not uninteresting history of Athens, during the middle ages.

A. L. K.

Lancaster, Pa.

ART. VI.—GOVERNMENT IN ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION.

SOCIETY is not a community of individuals who have voluntarily united for the purposes of convenience or mutual advantage. An individual is not an independent being, who if he chooses to do so, may ignore his connection with his fellows, sever the ties that bind him and them mutually, and still be himself. He is an integral part of a great whole, upon which he depends in every period of life—he is a member of a family, in living connection with which alone can he find the conditions absolutely necessary to the felicitous and harmonious development of his whole nature.

Men, accordingly, do not live together in a state of civilized society, because they feel convinced that such an arrangement is a matter of great convenience. All the tendencies of their inner being, determine them to be social long before they can at all reflect upon the comparative advantages of complete isolation and of society. It does, indeed, confer innumerable blessings, but it has also many ills and inconveniences, that har-

rass the mind and pierce the heart ; a perfectly sane man, however, will not think of taking refuge to the life of a hermit, and drag out a lazy existence among owls and snakes and lizards and worms ; convenient or inconvenient, advantageous or disadvantageous, a man that is a man cannot be content and happy but by living among men.

Nor do men live in a state of society because they have chosen to do it, that is, if they did not will to be members of society they might as readily resolve to exclude themselves from it, and yet fulfil the conditions and accomplish the objects of life. We might as well speak of a hand without a body, or of a limb without a tree. Before any act of volition has been put forth, or before it is even possible to do so, human nature is inclined to social life by every faculty or principle inherent in it. Supposing it possible that an individual might deliberately determine to seclude himself from all the walks of life and abide where no one else abides, yet he could not do even this unless he had grown up and been matured in the very state and under the very circumstances which he abjures. Before a man can think at all, or resolve upon this or that course, he must already be a member of a social body. For it is only when he occupies this relation that reason and will can be developed. A human being is not like an ox. He may be seized in the days of his calf-hood, and separated for life a thousand miles from all of his tribe ; yet if he is well stabled and well fed and well trained, he will be as large, as cheerful, as strong, as wise and as contented, as if he had roamed with the wild herd amid the uninhabited mountain forests. To all intents and purposes he will be as really an ox as if he had possessed all the advantages of intimate fellowship with his species. But a man can only become a man when the development of his intellectual and moral powers, is subject to those living influences, which none but man can exert. Separate him in his childhood from all association with his race, and let him grow to the age of manhood under the influences of irrational nature, and he becomes a monster. Hence the resolution on the one hand to abandon a state of seclusion, and on

the other to constitute a body politic, presupposes the existence of society. The resolution is after the fact ; volition or choice does not originate a social state.

If these positions be tenable, it follows also that society is not the result of a tacit or formal compact entered into by single and totally independent individuals. In order to form a just conception of a civil compact we must presuppose the actual existence of social life. If men were by nature independent ; if there were no laws of their being in virtue of which they are allied to each other and bound together ; if there were no instincts nor tendencies whatever, that necessarily demand a union and communion of the human family, human nature would be destitute of a sufficient basis upon which an *idea* of organized society common to all could rest and from which it could be developed. But if men are mutually dependent upon each other ; if, as every intelligent, reflecting mind must admit, they are bound together indissolubly by all the laws of physical and intellectual life ; if men possess instincts, tendencies and wants, forming a part of their very constitution which demand for their satisfaction a social state, then both the existence and the necessity of society under some form are anterior to all compact.

We may discuss this point under a different aspect. In order that men may enter into a compact either tacitly or formally, two things are essential. There must, in the first place, be some general law to bind the parties that enter into a mutual agreement, otherwise the agreement could have no power over the will and conscience. In the next place, the authority of this general law must be acknowledged and respected by all who are, or become members of the association. A compact where these great principles do not operate is mere idle wind. To bind the will or conduct of men by words when they are ignorant of, or refuse to acknowledge the authority and inviolability of law, existing before and independently of all formal agreement, would be as vain as it was for the lords of the Philistines to bind the long-haired Samson with seven green withs. These, however, are the very principles that constitute

society what it is. They are its essential elements. It cannot exist unless they are acknowledged, and where they are acknowledged it exists necessarily. If, now, in order to enter into a compact, men must acknowledge the authority and inviolability of law binding equally on all; and if such an acknowledgment already implies the existence of some form of organized society, it involves a flat contradiction to say that civil society originates in the formation of a civil compact. It is nothing less than to put the consequent for the antecedent, and thus to contradict every principle that a sound theory of civil compact implies.

How then does society originate? It results from the constitution of humanity. The nature of human life is such, that with its development both the idea of society is unfolded and its actual existence realized.

The constitution of body and mind embodies certain unalterable laws that as they operate, necessarily call forth a state of society. Society, viewed in this light, must, therefore, be regarded as divine. Every natural law, whether of body or mind, is but an expression of the will of God in its relation to humanity, determining it to be what it is. The organic connection of these laws with their common life-principle establishes what may be called an *order*, or the original constitution of humanity. Such constitution is, consequently, not something arbitrary, accidental or contingent; but it is what infinite wisdom and power willed it to be. The will of God, as embodied in human nature, and indicated by its inherent tendencies, gives rise to the idea of society and demands its actualization.

Thus society takes its origin in an objective and necessary principle; *objective*, because the principle is independent of the will or choice of single individuals, communities or nations; it lies at the foundation of an order ordained by Almighty God. Men are subject to the control of physical and moral laws before they can reason or will; in like manner are they subject to the control of certain deeply-seated laws of their being which determine them to be members of civil society before they are

self-conscious. In other words, every individual, man or woman, is a social being, in virtue of the constitution of humanity, established by the absolute will of an omnipotent Creator. This principle is also *necessary* ; because mankind cannot fulfil the design of their creation—cannot enjoy physical or moral happiness, except in as far as they possess the rights and perform the duties guaranteed and imposed by organized society. The will is free to determine or modify, within certain limitations, the form of social life. But the question : Shall we live in a state of society ? can never be answered in the negative ; nor can certain all pervading principles ever be ignored or violated, without proving fatal to its whole design. The nature and necessity of society are, consequently, revealed ; not revealed supernaturally, like the decalogue of Moses on Sinai, but revealed in the constitution of humanity as such, like the necessity and order of the four seasons in the constitution of the planetary system. Yet the form under which it shall hold is conditioned by enlightened reason and free will. As an illustration, I may say : The necessity of cultivating the earth in order to a comfortable subsistence and the general principles upon which a successful cultivation must be conducted, are revealed by God, not supernaturally, but by means of laws ordained by Him in the mineral and vegetable kingdoms, a knowledge of which men acquire by observation and experience ; yet the size and aspect of fields, the relative position of house and farm, the mode of tilling the soil, sowing grain and gathering in the harvest, as well as the general management of a given farm, depends upon the intelligence, taste, resources and free will of the proprietor.

My object in dwelling briefly upon the origin and necessity of society, has been to prepare the way for the consideration of another topic closely allied to it, namely, *the design of society*. Different theories prevail, to which it will be proper to refer. Some say it is the design of the State to protect life and property. Single individuals could not resist the united strength of a band of wicked men, disposed to rob, plunder and murder. It is necessary to associate together for the sake

of personal safety. Others say, it is the object of the State to promote the general welfare of mankind. Each one has numerous wants, the satisfaction of which requires the presence and labors of others. The measure of human happiness would be narrowed down within a small compass but for the aid which many associated individuals afford each other mutually. By combining their influence and labors upon the basis of a certain system of law, adopted by all, the general welfare may be greatly promoted, whilst the rights of individuals and communities are preserved inviolate. Other theories are advanced, but they are only modifications of those stated, the general features being the same. Neither one is entirely false, but they do not exhaust the subject, nor cover the whole ground. Whilst the object of the State certainly includes the security of person and property, the possession of liberty, and the promotion of human happiness, it must include besides a great deal more.

The design of society, or of the State, is directly connected with the nature of its origin. If its origin cannot be found in the free will of mankind, but in an objective principle that exerts a determining influence prior to all exercise of volition, then its ultimate design cannot be simply what men resolve to make it. If, by an arbitrary exercise of will, we endeavor to make it subserve a purpose that does not fully correspond with the demands of human nature, we are guilty of a perversion of society. Society has its own ends which it becomes us to ascertain by the study of human nature, of history and of divine revelation. These ends (or the design of the State) are determined by the nature of the necessity in which it takes its origin. What does this objective necessity demand? Deducing an answer from the train of thought which has thus far been pursued, the only reply must be this: The laws of human life produce society as the immediate result of their legitimate operation; and, therefore, in such a state alone can men be men—in it alone can they secure those necessities of life, those comforts and conveniences, which are becoming the dignity of a creature infinitely superior to the brute,—in it alone can the

wonderful powers of the body and the still more wonderful faculties of the mind be thoroughly disciplined, harmoniously developed and fully matured—in it alone can knowledge, refinement, individual and moral elevation, as well as the arts and sciences, to the cultivation of which men are predestinated by the absolute will of the Creator, as expressed in every lineament of their whole being, obtain—in it alone, therefore, can men accomplish the object of existence, the object for which they are created, preserved, redeemed, and for which all the blessings, both of Providence and the Gospel, are conferred upon them. Without it they might indeed live; but it would be a life more wretched and degrading than that of the Hottentots, Bushmen or Esquimaux; a life like that of the beasts of the field, but not like that of the sons of God. The design of society, accordingly, must be as comprehensive as the necessity in which it originates—as comprehensive as the individual and social, the bodily and mental, the temporal and spiritual wants of the human race. In other words, the design can be nothing less than to establish and maintain an external order of human life that will enable men to realize the end of their being on earth, and at the same time serve directly to promote this end. The design of human existence, of human society and of human government, are all one and the same. Society is that organic order of human life in virtue of which life itself, if all the conditions be present, may accomplish its object. Government is the organ of society, by whose authority and power society is maintained, advanced, and perfected. Or I may say, that human society, organized under some specific form of government, is the medium by which humanity, blessed with civilization and the Gospel, actualizes its own idea or fully unfolds its hidden sense—a result that is effected, whenever society and government are true to the obligations imposed by the nature of their vocation.

An object so comprehensive and far-reaching, as a matter of course, involves the substance of the theories to which we have referred. The security of person and property, by the enactment and execution of a wisely matured system of civil laws,

as well as the relief of human suffering and the promotion of general happiness, are all directly interwoven with it. The security of person and property are among the essential requisites to the very existence of society. The prevalence of tranquility and the possibility of promoting one's earthly comfort and happiness, are conditions without which neither society can progress nor government be prosperous. These objects, however, are not final in their nature ; but subordinate to another that is higher, greater, and more apposite to the dignity of man, namely, the satisfaction of all his physical, moral and spiritual wants. If a nation, with a good government at its head, is conscious of its real position in the scale of being, and will seek with steady purpose to regulate all the departments of social and political life with direct and exclusive reference to the intellectual and moral elevation of all, then every other object of minor importance, that is consistent with the will of the Creator, will be attained as a matter of necessary consequence.

The question may now be put : In what way may this great and noble design of society be realized ? What course must the various classes of community and of government adopt and pursue ? To give a correct reply to this question, it is requisite to take a glance at the general divisions of society and notice their mutual relations.

There are three grand divisions of all well regulated society. These give rise to three general classes, in some one of which all the various sub-divisions are directly or indirectly included. They may be styled, first, the *productive* and *nourishing* class ; secondly, the *governing* and *defending* class ; and thirdly, the *instructing* class. To the first belong farmers, who cultivate the soil, mechanics, who prepare the products of the earth for the use of men generally, and merchants who attend to the business of trade and commerce, and thus provide any given community with all the agricultural and mechanical productions of different countries. To the second belong the soldiery, but more particularly, the legislative, judicial and executive departments of the State. To the third class belong all those

who are engaged in training the mind, or imparting religious instruction, or are devoted to the promotion of Arts, Literature, Science and Religion ; in other words, teachers of common or high schools, professors and instructors in colleges and seminaries, poets, philosophers, historians, artists and ministers of the Gospel. Although each class is not equally important, yet each class is essential to the welfare of society. One can be dispensed with or its interests be allowed to suffer as little as another. They are integral parts of a living organism—the State. When one suffers all must suffer. When one is favored judiciously and prospers, all will receive an impulse. So intimately connected, they must rise together or fall together. As portions of the commonwealth, they are like the different members or the different systems of the human body. A disease of the hand or of the eye, will directly or indirectly affect the health or vigor of the foot or of the ear. A disease of the nervous system, will derange, sympathetically, the natural action of the muscular system. So with the State. If the producing class is oppressed, the sinews of the other classes will soon lose their strength and activity. If the governing class be incompetent or inefficient, or if their just authority be denied or resisted, insecurity and disorder will ensue and the interests of agriculture, commerce, science and morals will retrograde. If the instructing class is not qualified for its work of moulding the mind, promoting sound morals and extending true religion, or if it is not aided properly by the power of government, nor sustained by the sympathy and support of the community at large, the very foundations upon which the whole social fabric rests will begin to totter.

To secure general prosperity, one class must not be indifferent to the others, and labor mainly for its own aggrandizement. But the nature of the case requires, that each should labor faithfully in its appropriate sphere, put forth its energies to further the interests of the others, and all mutually co-operate with a view to advance the highest good of the whole. In this way the great end of organized society will be attained ; the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual wants of man-

tains authority and order, and administers justice. But the instructing class, or the producing class, is just as truly a component part of the State as Government. And Government is the organ, not of a class, but of the whole body politic. Each class is an integral part. Each class sustains the Government. Indeed the vitalizing power of a prosperous State springs from the intelligent and virtuous portion of community. Were it becoming, therefore, to make any distinctions at all, I would say that the claims of the instructing class are primary claims, and the obligations of Government to it are not less than its obligations to the producing class, but greater. Such distinctions, however, are neither wise nor necessary. With much less propriety, consequently, can the legislative authorities make a distinction in favor of the mechanic arts, agriculture, commerce, or internal improvements, and treat the interests of education and virtue as matters of secondary importance. The design of society is not to set one man's feet on the shoulders of another, to keep one portion of mankind in ignorance and at hard labor, whilst another may revel amid the luxuries of wealth. It is not simply to dig canals and construct railroads, to erect extensive manufactories, and build large cities, to afford facilities for refined indulgence in sensuality, and increase the temptations to inactivity and indolence. But, as already stated and proved, society is that order of human life, in virtue of which, mankind, including all ranks and classes without exception, all the conditions being present, may realize the great end of their existence—in virtue of which, all the lower objects on earth, culminating in one that is eternal, may be accomplished. It is a divine order, established by inviolable laws. Government is no more than the necessary medium through which this divine order is maintained—the organ of the great body politic, whose function it is to conduct the affairs of society in such a way that all the wants of mankind, physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual, may be fully satisfied. Government has, therefore, no more right to overlook morals than to neglect commerce—no more right to be indifferent to the education of the masses than to violate the rights

of person and property—no more right to despise Christianity than to abrogate the fundamental principles of the Constitution. All interests are interwoven. All the relations of individuals and society are connected like the numerous branches of the nervous system. If Government be indifferent to common schools, colleges and universities, it is not only faithless to its trust, but foolish in the extreme. Morals and intelligence affect the main-springs of social life. They are related to the details of business and to commercial affairs in general, as the brain and the heart are related to the healthful condition of the nervous and venous systems. As well might a physician hope to restore a man to health, who is threatened with a malignant disease of the brain or heart, by applying a little salve to his fingers or toes, as Government attempt to establish general prosperity, private and public weal, by confining its attention to merely material interests. The very first conception of society or of Government, requires a far different, a far more comprehensive view of its obligations. Every able statesman, every skillful diplomatist, every true patriot, every politician who has the least claim to the cognomen, will respect the wants of the mind and the heart as of primary importance. What! Attempt to actualize the great end of society, when ignorance and wickedness, like vultures, feed on the vitals of the body politic. As well expect a racer to reach the goal when his ham-strings are cut. As well expect the eagle to ride upon the storm-cloud when his wings are dislocated. No! If Government be indifferent to moral law or general intellectual culture, the first conditions of social prosperity and happiness are repudiated.

For, it must be borne in mind that education in its whole compass affects the noblest endowments of mankind. Mind constitutes the man. Not animal nature and animal powers, not what likens the sons of God to the beasts of the field, constitute the distinctive characteristics of his being; but the indescribable powers of reason, the dominant energies of the will, the ability of that which is created in the image of God, to flap its mighty wings, rise above the limitations of the senses, re-

view the past, survey the present and penetrate the future—these endowments give to man his manliness. These distinguish him from the brute. These reveal both his sphere and his destiny.

Who, after all, are the governors of the world? Kings and Emperors? Presidents, members of Cabinet and Senators? No! The men of intellectual strength and moral worth. A little Hebrew foundling established a civil and religious polity that was perpetuated during a period of fifteen hundred years. Why? Because he obeyed God and was familiar with the whole extent of Egyptian learning. All history is full of illustrations. Who have generated the great thoughts that live in England? Such men as Shakespeare, Spenser or Milton in poetry—such as Pitt and Burke in oratory—such as Newton, Bacon, Reid and Locke in natural and moral science—such as Wellington in military affairs. Who gave impetus to an energy and enterprize, that has unfolded a national prosperity unparalleled in the history of the world? The leading minds among the colonies at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. Who have given such a fixed cast to the political mind of America, that the heterogeneous millions from foreign lands are assimilated as if by the resistless power of Alchemy? Such men as Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Henry, Adams and others. I need not multiply illustrations or proof. In Church or State, mind, educated and devout mind, will always in virtue of an inexpressible energy assert its controlling power. It is true beyond all controversy: Intellectual, moral and religious culture are the fountain from which great thoughts flow; the main-spring from which all great movements receive their impulse; the earthly foundation stones, laid by the Creator, by which the whole social fabric is bound together. These fundamental elements of social progress and national greatness, Government must respect and foster or become guilty of high treason. I repeat, therefore, that the very nature and design of society imposes on Government the obligation to guard and develop the highest endowments of mankind—to devise and promote plans by which the intellectual and moral wants of all classes of men may be properly satisfied.

It will be apposite also to reflect that *efficiency and success are intimately connected with obligation*. What the vocation of Government imposes upon it as a primary duty, the regular operation of cause and effect render essential to its prosperity and even to its existence. Commercial, financial and national prosperity depend upon the intellectual and moral character of the people. This holds true particularly of our own country, where a Government prevails that makes Americans their own servants and their own masters. To construct a rail-road, or to connect one city with another by a telegraphic wire, requires an intelligent atmosphere and public spirit, as truly as to publish a work on Geometry, Chemistry or History and give it an extensive circulation.

This branch of the subject is susceptible of extended argument and various illustration, but for want of time, I am compelled to curtail the discussion.

The distinctive feature of our Republican Government is the supremacy of *law*. Not rank, nor blood, nor wealth, rules in our free land, but law; not the decisions of human caprice, nor the arbitrary opinions of enthusiasts, nor the temporary maxims of a political party, but the eternal principles of right and wrong hold the sway in our Federal and State Constitutions. Human will is not law in America; but the divine will, as apprehended and expounded by the free understanding of Americans, in its application to the various exigencies and contingencies of social and political life. Every fundamental law has thus on the one hand the sanction of God's authority, and on the other the approval of conscience. Here lies our strength. The recognition of this principle by the people has given stability to our political institutions. The ruling mind of the nation has been sensible of its subjection to divine law and divine authority. Notwithstanding the fluctuations in commerce, notwithstanding the political agitations that have tossed and jarred the Union like a ship in a storm, yet the sense of the supremacy of law has bound our country as by a strong cable to her moorings. But so soon as ignorance and wickedness shall cut this cable, so soon as the fear of God shall be extin-

guished in the hearts of the citizens of America, the breast-work that keeps back lawlessness and rampant vice, will be broken down and the floods of destruction will sweep unchecked over the length and breadth of the land. The prevalence of Christianity gave character to all the colonies of England, Germany, the Netherlands and France, that settled along the Atlantic coast. Although hundreds of thousands have since, from year to year, sought an asylum on our shores, yet the vital energy of the original spirit, perpetuated from one decennium to another, has continued to fashion the growing nation. Would Government perpetuate our free institutions; would Government be sustained by the general mind of the people; would it maintain civil authority and justice, then must the increasing thousands of our own poor that congregate in our towns and cities, and the millions that crowd upon us from foreign countries, be educated in harmony with the genius and spirit of these United States. Government owes it as a first duty to itself, imposed even by the law of self-preservation, to promote the intellectual, moral and religious culture of the masses by all the means at its command. If the American Government would be efficient and permanent, it must seek to elevate *all* classes of society, that all may appreciate and honor divine law and social order. There is no safeguard but the intelligence and virtue of the people.

Whence come our senators, our members of Congress, our presidents and governors, all our officers from the lowest to the highest? Not from a privileged class, who have all the pecuniary resources and the military power at their command. No; we get them from the work-shop and the field; from the counting-room and the bar; from native-born Americans and naturalized Germans, Irish, Hollanders or Frenchmen; from the poor and the rich; from vile debauchees and devout Christians. All ranks and classes contribute their quota. In monarchical governments the privileged classes are highly educated. One reason is because they are called to assume the responsibility of governmental affairs. In the United States, all are privileged classes; all may ascend the steps and sit down in the

seats of political power and honor. All should, therefore, be as carefully educated as the aristocracy of England. In monarchical governments, the heirs apparent to the throne are placed under tutors and governors, and receive the most thorough training. In America, all our sons are heirs apparent, and all should receive a royal education. Government should watch over the mental and moral culture of the masses with the same assiduity that Queen Victoria directs the education of the Prince of Wales.

Again I ask, who appoint our political incumbents? Who put down one and raise up another? Who give us our legislative, executive and judicial officers? The only answer is the people. An old proverb says: Like priests, like people. We may modify it and say: Like people, like officers. If intelligence and virtue predominate among the people we may hope for an intelligent and virtuous government. And just to the extent that ignorance and vice prevail may we look for such scenes as have now and then, for the last ten years, disgraced the halls of our National Legislature and tarnished our fair fame. If Government, accordingly, desire to sustain its own dignity and honor; if it would be faithful to its own nature and mission; if it would preserve the sacredness and moral force of the constitution; if it would perpetuate the supremacy and inviolability of law; if it would keep shut the flood-gates of degrading vice, vile passions, and rampant anarchy; it is sacredly bound by every obligation, human and divine, to advance the intellectual and moral culture of all.

But I can pursue this subject no further. Throughout this discussion I have laid equal stress on *moral* and intellectual culture. These dare not be divorced. The moral nature of youth must be trained with the same patience and care as the intellect. I know of no perfect code of morals but the Bible. I know of no remedial agent, for the depravity of fallen mankind, but the religion of Christ. Education without morality and religion are of no value to Government. The brightest and most learned men of which the world has boasted, have been among the meanest and most detestable. The most intel-

lectual and refined nation of antiquity was Greece; yet it were censurable even to name, before a promiscuous assembly, the moral filth and shocking crimes that obtained among the highest classes of society. Among the most cultivated and learned nations in modern times is France; yet in point of morals, the land of Voltaire and the enthroned goddess, Reason, has the reputation of being the lowest in Christendom. Education divorced from a pure Christianity, does not, cannot, elevate. Depravity will only acquire new weapons to do its work of death. I plead, therefore, for an open Bible, without note or comment, in every common school. Let the holiest influences breath upon the infant mind, when, like a flower, it opens its petals to receive the sunlight of life. In the name of all the noble, self-denying, iron-willed men, who laid the foundation of the federal arch, I plead for the maintenance of all the great principles that formed their exemplary characters—one of the richest legacies of the American people. In the name of the stars and stripes that float proudly on every ocean, and are the token of civil liberty and republican institutions, from the Atlantic to the Pacific—in the name of the millions of blooming youth, destined for peace or war, capacitated for virtue, honor, and immortality, who will determine the internal condition of our whole nation throughout future generations, I claim as a qualification of first importance on the part of all teachers, decided faith in, and sincere reverence for, the religion of Jesus Christ.

Tiffin, O.

E. V. G.

ART. VII.—QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

I. *How many Churches are there?*

According to the word of God, and the Apostles' Creed, embodied in the Heidelberg Catechism, there is only one, called the Holy Catholic Church. It was founded and established by our Lord Jesus Christ himself, in the following manner. On the day of Pentecost he poured out his Holy Spirit upon his disciples, through whose quickening and saving influences they became inspired with new life, new faith, new love, new hope; which animated them with a heaven-born zeal in the divine cause of their beloved master. Through the efficient instrumentality of these apostles, Christ extended the rich blessing of salvation to thousands of souls. Jews and Gentiles yielded to the irresistible power of God's Holy Spirit, and became living members of Christ's glorious kingdom. Thus the first congregation of Christians was established, and from this parent congregation the streams of salvation flowed out in every direction, filling the earth with gladness, and gathering into the one fold of Christ as many as shall be saved. This glorious institution of redeeming love, the Holy Catholic Church, is beautifully described by the apostle Paul, in several of his epistles. He considers the Church a spiritual, many-membered body, all animated and ruled by Christ, her divine head. He views the Church as the admirable fulness of Him, who filleth all in all; he represents her as the great tabernacle, founded and established upon the prophets and apostles, held together by Christ, the chief corner-stone, cemented with love divine, rising up to a temple of the Lord. He exhibits the Church as a great mystery of the divine union between God and fallen man, realized in and through Christ alone; she is

to him the holy, spotless congregation, acquired by the Saviour's self-sacrificing love, and purified by the washing of water;—yea, he views the Church as the pillar and foundation of truth,—as the flock of Christ, purchased with his own precious blood, watched over and fed by his servants, and ruled by his Holy Spirit. (See Eph. 2 : 19–22, 4 : 15–22, 5 : 23–33. 1 Tim. 3 : 15, 16. Acts 20 : 28, &c.)

According to the apostle Paul, then, the Church is *essentially* : 1, neither a pompous, worldly minded hierarchy, nor a naked, common sense sect ; but a *divine spiritual life* ;—2, a life proceeding neither from Church tradition, nor from the Bible, but directly from Christ, the great and only fountain of life ;—3, a life penetrating and animating all her true members ;—4, a life keeping the members of the sanctified body in union and communion with Christ their glorious head, and with God the Father through the Son. As such the Christian Church must be regarded, by all friends of truth, the noblest inheritance and the most precious treasure, which in this life the parental love of our Father in Heaven has prepared for, and graciously bestowed upon his fallen, unworthy creatures. She is the paradise of heaven on earth, where poor sinners are trained for a blissful immortality in the “ Father's house ;” and what the hand of God has planted in her, no enemy shall ever destroy or take away. (Math. 18.) Let superstition deface her, infidelity traduce her ; let thousands forsake her communion, and tens of thousands unite to break down her walls ; they will only work out their own destruction, whilst the Church remains forever firm. For she is founded upon the Rock of ages, and the gates of hell even shall not prevail against her ! The glory of her divine power has ever manifested itself in all her true and living members. Even in the darkest hours of bloody persecution the dying soldiers of the cross could sing : “ I see the heavens open !” “ Death where is thy sting !” In the bosom of the Church springs the fountain of living waters for thirsty souls. She bears the healing balm for broken hearts and contrite spirits ; because with her dwells the Lamb of God, that takes away the sin of the world,

administering consolation and rest to the weary and heavy laden. Surely this glorious institution of infinite love can never perish, as long as there remains one sinner on earth, conscious of his relation to God and longing after immortality.

II. *But if there is only one true Church, why are there so many divisions, each calling itself a particular Church?*

These divisions are not the natural product of the essence and true spirit of Christianity. Like the Redeemer himself, so also his divine life, his Holy Spirit, his gospel, and all that belongs to the means of grace, are essentially *one*, and can never be divided. Nor is it in the nature of divine truth to cause separation among its real friends. On the contrary, it unites them most intimately, because the love of God, shed abroad in their hearts, causes them to be of one mind in all their higher and nobler aspirations. The element of Christian truth alone enables and persuades men to acknowledge each other as children of one common father, and as heirs of one kingdom of Heaven. Hence, we must never look for the origin of Church divisions, in the essence of Christianity itself, nor apologize for their existence upon this ground. They take their rise only after the infinite and holy life of the Saviour has come in contact with the finite and corrupt nature of man. And the principal reason is, because the finite cannot comprehend the infinite. Yet Christ and his holy gospel must be embraced by sinners, in order to effect their salvation; but sinners are like unclean and broken vessels, absolutely unable to comprehend and represent the *whole* of divine truth. Even after men have become regenerate, and their hearts are made fit temples for the living God, still their limited capacities cannot fully comprehend the entire plan of salvation. The mystery of godliness remains a mystery still. Nor do the natural peculiarities of men permit, that all should see and feel alike. Being differently constituted and related, different in feeling and views, it is utterly impossible that all should be affected alike by the power of divine truth. Neither have all men reached the same degree of actual transgression, when conviction overtakes them, and hence their sense of guilt, as well as

their appreciation of divine grace, cannot be equally deep and powerful. Whilst one sinner is quickly melted down by the tender voice of saving love, or by a silent tear of sympathy, another can be arrested only by the thunders of Sinai. And each one will afterwards cherish the truth most in that particular form in which it brought him to repentance and to Christ. It is true, Christianity is destined to work a radical change in our religious and moral principles and views ; for we must be born again ; old things must pass away and all things must be made new. But its transforming and renewing influence does not destroy our natural powers, our understanding, reason and will. It only inspires them with a new and heavenly life, and turns their activity into an opposite direction. The same powers, with which the apostle Paul had formerly persecuted Christ and his followers, were afterwards employed to extend the Redeemer's kingdom, and to feed the persecuted flock with heavenly manna. So it is with all truly converted persons. And then we know also, that divine truth, as a general thing, operates slowly, like a seed and like leaven. Hence it is, that there are multitudes under the influence of the Gospel, who do not possess the power thereof. Unenlightened by the Holy Spirit, and unprepared, therefore, to understand the doctrines of Christ, they are unwilling also to exercise child-like obedience to his precepts. And yet it is their birth-right to enjoy, in connection with the enlightened Christian, the means of grace in the visible Church. Under these circumstances different opinions and conflicting views are unavoidable. And when these germs of strife receive sufficient nourishment from zealous defence and stubborn opposition, they will naturally end in division. Thus we see, that Church-divisions do not spring from Christ, nor from Christianity as such ; but from the great spiritual wants and imperfections of human nature. Hence, whilst we deeply deplore, and with the apostle Paul, censure and condemn divisions among Christians, because they are detrimental to their own interest, and to the cause of Christ in general ; producing ill feeling, jealousy, opposition, rivalry and even hatred, and thus preying like a canker upon the ve-

ry vitals of Christian piety and virtues, we are bound, at the same time, to acknowledge that they are the natural product of fallen human nature. And as such, we may reasonably suppose, that divisions among Christians will, in all probability, continue to exist, until fallen human nature has been restored in all its individual representatives.

That this view of Church-divisions is based upon truth, may be clearly proven from the history of the past. As far back even as the age of the apostles, we find marked and deep running divisions in the Church. And whence did they originate? Some originated with *persons*, others in *particular views*, some in *customs* and others in mere *accidents*. Against this four-fold source of divisions the Holy Scriptures contain many solemn warnings, 1 Cor. 1 : 12; 3 : 4-7, &c. In the *one* congregation at Corinth, no less than four parties existed, standing apparently in hostile opposition to each other, 1 Cor. 3. Three of these parties were firmly attached to the person and ministration of one or the other servant of God, that had labored among them. This fact proves, that even the apostles, and their immediate successors, differed in talent and ability, and that this awakened differences of opinion, and occasioned even opposition among their own beloved hearers. Nor can it be doubted for a moment, that Paul, Apollos and Cephas, in their ministrations to the people, all drew from the same fountain of wisdom and knowledge, of consolation and divine grace, namely from Christ their common master. They were also equally honest and zealous in their labors of love. But then every one of these great teachers proceeded in his own peculiar way of thought and delivery, which made different impressions upon the hearers. Hence, preferences for the personality of each one arose among the congregation, according to temperament, capacity and taste. Thus the congregation became divided, and Christians of different names was the result.

From the apostolic Church we learn also, that particular views and customs have exerted a powerful influence in producing and propagating divisions. The doctrine of free grace, as preached by the apostle Paul among the heathen and his

converts, did not please the Jewish Christians, living under the ministration of the apostle Peter ; and the slavish adherence of the latter to the Old Testament laws and customs, found no favor with the former. A wide difference in feeling, opinion and views existed, which led subsequently to many grievous divisions. This process has repeated itself in the Church from time to time, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter.

III. *But could the followers of Christ not have prevented these divisions in the Church?*

From the age of the apostles down to the present, true Christians have always been deeply sensible, that it was their duty to do so ; and every real friend of the Redeemer's kingdom must feel so. With the Holy Scriptures before them, as the only ultimate rule of faith and practice, all true Christians must be conscious of the great evil of Church-divisions. For in them we hear the Saviour fervently pray, "*That all may be one as He and the Father are one.*" All the inspired, holy writers exhort constantly to brotherly love, unity of mind and action, and the apostle Paul earnestly rebukes Christians for causing and perpetuating divisions. In view of this, the followers of Christ have, from the beginning, prayed and labored that every existing division might be annihilated, and the household of faith be kept in union and harmony.

The primitive Church looked with holy indignation upon every false teacher, who endeavored, by the spread of erroneous doctrines, to undermine the foundations of her faith. She entered boldly into battle against one heresy after another, as they sprang up in rapid succession, because they alienated her members by causing opposition and strife, and thus destroyed her peace and prosperity. In this spiritual warfare, the Church employed Gospel truth as the mighty weapon against her enemies, and she gained the victory over them all, because the great Captain of her salvation directed. By these repeated and ever increasing attacks upon her essential doctrines, the Church was compelled to strengthen and fortify her union, in order to become established more firmly as the empire of divine truth, as the guardian and defender of the holy religion

of Jesus Christ. The inherent principle of self-preservation on the one hand, and opposing powers in the form of heathenism and heresies on the other, forced the Church to aspire after uniformity in doctrine, worship and government. For this purpose she convened in councils to settle her doctrines, and to mature and adopt such plans and means, as would accomplish this desirable end. In this noble aspiration after unity in faith and practice, the primitive Church held fast to all that had been handed down to her from the age of the apostles. As yet she could in no wise be considered a "kingdom of this world;" for she had thus far kept the simplicity of her doctrines, and carefully preserved the purity of her faith and morals. Although a tendency to excess and corruption manifested itself in various directions, yet, in all *essential* points, the Church remained unchanged till the fourth century. For, up to this time, she had formed no alliance with the State; but existed as an entirely separate institution, and was exclusively under the control of her Bishops, as a governing body. No compulsory measures were employed in the pursuit of her holy objects. She was Christ-like in poverty and lowliness; therefore she was also despised. All who joined her communion, had to expect no temporal reward, but bloody persecution, which broke in upon her, from time to time, with purifying power. So far then the Church had indeed been successful in establishing unity among her members, and she stood now as one united body over against all her enemies. But her work was not yet finished. The excommunication of heretics, and the suppression of their doctrines, had not annihilated them. They made their re-appearance subsequently, and caused the Church much trouble. Besides, those bloody persecutions very naturally called forth in the Church a longing desire after greatness and power, in order that she might defend herself against the enemies of God, and save her own beloved children from a cruel death.

This desire on the part of the Church was realized in the fourth century, when she formed an alliance with the Roman Empire under the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the

Great. Now she was made a national Church, great and powerful indeed; but for this external grandeur she had to sacrifice her internal purity. For the whole life and character of the Church experienced a mighty change. The fulness of the Holy Spirit, so copiously poured out in the beginning upon all her members, was now fast departing. And this prepared the way for that worldly spirit which ruled subsequently in the Church to such a fearful extent. The example of Christ, in humility, meekness, long suffering and forbearance, was gradually lost sight of; because her attention was drawn away more and more from the internal, essential, and fixed upon the external, accidental. New forms of every kind made their appearance, of which the previous age was comparatively ignorant. Settled down in these ancient forms, the oriental, or Greek Church has remained stationary till the present day. But the Roman Church was destined to progress. From a cöordinate position to the State, she elevated herself gradually above it, and with the rapid extension of her borders she increased her lofty power. Thus the Church had realized her desire; for she was now beyond the reach of all persecuting enemies, and no heresy could harm her. But also this superiority did not give entire satisfaction, because it left room still for internal divisions among her own members. In order to remove this difficulty, it was necessary that her power and authority should find a common centre, and hence she abandoned the Patriarchal government, and invested the Bishop of Rome with the entire management of the Church. Thus the Papacy was instituted in the year 590. Strange as this result may appear, it was but the natural product of the original twofold desire of the Church: 1st, to keep down heresies and divisions, and 2nd, to save her members from the persecuting spirit of heathenism. Not a few individuals, therefore, but the entire Church, urged by a sense of duty from within, and forced by existing circumstances from without, established the Papacy. But why at Rome? Because Rome had, for centuries back, enjoyed the confidence of many nations, who considered her the very first among cities. She was said to have been blessed with the la-

bors of the apostle Peter, and dedicated through his blood to a supremacy in the Church. This story added much to her importance; it filled the people with reverence, and imbued the successors of Peter with great confidence in their assumed prerogatives. Circumstances favoring, the Bishop of Rome rendered himself independent of the Emperor, and now not only the city, but also the surrounding country, became dependent upon him for protection. In this way he united in himself gradually the powers of Church and State, and in this union of a twofold power, we see the fundamental features of the whole hierarchy.

But the development of the Church in external power and greatness was not yet complete. The increase of success augmented her ambition. To establish herself as a theocracy became now the leading desire, and she endeavored by all possible means to become elevated far above all kingdoms of this world. With this object in view, the first Pope, Gregory the Great, labored zealously to embellish the Church in all its parts. For this purpose, he not only made use of the arts; but introduced also many customs and decorations from heathenism. His main object seems to have been, to exhibit Christianity in as grand and imposing a form as possible, and thus to captivate the senses and charm the imagination. In his devotion to the Church he was, doubtless, sincere; for there was no sacrifice too great for him, to be made for the promotion of her prosperity. The Church in return appreciated his labors of love; gladly received his counsel, and followed his direction cheerfully. In his lofty position he exercised Christian humility; declined the title of *universal Bishop*, (*Papa universalis*), preferring to be called *the servant of the servants of God*. (*Servus servorum Dei*.) But to preserve the unity, power and influence of the Church, he resisted, with firm determination, every Bishop who attempted to raise himself to an equality with himself. Prompted by Christian love and sympathy, he sent as many devoted missionaries among the benighted heathen as circumstances would admit; and their efforts were crowned with abundant success. Great Britain, and the northern

parts of Germany, are indebted to the first Pope for the firm establishment of Christianity in their midst. For all efforts to convert those barbarous nations, previously made by missionaries who acted independent of Rome, had succeeded only partially, and the Gospel light once spread among them, had been suppressed again by the ruling power of darkness. This great success inspired the Church with confidence in the lately established Papacy. Her long cherished desire after union was at length realized, and she felt convinced of the fact, that "*in union there is strength.*" Historians have told us, that the Papacy was an improvement upon the age immediately preceding it. This is undoubtedly true; but it should be borne in mind, that this improvement did not proceed from the Papacy as such. It was because the first Pope was a Christian man, who used the papal power for the good of Christ's Kingdom. *He* brought about this improvement, and the Papacy was only an instrument in his hands; just as much so as subsequently it became an instrument for evil in the hands of wicked Popes. Had the first Pope been like most of his successors, the Papacy would have been a curse to mankind from the very start; and, on the other hand, we may presume, if all his successors had been like him, the Papacy might probably have been a blessing to the world from beginning to end. But they have proved to be very unlike him. Whilst the first Pope has been canonized as a Saint, *not a single one* among the large number of his successors has been found worthy of that honorable distinction.

The Papacy being established, the Church became now an asylum for the oppressed. One prince after another, pressed by the force of circumstances in times of war, applied to her for relief and protection, and she complied with the request, on condition of baptism and peaceful submission to her authority. In this way the Church came into the possession of lands and riches, every addition of which augmented her power and stimulated her desire for more, until finally she had the whole civilized world under her control.

But it was impossible for the Church to digest and assimilate

such an abundance of rude material, without serious injury to herself, especially since her spiritual life was already in a state of decline. With the introduction of heathen customs, the first Pope had unintentionally laid the foundation for future abuses, which began to manifest themselves soon after his departure. Those beautiful forms and ceremonies, invented by him, lost their life gradually, and the pernicious influence of a corrupt world, generated moral disease, which by degrees penetrated the entire body of the Church. Truly abominable characters often occupied the Papal chair, in whose wicked hands the twofold power of Church and State was shamefully abused. Then again, the highest office in the Church was arbitrarily bestowed upon children of twelve, ten, eight and even of six years. How unnatural and preposterous, that a mere child should be made the vicegerent of Christ. This shows, however, the lamentable condition, into which the Church had sunk. Love of gain had become a ruling passion, and, to satisfy this, she went even so far as to sanction the use of bloody weapons to force the poor heathen into submission.

Possessed of the keys of heaven, the Papacy arrogated the entire power of salvation to herself; claimed infallibility in the face of all changes, mistakes and contradictions;—began to sell indulgences for money—and for money she pretended to raise the poor wretch out of the burning torments of Purgatory. Having her doctrines clearly defined and firmly established, she now considered herself as the all-sufficient store-house of divine grace. Therefore, the written word of God, in the form of the Holy Bible, became not only superfluous, but actually dangerous, especially in the hands of the unlearned. Hence, several of the Popes actually forbade the free circulation of that sacred volume; and hence tradition became the principal rule of faith and practice. Under such deplorable circumstances, what else could be expected than that pure and undefiled religion must decline! Mental stagnation and spiritual despotism must increase rapidly! And, as a natural consequence, vice and immorality must finally gain free course throughout the Church. That such was really the case, the united voice

of historical facts loudly proclaims, and the great Church-reformation proves it beyond a doubt.

We see then, that the Church, from the beginning, was conscious of her duty, to put down heresies and prevent divisions; that for this purpose she formed an alliance with the State and assumed her government and power; that this aspiration after unity led to the establishment of the Papacy;—that the first Pope was a good, Christian man, in whose hands the new institution prospered;—that subsequently the Church degenerated and became actually corrupt.

IV. *But did the Church succeed in suppressing heresies and divisions?*

We find in the New Testament, that the apostles concentrated all their power of divine truth against two hostile elements: Judaism and Heathenism; because these elements exercised a pernicious influence at that early stage, and contained also the germs of many grave errors and soul-destroying heresies. Although their arduous labor in this direction, was not in vain, yet we find, that, toward the close of the apostolic age, at least one of those elements had grown much stronger and bolder. For John, the last of the disciples, speaks of such in his epistles, as deny that Christ has come into the flesh, and he calls them Antichrists. Soon after the departure of the apostles, the two fundamental heresies, Ebionitism and Gnosticism, having been developed gradually from the above named elements, manifested their pernicious character and influence in the primitive Church. The former denied the divine nature of Christ, and the latter his human nature. Various other errors originated from the same source, all of which found their firm and zealous opponents in the Church Fathers. But also these servants of the Lord, although successful in their warfare, could not annihilate the deep rooted and far spreading power of those heresies. Arianism in the fourth, and Pelagianism in the fifth century, were but the natural growth from them. And they have thus reproduced themselves under various forms, from time to time, even till the present day. The Church was successful only so far, that she detected and prov-

ed those heresies to be the work of darkness, and as such, cast them out from her bosom. And all this she accomplished by no other means than the power of divine truth. But after the establishment of Popery, the most barbarous and hellish means were employed, to make men submit to her authority. Not only heresies, but necessary reforms also, and salutary changes, were cruelly suppressed. And yet we find, that sects, and distinctions, and orders, and divisions, and heresies, and opposition, and party strife, all existed in the Church throughout her history. The hierarchy, with all its politics, and spies, and executions, and horrible machines of torture and death, was not a sufficient safe-guard against the rise and progress of differences, disputes and divisions among her own members. An institution may chain down the human body, but no power on earth is able to keep in perpetual bondage the human soul!

V. If the Papal Church degenerated, however, and became actually corrupt, must we still consider her a Christian Church?

Most assuredly! because Christ declared solemnly, that he would build his Church upon an immovable rock; even the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. His precious promise, never to forsake the Church, must be, and has been, verified in all times. Though even prophets may imagine that *all* has been swallowed up by idolatry; yet the Lord points out seven thousand, who have not bent their knee to Baal. Casting a superficial glance at the Church during the "middle ages," it would seem, indeed, as if for centuries nothing but impenetrable darkness had reigned throughout her borders. But when we stand still and listen attentively, we hear the deep under-tones of true Christian piety. The same spirit that had animated the apostles, was still in the Church, and operated powerfully, though not so generally. The life of the ever-present Saviour was still there, and divine truth, though obscured, could never be entirely suppressed. The abuses and corruptions were, to a great extent, the legitimate product of seeds sown in the primitive Church; not by Christ or his apostles, but by their successors. In essence and spirit Christian-

ity retained its divine character, even in the midst of human degradation. Like some mighty river, whose bed is lost beneath the surface of the earth, whilst in reality the same quantity of water glides through its invisible channel; so also the life of our Redeemer, with its streams of salvation, flowed along uninterruptedly, beneath the external rubbish of the Papal Church. Its presence and power manifested itself continually in various ways. The voice of Reformers was heard in various directions, and many earnest attempts were made, from time to time, to free the Church from existing abuses; to give free course to the influence of divine truth, and to set the captive soul of man at liberty. The struggle was hard and long; because the spirit of the world had riveted the chains of bondage so firmly, that without divine assistance of a special character, this bondage could not be cast off. But God, in his wise Providence, raised up men in due season, who, like Moses of old, should lead the captives into a land of promise; the land of gospel freedom. This took place in the days of the great Church-Reformation, in the sixteenth century. The true life of Christianity, purified by the streams of gospel truth, rushed forth again, like a subterranean river, from under the gigantic abominations of a corrupted Papacy!

THE REFORMATION.

Its cause—origin and instruments—separation from the old Church—justification—division.

1. What caused the Reformation?

The extreme abuses of Popery excited great and powerful dissatisfaction in the old Church, which at first confined to single individuals and congregations, spread rapidly at last, and called forth a mighty reaction. Voices of earnest warning had often been heard in the bosom of the Church; but she heeded them not. On the contrary, she persisted in her downward course. Pious watchmen upon her broken walls, who performed their sacred duty faithfully, in sounding the trumpet of alarm, were cruelly burned to death; because she did not want to be disturbed in her sinful tranquility and repose. At times

she could not resist the conviction of guilt, and was forced to acknowledge the absolute necessity of a reform. Pope Julius II, was required by the cardinals to promise, and swear solemnly, that within two years he would call together a council for the reformation of the Church. But the Papacy had lost the moral courage to undertake the work herself, and felt convinced also that a radical reformation must prove her own destruction. Hence she offered no consolation to the anxious longing for deliverance, which became more general from year to year. But whilst the Papacy refused and resisted, the Spirit of God continued his work of enlightening among the people. This wretched, helpless state of the Papacy, and the growing consciousness of the people, in regard to their spiritual wants, on the one hand, and the awakening and animating influence of the Holy Spirit, on the other, must be considered the twofold cause of the Reformation. The Lord's people were in bondage; they felt their oppression, and he brought them deliverance.

2. But how did the Reformation originate?

The wide-spread and deep-rooted dissatisfaction of the people in the sixteenth century, culminated in a few individuals: *Luther, Zwingli and Calvin*. God, in his wise Providence, had prepared them to discover the truth as it is in Christ; and with this heavenly torch they examined into the nature and condition of the Church. By degrees the great evils of Popery, its disgusting diseases, its ever increasing imposition and oppression became apparent to them, and they felt convinced that the removal of these evils required a radical reformation. Influenced by the Spirit of God, and animated with zeal for the cause of Christ, these men came forward boldly, giving utterance to the crying wants of the people, and exposing fearlessly the shameful abuses and intolerable errors of the Papacy. Thus the great work of the Reformation commenced, not beyond the Church, but in her own bosom, and the chosen instruments, through whom it was to be accomplished, were some of her own legitimate sons.

It is remarkable that the Reformation commenced simulta-

neously in three different parts of the old country ; in Germany, Switzerland and France, whilst the Reformers themselves were ignorant of each other. It is very common among Lutherans to claim priority in this respect, namely, that the Lutheran Church is older than the Reformed ; but this is a mistake. In 1506, Zwingli commenced already to preach the pure Gospel. "*We have no right,*" he said at that time, "*to twist and construe the sense of Scripture according to our own pleasure,*" referring to the doctrines of the Church. "*We must seek the thoughts of God in his own word.*" And in 1516, his solemn declaration "*Christ is our only treasure,*" was working among the great mass of the people like a leaven, and had wrought already a wonderful change. The great success, attendant upon the labors of the Reformers, is an overwhelming proof of the extensive and painful dissatisfaction with the old system. No sooner had they raised the standard of truth, than hundreds and thousands flocked around them ; all eager to drink in knowledge from the pure fountain, and ready to join in a conflict with the powers of darkness. The eruption was at once unexpected and mighty ; it shook the hierarchy to its centre and made the Pope tremble on his throne. But he and his allies, having so long closed their eyes against the crying wants of the people, now stopped their ears against the mighty voice of truth, and would not listen, though it spoke in tones of thunder ! Instead of yielding, they resisted, and arrayed themselves in hostile opposition to the good cause. They were smitten with blindness, like Pharaoh, in order to arouse the people of God more fully to complete their deliverance. It made the Reformers feel indignant, and incited them to redoubled activity in their divine mission.

8. The Reformers did not act the part of bigoted fanatics, or selfish, overbearing sectarians ; which is a noble trait in their character. They were not actuated by a spirit of indifference to the existing institutions of the Church ; nor did they at once tear themselves loose from her communion, like many would-be reformers of later date. They began, not with breaking down, but to reform and build up by the faithful preaching of

positive truth. Opposition and protestation on their part, began only when the merits of the Redeemer were offered for sale by reckless priests; and after the Pope had excommunicated and hurled his anathemas against them. And where is there an awakened soul in all Christianity, that could look with silence upon such monstrous abominations! Gladly would the Reformers have remained in the old Church, if she had only permitted them to preach the gospel to her children in its original purity. The unity of the Church was dear to their hearts. Even the Papacy itself was long held in deep reverence by them; only its corruptions they could not tolerate. And to save the old system from utter desolation, it was absolutely necessary to disclose the mantle of sanctified hypocrisy, and lay bare its accumulated unrighteousness. Light will naturally dispel the shades of darkness, and bring concealed objects into view. The Lord in his wise Providence, had raised up the Reformers to be great and shining lights; they understood their calling and performed their sacred duty faithfully. We rejoice in their heroism and feel grateful for their noble deeds. Through their instrumentality, the Father of light caused the sun of righteousness to cast his life-giving rays again freely into every oppressed soul that longed for deliverance.

4. But, notwithstanding all this, the question has been raised: Whether the Reformation can be justified? The Papal Church, as is well known, always has and ever will, condemn the whole movement as wrong and diabolical, as long as she holds on to her doctrine of the Church; and this she can never give up without causing the whole institution to crumble to pieces. But even Protestants have been troubled with this question, and not a few have abandoned the cause of Protestantism in despair. Perhaps they directed their attention more to the external organism of the Church, to her wonderful system and admirable uniformity, than to the essence and spirit of Christianity; or a sickly scrupulosity about the apparent distracted condition of the Protestant Church; or both these reasons together, may have caused them to embrace Catholi-

cism. We do, however, not see any reason for doubt on this subject. For the principle of reform is deeply lodged in the soul of man. The voice of conscience, in conformity with the teachings of Scripture, whispers distinctly, "you must repent and *reform* your life," whenever a person has gone astray. And this is the case with both saints and sinners, as long as they are exposed to the influences of a sinful world, and subject to the weaknesses of human nature. We all stand in need continually, of reformation in thought, word and action. The mother teaches this to her disobedient child; the wife to her faithless husband; the sister to her erring brother, and one friend to another, all the world over. And what is necessary for individuals, can never be dispensed with in society, nor in the visible Church. History proves this beyond a doubt. From the age of the apostles down to the present day, a single congregation, as well as the whole Church, has always been liable to fall into error and commit grievous mistakes. And whenever this has been the case, a reformation was necessary. But never was there a period in all the annals of history, when a *radical* reformation had become so absolutely necessary, as in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Whoever refuses to acknowledge this, must wilfully close his eyes against overwhelming facts! No honest Christian, whether Catholic or Protestant; having made himself acquainted with the state of the Church at that time, will for a moment doubt the absolute necessity and justice of the great Church Reformation. And because the Roman Church refused to commence the great work, therefore it devolved upon a few individuals, who were qualified for the task, such men as we fully know the Reformers to have been. This is nothing singular! When Israel sighed and trembled beneath the yoke of Egyptian bondage, God did not leave it to his people *in general* to deliver themselves; but he raised up his servant Moses to set them free again. Also from the Babylonian captivity they were rescued through the instrumentality of single prophets. The allwise Ruler of the universe has always accomplished great wonders and miracles by small and insignificant means. In this won-

der-working God our confidence is firm, and hence his great work of Reformation in the sixteenth century stands in need of no vindication. That many things of an objectionable character attached to the Reformation, was acknowledged by the Reformers themselves, who endeavored, with all their might, to prevent and remove them. Romanists may, therefore, consider those great men selfish, proud, haughty and fanatical, as in their blind zeal they always have done. They may cast odium upon them and their followers; may brand them as heretics and consign the whole Protestant Church to perdition; what need we care? "Is God for us, who can be against us?"

Well might we tremble before the terrible anathemas of the Papacy, if her doctrine of the Church were true; if she had the exclusive possession of the keys of heaven; if the Holy Spirit could be confined within the wall of a worldly-minded hierarchy; if she really were the all-sufficient store-house of divine grace, and had the power to bestow that grace according to her own pleasure. Well might we tremble, if she indeed possessed the power to save the living and to rescue even the dead; all of which she claims and professes to do. But is it not evident, that in this the Papal Church has assumed the place, office and power of Christ? Nothing but blind presumption could have led her to exercise such transcending arrogance! Therefore the Lord has humbled her. But for us it is sufficient to know that Christ, when he commissioned Peter and his other disciples, giving them the use of the keys of heaven, *he did not give the entire work of salvation into their hands, in order that he might withdraw and thenceforth look on as an idle spectator!* We are assured of his unceasing activity, on earth as well as in heaven. We feel convinced that Christ alone is the good shepherd, and the only proper door into the communion with God! He alone can speak, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," and has power over the living and the dead! We know too that the kingdom of God does not consist in eating and drinking; not in outward pomp and splendor, in grand temples and imposing ceremonies; "*but in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.*" This is what we de-

sire, and thanks be to God ! that Protestants realize the presence of Christ, and are able to rejoice in his righteousness, through the witnessing power of his Holy Spirit ! We hear the tender voice of the "*good shepherd*," and he feeds our immortal souls upon the green pastures of gospel truth. Let Rome, therefore, send forth her denunciations against us ; we exult and triumph : Papacy where is thy authority ! Hierarchy where is thy terror ! H. R.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. VIII.—SHORT NOTICES.

ELEMENTS OF THE ART OF RHETORIC: ADAPTED FOR USE IN COLLEGES AND ACADEMIES, AND FOR THE PRIVATE STUDY. *By Prof. Henry N. Day.* New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1853. 1 vol. pp. 305.

A book that has met with general favor wherever known, and passed through several large editions already, does not need very much additional commendation to extend still further its circulation. The mere fact, however, that a book on any department of the sciences meets with ready sale, is not of itself unquestionable proof that it is just the one needed to satisfy the demand in that particular direction. But it seems to be evidence that there is a want which it is sought to have supplied. That there did exist such a want in the department presided over by Professor Day is not at all denied. The work, generally considered the best, heretofore, in the department of Rhetoric was that of Archbishop Whately, now in common use. Yet all who have there attempted to study the principles of this most excellent art, will be free to acknowledge that for lack of interest in the book, it was, next to his *Logic*, more or less repulsive.

This common defect is attempted to be remedied in the plan of this treatise by Prof. Day. He rejects the more modern methods of writing books on Rhetoric, and falls back to the plan of the early authors who treated of this art. The great difference between the later English writers and the ancient masters, such as Quintilian, Cicero, &c., is found in the general division of Rhetoric called *Invention*. While this was esteemed of great account by those classic authors, it is al-

most entirely crowded out, or at most but meagerly treated of in later works.

Accordingly, our author makes the two general divisions, Invention and Style—as the art includes “both the supply of thought and of language.” To the first of these divisions, Invention, he assigns the place of primary importance. This is one of the main characteristic differences in which he improves on other works in this department. Besides, it aims at being philosophical, so far as the nature of the art will allow. And above all it is practical; and the author’s experience, as a teacher of Rhetoric, of course serves an important purpose in turning this text-book to the highest profitable account.

A fault too common in modern text-books on the art of Rhetoric, is to treat almost exclusively of Style, and neglect the more important part which necessarily conditions the style. In his treatise Prof. Day develops the organic relation of form and contents. Thought and expression hold a necessary relation in discourse. But this is too often overlooked. There is such a thing as reducing this art, when the division embracing style is alone attended to, as in some text-books it is, to a mere smooth jingle of words. As the form of expression, or “the dress of language” does not make up for the meagerness of thought; so “the one may be rich and gorgeous, while the other is miserably lean and dry.” The author truly says, that invention depends on “the richness of the thought itself which constitutes the theme, not on the garb it may chance to wear.” To the beginner in the art of composing, the task is not so repulsive and repugnant to the feelings, because he is ignorant of words and their use, but because he is barren in thought. And no amount of labor in marshalling a fine array of words, will compensate for the absence of thought.

Invention calls for the active exercise of the mental powers, and thus engages the interest of the learner. From this the author concludes that, “It is next to impossible to awaken a hearty interest in mere style, independent of thought; as the futile attempts to teach the art of composition, as a mere thing of verbal expression, have proved. Composing, when thus taught, must necessarily be regarded as a drudgery and be shunned instinctively with strong aversion. It is otherwise, when thought is the main thing regarded. There is to every mind a pure and elevated pleasure in inventing. * * * It cannot be questioned that it is to the exclusion of invention from our systems of Rhetoric that the neglect into which the art has fallen, is chiefly to be ascribed.” These sentiments, indicating in some measure the spirit and plan of this book, must commend themselves to

those interested in this branch of study. The work will be found to embody a considerable amount of solid sense, along with its share of philosophical treatment.

We cheerfully bespeak for this book an impartial examination; with the conviction, that as a text-book in Colleges and High Schools, or for private study, it will at least partially, supply a great want.

R.

THE TEACHER AND THE PARENT: A TREATISE UPON COMMON SCHOOL EDUCATION. *By Charles Northend, A. M. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1853. 1 vol. pp. 327.*

THE science of teaching is second in importance to but few, in a practical way, of which we have any knowledge. Teaching may very properly now be ranked as one of the learned professions. The golden age of quackery in this, as well as in the other professions of law, and medicine, and theology, is fast, we hope, drawing to a close. It is a somewhat consoling reflection to the Christian and true philanthropist, that in this progressive age of ours, some of the more important interests of our race are not altogether overlooked. Among the rest education is claiming due attention.

In the rapid increase of Schools and Academies of a higher grade, and Colleges (of a lower grade,) a large and constant draft is made upon the active talent of our country, to fill these many new-made places with professors, and principals and teachers. Candidates for these important posts must be prepared by some means or other, if they are not to fail entirely in their new undertakings. Some have felt this want: and provision has, therefore, been made, by which this desideratum may be supplied. We may then welcome anything that helps, even in the most practical sense, to fit the applicants for the responsible places they are to fill.

Though we have been charged with having no particular fondness for any style of Puritanism, yet we must say, that even a good Puritan is not without interest to us. The book now under notice, is a good specimen of this spirit embodied, and bears evidence of the true Yankee genius. We like the book, and consider it one of the best of its kind. It cannot but be of invaluable account to the young teacher. Even older and more experienced ones may be no little benefited by it. Indeed, we cannot but think, that had such a book been in the hands of teachers of "the olden times," their influence on their pupils, and through them, on our generation, would have been of a vastly different character, from what it really has been found to be.

The contents of the book, from the nature of the case, are pre-eminently practical. The range of subjects considered, is various and comprehensive. Judging from the many quotation marks found in the book, one might suppose that the author has not much to claim in the way of originality. But in many instances of such quotations made, we have reason to believe that nothing has been lost by us, from the fact that such space is covered by these choice selections and not rather by matter taken from the author's own store. And, moreover, we remember also, that the best specimens of originality are not always found in those books where quotation marks are the fewest.

The book is commended to the special attention of the teaching profession generally.

R.

DAVIES' BOURDON'S ALGEBRA: REVISED EDITION. *New York.*
A. S. Barnes & Co., 1853.

THE Publishers have issued a fine revised edition of this excellent work on Algebra. Of the merits of this treatise on this particular branch of Mathematics it is needless to speak. Although it is only an abridgement based upon the original work of M. Bourdon, which is a full and scientific treatise, yet, as here presented by Dr. Davies, it is as full and complete as the time usually allotted to this branch of study will allow. It is now the text-book in many of our American Colleges and Academies. In our own Colleges, eastern, western and, we believe, southern also, it has been introduced. Many will be glad to meet their old friend in new dress and neat and improved appearance. The publishers deserve our thanks, which they will please accept.

R.

1. THE NEW AMERICAN SPEAKER: *A collection of Oratorical and Dramatical pieces, Soliloquies and Dialogues, with an Original Introductory Essay on the Elements of Elocution. Designed for the use of Schools, Academies, and Colleges. By J. C. Zachos, A. M. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.*
2. A NEW TREATISE ON ASTRONOMY AND THE USE OF THE GLOBE; IN TWO PARTS. *Designed for the use of High Schools and Academies. By Prof. James McIntire, M. D. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.*
3. INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCES: PRESENTING A SYSTEMATIC VIEW OF NATURE. *Designed for Schools and Academies. Edit-*

ed by D. M. Reese, A. M., M. D. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

4. THE ORTHOEPIST. By James H. Martin. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.
5. INTRODUCTORY LESSONS IN READING AND ELOCUTION: IN TWO PARTS. By R. G. Parker and J. C. Zachos. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

THE above works belong to the National Series of School Books, published by the Messrs. Barnes and Co., of New York. Our time and space require us to notice these excellent books in a group, instead of separately and in detail as we could wish. The attention of that part of the public, most interested in the department to which they belong, is called to them in this general way. The series has already been introduced into many of the best Schools and Academies, and where the books have been tried and examined thoroughly, a satisfactory report has been given in their favor. There are yet many places, however, where these books might, with great profit all around, be made to take the place of inadequate and poorly arranged text books.

Public attention is waking up to the importance of providing for schools proper implements in the way of text-books. The time was, when it mattered very little, what kind of a book was put into the hands of a child. Almost every pupil in the school had a different kind of a book from all others. The teacher had to do the best he could, but there were no classes then. We remember very well the book our grandfather put into our hands when first we had to bring a "reading book" to school. It might as well have been the Koran, or Blackstone, or De Bello Gallico, for all we were benefitted by it. Sanscrit, or Hebrew, or Choctaw, would have been nearly as intelligible. And then, how all the boys and even the teacher, too, laughed at our book! But those times are past, and now a better day for schools and school boys, has taken their place.

We had designed to make special reference, if possible, to the full and complete Speaker; to the invaluable Companion, that every man should have acquaintance with; to the Orthoepest, and to the merits of the other books above named, severally, as they deserve. But teachers and parents and others concerned in this matter, may be left to form their own opinions, now that their attention has been called to the National Series.

R.

THE LIFE AND LABORS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. *Translated from the German of Dr. Philip Schaff, Professor of Theology at Mercersburg, Pa., by the Rev. T. C. Porter.* New York: J. C. Riker, 1854. pp. 150. 12mo.

THE LIFE OF ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY, DUCHESS OF THURINGIA, *by the Count De Montalembert, Peer of France. Translated by Mary Hackett.* New York: D. & J. Sadler & Co., pp. 427. 12mo. For sale by Shryock, Reed, & Co., Chambersburg.

THE first of these volumes is likely to recommend itself to the favorable attention of many at this time, from the high reputation its author is coming to have with the public generally by his History of the Apostolic Church. It is characterized by the same happy qualities of method and style, which appear to so much advantage in that truly masterly performance; and breathes throughout the same fresh and generous spirit. The translator also has done his part well. The work is every way fitted to become popular; and it is for popular use more particularly that it professes to be published. "It is not offered to the public," the translator tells us, "as a complete monograph; it is designed for the general reader rather than the scholar—to give a condensed picture of the life and labors of that eminent saint, who alone, of all the ancient Fathers, stood high in favor with the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century, and exerted a mighty influence over them, as well as over the preceding generations."

Montalembert's Life of St. Elizabeth is in every way an interesting and beautiful work. It comes to us from the pen of one, who is justly admired as a statesman and scholar throughout the civilized world. Its subject is invested with a religious significance, not often surpassed in the lives of the saints. It serves at the same time to shed much light on the character of the period to which it belongs, the beginning of the thirteenth century, that age of disorder and darkness, in many respects, which was yet so eminently again the age of faith and heroic consecration to the service of Christ and his Church. In this view the work has a much wider aim than that of a mere isolated sketch of Christian biography. It is so constructed as to be in fact a most important contribution to the general history of the period to which St. Elizabeth of Hungary belongs. For this purpose, the distinguished author has prefixed to the Life of the Saint, an admirable Introduction, presenting a graphic and comprehensive picture of the Christian world during the half century preceding her time. "It has been felt," he tells us, "that even the purely profane history of

an age, so important for the destinies of mankind, might gain much in depth, and in accuracy, from particular researches on the object of the most fervent faith and dearest affections of the men of those times. We may venture to say, that in the history of the middle ages, there are few biographies so well adapted to carry out that view, as the history of St. Elizabeth." So on the other hand, a sketch of her age is required to make intelligible this particular history itself. "Not only is it that her destiny, her family and her name, are connected more or less with a host of the events of those times, but that her character is so analogous to what the world then saw on a grander scale, that it becomes indispensably necessary for the reader to recall, as he goes along, the principal features of the social state wherein her name holds such a distinguished place." To its theme, thus happily chosen and broadly apprehended, the literary execution of the work may be said to do full justice. It is written in a strain of active sympathy with the spirit of the life it describes, and breathes throughout a tone of believing and loving enthusiasm in its favor, which tells with happy effect on the form and style of the whole book. It is beautiful, considered simply as a work of art. "There is a winning charm," as the Preface to the Translation says, "a soft, poetic halo, around the whole narrative, that is in admirable keeping with the life and character of the charming princess, whose brief mortal career it chronicles;" and altogether, "it is a work of such rare merit, in its kind, that wherever it goes it will be sure to make friends and admirers for itself, and requires not a word of commendation." N.

AN INDEX TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE. *By Wm. Fred. Poole,*
A. M., Librarian of the Boston Mercantile Library Association.
New York: Charles B. Norton, Publisher. 1853. 8 vo. pp. 521.

FEW things could impress the mind more fully with the richness, extent and variety of the Periodical Literature of the present day than such a book as this. It concentrates, as it were, within the angle of vision, a wide and variegated field, teeming with the products of one of the most intellectually active periods the world has ever seen. Periodical Literature is indeed one of the great facts of the age; and though as a laboratory of thought and a store-house of knowledge, it is open to criticism on the score of necessitating crudeness and superficiality, yet we think these drawbacks are more than counterbalanced by its advantages, especially in the way of reaching the masses of the people; and at all events, whatever may be said for or against it, it is undoubtedly the great channel through which the age

is putting forth its mental activity. No where else are the great questions of the day more earnestly discussed, or its great problems pushed nearer to solution. No other single agency commands such a galaxy of talent. The list of contributors to the Reviews and other Periodicals of England and this country, comprises almost every name of distinguished eminence in literature, theology or science. In view of these facts the compilation of a work like that before us was truly a public good, and was most urgently demanded. It was a Herculean task. Nothing could have accomplished it, with anything like accuracy, but the most indefatigable perseverance. It is purely an Index, alphabetically arranged, of the subjects treated in all the leading periodicals, English and American, from the beginning of the century down to January, 1852. To those who live within the vicinity of large libraries, where periodical literature has accumulated largely, or who possess an accumulation of it, such a manual will be invaluable. By its aid the examination of any subject of general interest can be pursued through its tortuous windings amid every hue and shade of thought, and amid the various and conflicting "schools" of opinion, of one of which almost every great periodical is an organ. If we take up the book and look for any leading subject, in which men now feel an interest, such as Religion, Education, Geology, Poetry, Missions, Railroads, &c.; or great names, such as Plato, Luther, Byron, Cromwell, &c., we find several pages covered with the mere list of articles written on each by various pens and in various periodicals. Where it could be done the names of the writers are given.

A word, however, we have of abatement. Of course, without the next thing to omniscience, a work like this could not be made perfect, or entirely free from inaccuracies. Our own unpretending, and yet, we would modestly say, valuable "Review," has been entirely omitted in the author's list, and our neighbor, the "Evangelical," has been put down as published at "Mercersburgh." This was a little annoying; but in answer to a private letter the author assures us that it was because he could not ascertain, after much inquiry, where sets of these "Reviews" could be obtained, and succeeded in obtaining nothing more than the table of contents of the first volume of the "Evangelical." All this, we are promised, will be rectified in a future edition. We take the liberty to quote from his letter. "I have undertaken the task of indexing periodicals as a pure labor of love. It has employed a good share of my time for six years. I have not received as yet the first cent of pecuniary remuneration, while on the other hand I have expended for books, literary assistance, &c., sever-

al hundred dollars. I have no expectation that I shall receive from the sales of this edition, more than my actual expenses upon it. Under these circumstances—considering that my labors are of immense advantage to the proprietors of periodicals,—one house in this city freely admitting that my work has raised the value of their stock \$1000—it seems but simple justice that editors and proprietors of periodicals should furnish me with their publications. Several editors have already sent me their sets. It is not only necessary that I should have the volumes themselves to secure accuracy in indexing in the first place, but I need them near me for constant reference.”

It is proposed in a future edition to give an historical account of the leading periodicals, comprising their origin, editors, prominent contributors, peculiar views in literature, politics, religion, &c, in which account it is hoped the “*Mercersburg*” will have a chapter. C.

THE MISSION OF THE COMFORTER, *with Notes.* By Charles Julius Hare, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854. 12mo. pp. 498.

THIS is certainly a very peaceable and evangelical, almost Baxterian title of a book, and the reader would hardly suspect that beneath it were concealed the weapons of polemical war. It is, nevertheless, a bold, unsparing, and withal, highly valuable contribution to controversial literature. In the five sermons, however, which it contains, its controversial character—which is after all the most effective mode of controversy—is limited to the straight forward and powerful statement and enforcement of gospel truth, always in view, it is true, of certain erroneous tendencies. In the Notes the author deals the weapons more directly against acknowledged adversaries, Romanism and Tractarianism on the one hand, and Rationalism on the other. Archdeacon Hare belongs to that evangelical and somewhat modern party in the Church of England, distinguished for their zeal and spirituality, who have been deeply influenced by the thinking of Coleridge and the better class of German theologians, and who yet blend harmoniously with such thinking, and assert vigorously, the great central truths of spiritual religion. In the work before us he puts forth and elucidates in a masterly manner, comprehensive and timely views of the work of the Holy Spirit, and the great doctrine of faith in Christ as the ground of salvation. The style is characterised by great freshness and vigor, and abounds in original and suggestive thought. The book has a few peculiarities which will not suit American Christianity, but we are truly glad of its republication in this country. C.

THE
MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1854.

ART. I.—BERENTS AND UBIQUITY.

Translation from Ebrard's "Dogma and History of the Holy Supper."

THUS far we have looked on the dark side of Flacian Lutheranism. How such a parcel of hot-headed, fanatical fellows obtained the ascendancy in a large portion of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, is a question that may properly be asked! Perseverance in fanaticising may certainly do a great deal, but it will be of short duration. If the, in a narrow sense, so-called *Lutheran* Church, as constituted in the Form of Concord, and distinguished from the Melancthonian-Calvinistic theory, were really nothing more than an artificial product of Flacian Lutheranism—then certainly, such a reaction would, long since, have arisen within its own borders, as would have utterly destroyed the Church, thus defined, i. e. the boundary lines would have lost their whole meaning. But this did not take place. Reactions were not wanting against Flacianism—we have only to recollect the Syncretists and Pietists—but both these kept within the limits which separated the Lutheran from the Reformed system. Even where Flacianism, and the scholastic, zeletic zeal exhausted themselves, the interest for the specific, Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper* was by no means suspended. This already demands our attention. It was not mere caprice, it must have been an earnest and sincere concern for the truth, that bound such men as Spener and Sa-

* *Lutheran*, from that time forth, signified not Luther's individual theory, but the theory of the Lutheran Church, as symbolically established in the Form of Concord.

lig and Franke to the doctrine of oral manducation, &c. If so, then the origin of the Form of Concord must be accounted for as the result of such concern. In fact, history proves this. We cannot believe that such impure sprites as Westfal and Hesshus should have succeeded in a Church, in which there was so large a treasure of substantial life ! Even Melancthon's nervous solicitude, cherished to the end of his life, and the dishonesty of the Crypto-Calvinists would not be sufficient to account for their triumph. That which secured the victory was the position which *Berents* assumed. It may be truly said, that the scales were wavering, until Berents threw himself, and the Wittenburg Church at the same time, into one of them. In this way Flacian perverseness received an accession of truth, by which it was able to sustain itself.

But how is this decision of the venerable Berents to be explained ? Is it not more enigmatical still ? We make no account of the fact, that to us, the Palatinate theory of the Lord's Supper appears to be the simplest, deepest and most satisfactory form of the *true Scriptural* doctrine ; but we insist upon it as a matter of great importance, that the very view which the Palatines held, was the one, which some ten years before seemed to father Berents to be altogether correct. He *originated* it, and defended it with "a heavenly fire in his bones" against Zwingli ; and it was also, at least silently approved by Luther himself. That the body of Christ was in the bread, in the same way in which he was in the word—that he was present in the *transaction*, imparting himself to the *communicant*—that he was *not* locally in the bread—that he was *not received* by unbelievers—all this Berents had openly avowed in express terms, and was only careful not to regard the sacrament of the altar as a mere memorial of the death of Jesus and an appropriation of his merits, but also as a living union with Christ's person. In this belief Berents agreed fully with Calvin—and when in 1556, Lasko carried to Stuttgart, the remnant of the congregation at Frankfort, driven out by persecution, expecting there to obtain for it an asylum, and

avowed the very same doctrine,* Berents coldly and haughtily treated him as a heretic, and by his influence brought it to pass that he was not received.†

Should we now, or can we, place such a man as Berents in the same category with the miserable Hesshus? Certainly not. We have here a psychologico-theological problem, which Hartman and Jager have but poorly solved, when they simply say that Berents, in 1556, as well as in 1525, was a Lutheran. This indeed is remarkable, that in 1526, he stood by the side of Luther with the very same dogma in his hands which he afterwards believed that he was bound to reject.

Or was Berents possibly a party man, in the ordinary sense, and as such, a reed swayed and shaken by the wind? Did he himself care nothing for the doctrine, and was it his sole concern to express himself always in the same way with those who had the name of being Luther's firmest adherents? He who would assert this, is really but poorly qualified to appreciate such a personality as Berents!

No, this man was influenced by an honest concern for the truth. This axiom stands far beyond the reach of doubt. Let us carefully mark the traces of this concern.

Although in his catechism, Berents had fully expressed the Melancthonian doctrine, that Christ, "*with the bread and wine, offers us also his body and blood,*" he still cherished in this Concord affair, a deep *mistrust* of the Swiss, and the more so, because they *hesitated to offer the holy supper to weak and*

* Seissen, fol. 186.—His confession says: "We believe and confess that Christ our Lord, as well truly God, as truly man, is *really and truly present* in the sacrament, and that he himself, as to his *body*, which, in his death, was given for us, and to his blood which was shed for us, is *imparted* to us, at the *same time*, with the bread and wine of the sacrament, that he may be *received* by us in faith, to nourish us up *truly and effectually* to eternal life, i. e. when we receive the bread and wine according to his institution."

† Hartman and Jager, II, fol. 366.—"Berents appears not to be free from a certain sort of severity against the poor refugees. In the year 1559, a certain Nuertingen preacher, laboring under the reproach of Calvinism, had a discussion as it seems with Berents and Andrews. (Hartman, II, fol. 872.) He also referred to Berent's earlier writings, particularly to his commentary on John 6. Berents became angry, and replied that he had never met with such a shameless man."

uninstructed persons. He was evidently afraid that they would make the efficacy of the sacraments to depend upon an *act* of faith, or make the impartation of Christ to depend upon a *grade* of faith. In this way it is to be explained, that in opposition to his earlier views, he then contended for the *participation of unbelievers*. In this way he expressed himself again in 1546, in the dispute between Tossan and Engelman, at Moem-pelgard. Although he expresses himself mildly respecting Tossan,* he nevertheless, at the same time, declared in reference to the point in dispute: "That the people acknowledge that believers receive the body and blood of Christ, in the Eucharist, because they cannot deny it; for clearly the body and blood of Christ, *without the sacrament*, are *constantly received* by believers. We accordingly never can more certainly force them to say what they really mean, than by pressing them with the question, as to the participation of the ungodly." He was clearly of the opinion, that in the holy supper, there must be an *objective new communication* of Christ, which is *really an objective act of Christ*, and not just the result of a momentary subjective increase of our faith, (and so an *act of faith*.) The proper, precise, real question would have been this: Whether the communication of Christ is affected by an *act* of faith, or is received upon the presupposition of a *state* of faith, or in other words: Whether the body and blood of Christ are objectively offered to the unworthy? Instead of this, to present the question: Whether the worthy received Christ? was improper. But we now have nothing to do with the errors and improprieties of the man, but first and most of all with the matter of his concern for the truth.

If he was really only concerned for the objectivity, and not

* In his letter to Engelman, (Hartman and Jager, II, fol. 185,) "As Tossan receives the Conf. Augs., we should not condemn him, if he does not believe in the participation of unbelievers. It is very possible that those with whom you have to do, cover up their Zwinglian views with verbiage and think differently from what they say. But if their words are pious, I would rather, in Christian charity believe the best, than from mere suspicion judge harshly, especially as God has not required me to judge the heart. Think of the origin of this dispute! How shameful that good people should quarrel about the participation of the ungodly in the Lord's supper."

for a local and oral communication of Christ in the holy supper, how does it come that he objected to the Palatines, who, as Calvin did, (and if even it was without any conscious regard to the opposite theory) taught clearly enough the objectivity of the communication, and made faith to be the appropriating organ, and not the agent to lay hold of Christ? On the one hand, Berents may have taken offence, that this point was not expressed with a conscious disapproval of the opposite opinion, that of Harchey, for instance, which makes faith rather to be the acting agent. On the one hand, Berents found himself opposed in principle to the whole order of Church discipline, as it was for the most part introduced in the Palatinate,* and there was wanting, of course, that power of full brotherly consciousness, so necessary to enable us to come to a perfect understanding in doctrinal disputation. A third and still deeper ground lay in the *imperfection of the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's supper itself*.

With pure motives, and certainly with impartiality, have we exposed the hatefulness of the Flacian, and at the same time, the imperfections of the Lutheran dogma. We do not meet with anything odious on the other side; but we do with imperfections of doctrine, notwithstanding; and to expose these with equal impartiality, is the bounden duty of such as are honestly concerned for a true union.

The Melancthonian-Calvinistic doctrine, even in the greatest perfection to which it attained in the Palatinate school, presents breaches, breaches too of a description that if not here

* The Cultus arrangements are here to be considered first of all. In Wittenberg, the Zwinglian forms and customs introduced by Blaucher, were originally the most prevalent, (Hartman II, fol. 58;) that is, a dispute arose about images, and the Duke at first took part with Blaucher. He said that images drew off attention from the word. Blaucher triumphed, but the Duke's decree for the destruction of the images was not carried into effect. That Blaucher was not altogether wrong, appears from this, that in 1540, complaints were still made, that many persons knelt and prayed to images. Berents proceeded from an entirely different point of view, when he afterwards prescribed the cultus. He wished even to retain the Latin language in worship, and for the singular reason that no one any longer desired to learn it. The Palatinate, although, in many things, it resembled the Lutheran cultus, still held chiefly to the Calvinistic forms. Such differences, however, have a greater effect than we are aware of upon our churchly consciousness.

built up, the whole edifice will be in danger of falling to pieces. It is like a web, the last meshes of which are not well fastened ; if these are loosened, there is danger that all the rest will ravel out one after another.

In the first place, it is not asserted with full conviction and distinctness, that the communication of Christ in the sacrament has its cause not in an *act* of faith, but that it has its condition in a *state* of faith.

Secondly, it is not stated with sufficient conviction and distinctness, that it is not to the *mens*, but to the *anima* that Christ communicates himself.

Thirdly, it is not declared with full conviction and clearness, that the glorified body of Christ is *throughout and entirely power*.

We say that these three points were not expressed with *full consciousness and distinctness*. Expressed they were, but more in an immediate conviction, or sense of truth, just as the church fathers were in the same way accustomed to express the true doctrine of the Lord's Supper, without pretending, however, to guard against misrepresentation. Thus Calvin and the Palatines were right in saying that faith is the *receptive organ*, but of the *opposite* of this, they were not conscious; and when Harchey made faith to be the *efficient agent*, no one seems to have seen clearly that this was another doctrine entirely. Thus Calvin and the Palatines said distinctly enough, that it was the *soul*, the substantial germ of the new man, that was fed with Christ ; and just here it is that we are brought to the consciousness of the opposite opinion, that it is not to the *intellectus* that Christ imparts himself ; although at the same time, we find whole rows of Reformed divines, who afterwards asserted that it was the *mens*, which was fed with Christ. Calvin indeed defines the body of Christ to be essentially an existing power. This, however, is the very idea that was first given up ; and the Palatines themselves looked upon the glorified body of Christ far too much as gross matter, made up of "flesh and bones," although as it regards this third point the Lutherans did the very same thing, and by insisting upon the

"true" body and blood of Christ, provoked the Palatines to this grosser conception.

Do we now ask, to what it would lead, if positive errors crept into these poorly protected points?

So soon, in the first place, as we regard the *subjective faith* as the efficient agent, we change the holy supper from a *sacrament* into an *occasion for the exercise of faith*. It becomes nothing more, strange as it may sound. In what then do the sacraments consist? In a sign, with which the promise of a communication of Christ was bound up? In a certain sense this is true; but what sort of a communication is this? The Christian elevates himself in his thoughts and feelings either to the glorified Christ, or to the suffering Christ on the cross. He embraces him in his heart, and realizes, not only the previous propitiatory act of Christ, but assuredly also the *life union, once for all subsisting* between himself and Christ; and still more this union *actually strengthens itself* just in proportion as the *Christian strengthens his subjective faith*. All this is so far good; a strengthening of this central union with Christ really takes place; but it is such a strengthening, as it is in the power of every believer to effect at any time, *without the sacrament*. The promise connected with this sign is the *general* promise and nothing more, that by an increase of faith, we will be more and more inwardly united to Christ. In this way the *edifying* side of the sacrament comes to its right, but the *comforting* is very much overlooked. Everything depends upon how far, in the momentary excitement of his faith, the communicant is able to press his work of faith. Here comes in the charge that was *falsely* made against Calvin, that the soul must first raise itself to heaven to bring down the Saviour. The lightning misses, the rod alone remains. But what is to become of those who are weak in faith? What of the penitent who *would* gladly believe, but *cannot*? Of those who feel themselves to be in a state of *drought*? To these the Lord—the representation is dishonoring to him—holds out the bread of life afar off, and says: Only come and take it for yourselves; and they are lame, and not able! No, the sacrament

is a sacrament in this, that *Christ comes to us*, and when the *certainty* is wanting, that Christ gives and communicates himself to us wholly and entirely—without respect to the *grade* of our faith, which we first bring with us, or to the *increase* of our faith, which at the time we are able to effect—then the sacrament also entirely fails, and is of no avail. We could say that Christ bestows his Spirit upon us, that we may raise ourselves up to him; but then we would again be affirming that fundamentally false dualism, between the Holy Spirit without Christ, and Christ without the Holy Spirit. Both are inseparably connected. Christ communicates *himself* to us *by the objective* operation of his Spirit; *by which* our weak faith is then strengthened. The first objective consciousness is that objective communication, which is made to all, *who do not positively reject it*; the second is the confirmation of our faith, *by means* of that communication. It is not the subjective operation of the Spirit, together with the subjective effort of faith, which is the first, and then the communication of Christ, which is the second.

At the same time Berents was doubtful of this first point.* He could readily see that Calvin and the Palatines were positively right throughout; he would have done better, therefore, if he had clearly and distinctly presented the true question for discussion, and had insisted upon an *avowal of their principles* from his opponents, so that all misunderstanding might have been *avoided*. But the true precise point of enquiry—the difference between a believing act as a cause, and a believing state as a condition—was as obscure to him as it was to the others. In addition to this his doubts were increased upon another point.

The *soul* is here represented as that to which Christ com-

* That he really wished and looked for what was right, appears in his letter to Duke Albert of Prussia, in 1568. (Hartman III, 560.) He admits that we also receive the body and blood of Christ without the sacrament; but without the sacrament a "timid, faint-hearted, anxious believer, would by no means be satisfied. Such a conscience is not provided for and comforted, by receiving the body and blood of Christ apart from the Lord's Supper." He saw indistinctly, what I have endeavored to express clearly.

municates himself. But at that time, the Scriptural trichotomy was generally kept far in the rear of the scholastic and vulgar dichotomy of body and soul, according to which, the soul was regarded as nothing more than the thinking principle. As far as Calvin, and with him the Palatines, were from entertaining this notion, and clearly and distinctly as they taught that the *inward substance* of the soul was really *fed* and *nourished* with Christ, there was still, however, nothing done to obviate the spiritual misapprehension, that by the soul was meant the sphere of thought, and that Christ was called the food of the soul, in a *figurative* sense, as he of whom we *know*, that he in a juridical, theological sense, has acquired for us *life*, i. e., justification, the right to eternal life. This misapprehension was never obviated, until it was asserted in decided opposition, that by the soul was not to be understood the *mens*, but the psychical life-substance itself. The danger of misapprehension must, however, necessarily increase, when with the more general prevalence of scholasticism, the idea of a life communion was for the most part lost sight of, and the conception of a juridical imputation of the merits of Christ, by a *forensic act* was brought into view. This was the case from the first with the Lutheran divines. At a later period, a whole row of Reformed theologians understood the expression, that Christ nourished the soul to life, in that spiritualistic, figurative sense, and for *anima* substituted *mens*. But what was the consequence of such misapprehension? Nothing less than this, that the *whole real life communion was resolved into nothing*, and the real communication of Christ was changed into a *subjective thinking* of the *title* to eternal life acquired for us by Christ. In this way, we are brought again to Megandrian Zwinglianism. We must not then judge too harshly of good Father Berents' doubts. That Calvin and the Palatines did not so understand the matter, he could have seen very well, and he would probably have so seen and acknowledged it, if it had not been that there was a third point to be considered.

We are compelled to admit that the Reformed had full right in refusing to recognize such a *communicatio idiomatum*, as

required a communication of the attributes of the one nature of Christ, to the other. It was satisfactorily shown, that this *communicatio idiomatum* is nothing less than a falling down from a Nestorianizing ground-principle to a Eutychianizing conclusion. In the first place, they conceived the divinity and the humanity of Christ to be "two parts," "two substances," and did not perceive that the divinity is that eternal *essence* before and beyond the sphere of time, that, in time *form* entered into humanity. They did not see that in the incarnate Son of God, the divinity continued in its eternally unchanged and unchangeable relation of unity to the Father, and the humanity in its temporal and diversified relations to mankind, to time and history. We fail to perceive the unity which *already exists*, and suppose that the two natures in Christ himself are *not yet fully united*. We think that the divinity is in *status exinanitionis*, not yet fully come to its right, and that it will only hereafter take place, at its ascension into heaven—and then at the expense of the true humanity. In this, there is covered up a still deeper fundamental error. The Lutheran divines consider the *incarnation as such*, the entrance of the Logos into the sphere of finiteness, as a *humiliation of the divinity*, and for this reason, the divinity must in some way be released from this sphere. The Reformed divines, more correctly regard the *incarnation as such*, to be the height of the *glorification of God*, in time, and of his trinitarian efficiency. It is the marriage of the Creator with the creature; and as such, the last and highest aim of the doings of God; and it is only in taking upon himself the *forma servi*, only in the Logos taking upon himself *our humanity, subject to all the consequences of sin*, that his humiliation consists. So also, in accordance with this view, they also regard the exaltation of Christ, not as a release from the limits of time and space; but solely as the deliverance, in Christ, as the first fruits of our humanity, from the consequences of sin—as the translation of our humanity in bondage to death, into that *glorified*, perfect humanity, answering even as to the body, to its true and proper idea.

So far it must be acknowledged that the Reformed are *right*. But here now we meet with an essential deficiency, that they do not properly unfold the idea of the *glorified human body*, as Christ now has it, and as we one day will have it. When they conceive of it, as *existing some where*, and *circumscribed*, i. e. *having form*, they are so far right. But in addition to this, the Palatines also thought of it as a *material* body, made up of "flesh and bones." They were not able to conceive of the entire abrogation of the existing separation of soul and body. They could not conceive of a body that had ceased to be, for the soul at least, something foreign and different, and that had become a free self-production and manifestation of the soul itself.* They did not think of it, in a single word, as a *pure power*; and with the Reformed divines, who succeeded them, there was also attached to the true definition of the limitation of Christ's body, the false definition of *materiality*. And what now was the result of this conception? So soon as they conceived of the glorified body of Christ as pure power, they were then able to unite the reality of his communication with the truth of his existence in heaven, and of his limitation. His communication is related to his existence, in the same way that the radiated light is to the light being radiated—we say in the same way—for we have already shown, (Vol. II, fol. 284,) that the light, the most immaterial spiritual substance, in this corporeal world, affords after all but a poor comparison, inasmuch as it still *locally* pervades the intervals of space. In this lies the dissimilarity between the operation of light, and the operation of the glorified Christ; the similarity to which we attach importance, and for the sake of which we institute the comparison, is this, that the illuminating light radiates and diffuses *itself*, and yet for this reason does not in the least cease to be something local and distinct. Everything, therefore, in our view of the communication of Christ, depends

* In a certain sense, *materiality* may be predicated of the glorified body, that is so far as to control its stuff, and to subordinate and make it serviceable, so as to make it become matter at pleasure. But this is only secondary—the effect of an act, and not the permanent, substantial substratum of the glorified body.

upon this, that we adhere firmly to these two facts : his unchanged *being* in heaven, and his *unobstructed self-irradiation*, which last is effected not by local *media*, but by omnipotent power, transcending the limits of space. This conception is opposed to the *mechanical, sensuous* ubiquity, that Christ must first diffuse or multiply himself, in order to enter into the bodies of men, through their mouths. If we (so we apprehend it,) would avoid this mechanical conception, and the whole Eutychianism of ubiquity, and would hold fast to the scriptural view of the limitation of Christ's glorified body, and of the real communication of Christ, there is but one way to do it, and that is to conceive of the glorified body of Christ in heaven, not as a *material* substance, but as a *pure power*, according to the analogy of light.

Just so far as we think of it as a *material* substance, is it impossible that there should be a union of these two parts. We must either with Berents, hold fast to the real communication, and give up his actual existence in heaven, or we must insist upon the actual existence in heaven, and then we lose the real communication. In the last case, we still do not receive the proper flesh and blood of Christ—not Christ, according to his humanity and divinity, but only in this way that we are so joined to him, that his Spirit is in him, and is also in us ; and so—to make use of an expression previously employed in another part of this work—keeps up the communication between Christ and us. In this way, however, the truth so plainly taught us, that “he lives in us,” that he is far more intimately united to us than “the head is to the members,” that we are “flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones,” is again altogether lost. The substantial *life* of Christ in our *psychical* life ceases ; he lives in a sort of *dualism* between himself and his Spirit ; but it is still more in our *mens*, than in our *anima*.

The Palatines did *not* draw this conclusion ; they were not aware that such an *improper* use could be made of their doctrine ; they were much more concerned to show to their opponents, that they held firmly to the reality of the body and blood of Christ, even more firmly than they with their ubiquity.

Calvin especially had taken up the idea fully of the body of Christ as pure power. But *Berents* also had drawn his conclusions from the premises of the Palatines. *He* feared that this material conception of the glorified body of Christ would utterly subvert the Reformed doctrine in every other point of view. He saw that in the end, the *mens* would become the organ, by which we receive Christ, and that the *act* of faith would be the efficient cause of our union with Christ. *It was really and truly this concern for the truth, that placed him in opposition to the Palatines.*

As it regards this *negative* point, he was right; he felt the Achilles heel of the Palatine system. It does not, however, follow from this, that he was right also in the *positive doctrine*, which he opposed to theirs. He did not as *clearly see* the weak points, as he *felt* them. Where the deficiency properly lay, he was not aware. If he had seen it, he would have met it with the following argument: a) That faith was the condition, not the cause of the communication of Christ. b) That it is the soul, not the understanding, that is fed with Christ. c) That Christ's glorified body is not a material substance, but pure power. Instead of this, he opposes their views with three propositions, which were worse yet than theirs, that were not simply erroneous, but positively wrong. Instead of distinguishing the good in their theory, from that which was imperfect and weak, he rejected both together, and very foolishly threw away the child with the water in which it had been bathed. He denied also that faith was simply a condition, and maintained that the *unworthy partook* of the "body and blood" of Christ in the sacrament.* He denied that the *soul*, regard-

* Upon this ground, he also opposed the attempt made by *Syzer* and *Ja-Andreas* to introduce Church discipline. (Hartmae, II, fol. 285.) Again, a great want of discernment. He could not see that Church discipline had nothing to do with the admission of the unworthy to the sacrament; and if even this were the object, he ought not to have opposed it, inasmuch as he held that the unworthy ate and drank to their own judgment; and this was reason enough to forbid it to the utmost! Besides, the Church ought to have the right to sustain its own integrity—a right allowed to every ordinary society. Expulsion from the communion of the holy supper, is, after all, nothing more than expulsion from the communion of the congregation.

ed in any true sense, as the substance of the psychical life of the individual, was that which was fed with Christ, and taught an *oral manducation*, although, not in a form so gross as the Flacians. He with the materiality, denied also the locality and limitation of the body of Christ, and taught its *ubiquity*.

This was the point upon which he most insisted, and which by his means obtained prominence. He suspected that according to the Palatine doctrine, there was no *real union of Christ with the communicant*; Christ *remained in heaven*, and was only joined to the communicant, by the Holy Ghost, and not really *united*; he still remaining *absent*.* Where there was a proper apprehension of the true doctrine of the Palatines, there was no ground for this suspicion. There was only reason for it, when an inference was drawn, even with commendable inconsequence, from their view of the body of Christ—which *they themselves would not draw*—but to which they, nevertheless, had given occasion.

Berents, however, instead of correcting, as he ought to have done these false premises, drew from them an inference that was just as false. That he might have no *difficulty* with the materiality of the body of Christ, he also rejected its limitation and locality, together with the reality of his ascension into heaven. To this he came, by *deducing the attributes of the glorified body of Christ, not from the idea of the glorified body of Christ but from that of the change effected in the relation of the two natures to each other, which was commenced in his ascension into heaven*. At the bottom of this, there was the false supposition that the *humiliation* of the Godhead consisted not simply in the assumption of our human nature, *subject to death*, but without regard to this, in the *incarnation itself*.

* In the Wittenberg Confession, 1551, (Hartman, II, fol. 246,) he teaches: "As it regards the substance of the Eucharist, we hold that the true body and blood of Christ are communicated in the Eucharist, and reject the doctrine that the bread and wine are merely signs of the *absent* body and blood of Christ. We believe also that the power of God is so great, that he could either annihilate the substance of the bread and wine, or change it into the body and blood of Christ. But that God does immediately make use of his omnipotence in the Eucharist, is not taught us in his word, and does not appear to have been held by the ancient Church."

In accordance with this view, he conceived of the exaltation, not as a restoration of the *human nature*, to that state, answering absolutely to its idea, but as the deliverance of the person of Christ from its temporal and local condition. He did not consider that "corporeity was the end and design of God's ways."

This mistake is most apparent in the false conception of "heaven," entertained by Berents and the ubiquitists. The word "heaven," is made use of in the Scriptures in two senses. It is said, in the first place, of the omnipresent and eternal God, that he is "in heaven." Even here* it is not to be understood figuratively—it does not signify the centre or locality, the eternal existence of God apart from time and space, who in himself is the author of all time and space; but much more, the particular sphere of all created things, the world in space, where the revelation of God is not impaired by the sins of his creatures—where he is present in a higher and more perfect sense than he is in that part of creation which is fallen away, and that accordingly, in many respects, is separated from him. Heaven, again, in a sense closely related to this, is that *future* sphere of our glorified humanity, in which it will again be perfectly united to God.† Berents was in error already in this, that he understood the first passages contrary to their obvious meaning, to be purely *figurative* of the *illocality* and *omnipresence* as such. Even so, we are not to suppose that any actual department of creation is intended in the second class of passages, but simply the omnipresence of God. According to what he says, in his larger catechism, "the heaven into which Christ enters, is here upon earth." "Christ is not in some nook or corner in heaven"—it is not necessary, by any means, to speak of the highest sphere of the visible revelation of God in the glorified Son of man, as a "corner"!!—"but is *every where*, and fills every thing with his presence."

* Compare Gen. 1:1. Psalms 2:4. Psalms 103:19. 123:1. Isa. 66:1 &c, where God is in a particular sphere, upon his throne. Again, Heb. 9:6. Judges 5:20.

† Math. 6:20; 19:21.

It is almost ludicrous, to see how the very theologians, who reject a tropical interpretation *exegetically* required in the words of institution, that is, not one absolutely allegorical, but essentially symbolical, make short work with the ascension, and explain it out of the Bible entirely, in a purely allegorical way! "Ascend up," means "to become invisible;" "into heaven" signifies "every where." We are reminded of Luther's "Cuckoo and Hedge sparrow."

Some show of exegetical truth was given to these false doctrines, by those passages of the New Testament which treat of the *δοξα*, which the Son had with the Father, and which he laid aside, intending one day to resume it again. The idea of *δοξα*, in the Pauline system, is that of an external glory, constituting the adequate manifestation of the essential reality and dignity of the inward being. Thus the future glorification of the body will be continued by the resurrection; but not the inward faith, considered as *δοξα*. The *δοξα* of Christ can, therefore, in the Pauline sense, mean nothing more than the glory of his appearing, the honor which the everlasting Son eternally enjoys in the worship of the angels, and which the incarnate also enjoys since his exaltation. Phil. 2: 9, &c. John, however, makes use of the word *δοξα*, in another sense. It is true, that when (John 17: 5) Christ prays the Father to glorify him with the *δοξα*, which he had before the foundation of the world, it may be, that that outward *δοξα*, as the *last* result of his work, was *also* meant to be included; still, it is evident, from verses 2 and 4 that in these places *δοξα*, does mean that inward essential glory of the divine nature, which Christ never, not even in his state of humiliation, gave up, and whose highest glorification consisted in the deepest depth of his sufferings.* In neither instance, however, is the *δοξα* identical with the *μορφη θεου*, (Phil. 2: 6.) The Pauline *δοξα* is not identical with the *μορφη θεου*, inasmuch as Christ *forever* gave up the *μορφη θεου*, the form of his existence before time, and will ever remain truly man, (Heb. 4: 14, &c.,) whilst the *δοξα*, in the Pauline sense, he only relinquished during the

* Verse 2. The hour (of his death at the cross :) glorify thy Son!

time of his humiliation. The Johannean *δοξα* is still less identical with the *μορφη θεου*, inasmuch as Christ never gave that up at all. Berents interchanges the *δοξα* with the *μορφη θεου*, and carries over to the *μ. θ.* that which properly belonged to the Pauline *δοξα*. It was not only in giving up his external glory and worship, but in giving up the *μορφη θεου*, his existence before time, that he saw a humiliation. The incarnation as such—according to John, the highest glorification of the love, i. e. the divine nature of Christ—he regarded as a humiliation; and then supposed that Jesus, in order to resume the *μορφη θεου*, would give up again the form of his human-limited existence.

Let us now glance hastily at the outside course of the controversy. Berents agreed with his colleague, Andreas. Andreas in 1557, wrote “a brief and simple account of the Lord’s supper, showing how a simple-minded Christian, in the protracted dispute which had taken place, should conduct himself.” This gave rise to another controversy; Calvin continued to stand in friendly relations with the Wittenbergers. Andreas sent him his paper; he sent him, Aug. 1, 1557, a friendly reply, lamenting that they differed in their views more widely than he had supposed; still the Lord would cause his truth to appear. Berents he cordially greeted.

Dec. 19th, 1559, the Theologians and church officers of the Duchy of Wittenberg, drew up and subscribed “a confession and account of the real presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the holy supper,” which was directly opposed to the “fundamental exposition” of the Palatines, and in which it was taught that the body of Christ “filled all space.” In the same year, Melancthon sent a copy of his lectures on the epistles to the Ephesians, published several years before, to Duke Christopher, to show that he did not just then, for the first time, set himself in opposition to the ubiquity. The Duke replied: That the manuscript must certainly have been a forgery; that he could not believe that “he held with the sacramentarians.” Melancthon, however, continued in correspondence with Berents to the last, although it was carried on with

coolness and restraint. Still, in proportion as Melancthon came to be regarded with suspicion, Berents rose in the estimation of the Princes to the highest grade of theological authority.

In the year 1560, a formal controversy commenced. Berents published his work, "*De personali unione duarum naturarum in Christo, et ascensu Christi in coelum, ac sessione ejus ad dexteram Patris,*" in order to sustain his orthodoxy disputed by the Genevans. It is true, he said: "The body of Christ does not spread itself out as leather, over all places," still it does participate in the attributes of the divine nature. In opposition to this, Bullinger in 1561, wrote his "*Tractatio verborum Domini,*" Jno. 14: 2. As a rejoinder, Berents wrote "*Sententia de libello,*" to H. Bullinger, in which he misrepresented his object, as though Christ, and the saints also had their separate dwellings, in which they lived and moved, and took their pleasure. This misrepresentation was repelled by Bullinger in "*Responsio, qua ostenditur sententiam de coelo et dextra Dei firmitur adhuc perstare,*" 1562, and in Martyr's "*Dialogue upon the humanity of Christ.*" This brought out Berents in three tracts, "*An exposition of Dr. H. Bullinger's pamphlet,*" by John Berents; again, "*De divina majestate Christi, et de vera presentia corporis et sanguinis ejus in coena,*" (both in 1562,) and "*Recognitio doctrinae de vera majestate Christi,*" 1564. In the last, amongst other things, he says: "The devil, by means of Calvinism, intends nothing less than to introduce Heathenism, Talmudism and Mahommedanism, into the Christian Church!"

Instead of entering more fully into the merits of this controversy, let us rather direct our attention to the Maulbrunner Conference already mentioned, that was held in 1564, between the Palatine and Wittenberg theologians, the object of which was to convert Duke Frederick to Brentzian Lutheranism.*

* The authority for this is: *Protocollum, hoc est, Acta Colloquii inter Palatinos et Wittenbergicos Theologos de ubiuitate sive omnipresentia corporis Christi, et de sensu verborum Christi, Hoc est, &c. Anno 1564.* Maulbrun-

The Conference lasted from the 10th until the 15th of April.† The Palatines at the outset, subjected themselves to disadvantage by their yielding disposition. They proposed, in the first place, to discuss the words of institution; the Wittenbergers wished to begin with the ubiquity; and to this they consented. The Wittenbergers made use of this afterwards as a proof that the disbelief of the ubiquity was the principal ground of the Palatine doctrine of the Lord's supper.

Boquin began: "Nullum dogma in ecclesia Christi est recipiendum, quod nullo certo et expresse scripturae testimonio confirmatur. Dogma de ubiuitate corporis Christi caret expresse et perspicuo scripturae testimonio; ergo in ecclesia non est recipiendum." Andreas denied the minor. The "majestas nullo loco definita" was ascribed to Christ. This he at once took to be synonymous with the "ubiquitas corporis." Boquin replied, that the question was not concerning the "majestas," which was undisputed; but whether the body of Christ was "quouis loco." Andreas then disavowed the word ubiquity, which suggested the false notion of a "diffusio et multiplicatio." He held nothing more than "majestas nullo loco definita;" but this was a property of the body of Christ, inasmuch as according to John 1, both natures are so united, that whilst each retains its own substance, it shares its "idiomata" with the other. (This was precisely the same category which lay at the bottom of the doctrine of transubstantiation.) Boquin and Olevian now proposed the shrewd question: "An omnes proprietates dicat communicari realiter?" Andreas evaded the answer, by saying: God must be differently in Christ from what he was in believers. Olevian replied, that about this there was no dispute. He also admitted, that there was a difference between "*λογος* est in carne," and "*λογος* caro factus est" (humiliation and

nae habitus, Heidelbergae, 1566. For the genuineness of the protocol, it is sufficient that it was printed in the life time of the Princes and Theologians, with the signatures of all who took part in it, and that no one objected.

† The Theologians were arrayed against each other as follows:

Michael Diller,	Val. Baunius,	Ursin,	Bidembach,
Boquin,	Berents,	Chem	J. Fessler,
Olevian,	Andreas,	Th. Crast,	Hier Gerhard,
Dathenus,	Schnepp,	Wm. Xylander,	Osiander.

The last two were the Secretaries.

incarnation, as such.) He also admitted a "perpetua duarum naturarum copulatio, quae nunquam dissolvi queat." But it was a question whether the one nature took part in the attributes of the other. To this Andreas: "Verbum caro factum est; ergo caro verbi ubique est. Nam alias verbum, quod est in carne, in omnibus est. Act. 17: 28. Ergo aut facit omnes homines Christos, aut sanctos." Boquin: In the "sanctis," the divinity and the humanity do not become one person. Andreas asked what he meant by "one person?" God is omnipresent in three different ways: 1. in all creatures, 2. in believers, 3. in Christ; in the last, "ita, ut ei omnem majestatem dederit, ut si quis elector, aut princeps ministro alicui omnem, quam ipse habeat, potestatem tribuat, is quidem non dicetur natus elector, attamen elector, quamvis homo maneat ut ante. Ita divinitas nihil sibi reservabit, sed hunc hominem Christum ad dextram suam collocavit."

What a comparison! How the Nestorian ground principle of the ubiquity is here brought to light! The human nature is here at hand and ready like a minister of state, and the divine majesty is passed over to him. No intimation that the Son of God became man. The Son of God is rather made to be God by the divine attributes being passed over in an external way to him. Even by this adopting process there was nothing effected by the whole comparison; for the "elector factus" retains in the comparison his two natures unchanged—his "natura hominis," in which he eats and drinks and breathes, and his "natura electoris," in which in the name of his Prince, he fulfils his official duties; nor does he have any part in the attributes of the last, for instance in the way of inheritance!

Boquin showed to his opponent the lameness of his comparison. The divinity and humanity of Christ are not related to each other as office and man; the divinity is not an *office* bestowed upon the man Jesus. If we wish to have an analogy, the patristic one of body and soul is more appropriate. Andreas became excited, and accused him of teaching "unio personalis," without showing in what it consisted. Boquin replied, that by the analogy of body and soul, he had answered the

question better than Andreas did by his comparison. Beyond the analogy, however, he could not venture; the thing itself was a profound mystery. Andreas denied that it was a mystery, and demanded an intelligible definition. (Who was here the rationalist?) "*Cui omnia data sunt,*" he added, "*ei nihil denegatum. Homini Christo omnia data. Inter haec omnia, autem est omnipresentia.*" He meant by "*omnia,*" abstractly "*all things mentionable.*" In the same way, he could have shown that sin was an attribute of Christ.

In the first meeting, the Wittenbergers did not even make a respectable attack, much less achieve a victory.

April 11. Andreas proposed the following: "*Ea natura, quae accepit omnipotentiam Dei, est ubique.*" The Palatines admitted this, but the first question was, Whether the human nature did receive omnipotence, or was only united to the omnipotent divine nature in one person. If we assert the first, we must also, to be consistent, say that the human nature of Christ received the "*immortalitas,*" though Christ did die. Andreas pressed the argument no further, but said: If the humanity of Christ was not omnipotent, then Christ was a man like Peter. (Much more: then the human nature of Christ was as much human nature as was that of Peter—which it really was!) Ursinus happily rejoined: "*Non magis sequitur, quam si dicas, hominem propterea non esse ratione praeditum, quod non secundum corpus sed animam ratione praeditus sit.*"

Finally, Andreas actually attempted to prove that the human nature in Christ was itself every where present. The Saviour said: "*All power is given me in heaven and in earth;*" his divine nature did not require that all power should first be given to it; it was accordingly given to his human nature. Ursinus replied: Certainly, it was to his humanity that the "*omnipotentia*" was given, "*sed non iis proprietatibus, quas Deus tantum habet, ut iis ab omnibus rebus creatis discernatur, cujusmodi est: per se omnipotentem esse.*" This reply is very profound; there is a glorious apprehension lying at its ground. Ursinus evidently apprehended the difference between the eternity form of the divine essence, (itself the same unchanging *Aseities*,

the eternal foundation of its existence in duration and space) and the humanity form, in which the same divine essence becomes limited, and by that limitation, that is, in historical relations, reveals itself as existing in time. He had only to avail himself of this intimation in reference to the "omnipresentia." He would then with right have adhered to his proposition, that that *eternal* form of dominion over space, which we call being everywhere present, does not belong to the incarnate Son of God; but he would have admitted at the same time, that the dominion over space, in particular local relations, as *dominion* over space, did belong to Christ. This would have led him further to inquire as to the different ways in which Christ, in his humiliation, and then again in his exaltation, exerts this dominion, so as to cause space to have no limits for him; that the same *glorified* human body, (after the manner of his glorified humanity itself,) was possessed of greater power of manifestation in space than it had when, as a material human body, it was subject to the consequences of sin. But neither Ursinus nor his opponent pursued this subject further in this very proper direction.

The last, indeed, fell back upon his old error, the mixture of attributes. The "majestas" belonged to both natures. (This stupid conception of the "majestas" he brought forward continually.) He wished Ursinus to produce Scripture passages to prove that the body of Christ was in one place. Ursinus complained that he did not proceed in an orderly way, and would speak of different things in the same breath, and sought himself to define the idea of "majestas" more distinctly. "Quod Christo data sit omnis potestas, quod constitutus sit super omnes creaturas, quod nomen illi datum sit supra omne nomen etc. fatemur, sicut ante quoque, hæc non secundum divinitatem sed humanitatem ei (ut humanæ naturæ) data esse; sed tamen non ita ut omnipotentia, infinitas et alia, quæ nulli creaturæ conveniunt, humanitati reali communicatione aut transfusione data sint, i. e. ut humanitas eo pacto, per se omnipotens, infinita et divina natura facta sit, sed quia cum ea sit unita, et unam cum ea personam constituat. Itaque, Christus secundum eam

naturam, qua Deus est, etiam infinitus, immortalis est et omnipotens. Haec dona ita sunt humanitati data, quemadmodum data illi est divinitas. Divinitas autem ita ei data est, ut cum ea personaliter sit unita, non quod humanitas in divinitatem conversa sit."

What shall we say to this exposition? It is purely a repetition of the Chalcedonic theory. It is deficient in this, that is negatively deficient, that the question, according to its living psychological reality, is not yet solved. It is, however, quite as free from anything positively wrong as the other, whilst Andreas asserts a positive error, a direct perversion of the true points in the Chalcedonic doctrine. Ursinus' doctrine was scholastically stiff, for the reason that he also still presupposed the two natures as *perfected* ideas, and then afterwards sought to bring them together in an *intelligible* way. Andreas presupposed both as entirely *perfected things*, and left the perfected humanity, not just in idea, but in its actual existence, to be afterwards endowed with the divine attributes. Here Ursinus in opposition to him, was *perfectly* right, when he urged, that so far as existence was concerned, it was only the divine nature that was in itself finished and complete, and that the "per se omnipotentem esse," only belonged to it, whilst the human, so far as existence is concerned, was plainly one first brought into being, and taken into connexion with the divine, to which the "underived omnipotence" could not be communicated. Andreas regarded the attributes omnipotence, immensity, immortality, as a garment that could be put on and thrown off, like an official robe which the prince might throw over his prime minister. Ursinus considered the attributes as inseparably connected with his being, involving the idea of eternity and *Aseität*, and for this reason, without a "contradictio in adjecto," and a perversion of their true signification, incommunicable.

He expressed himself more fully in this way. Christ is potentially immortal, and was also potentially mortal. He could have remained alive, and he also was able to die. Thus, he was not in the same sense with God, immortal; God cannot die. So again, to the humanity, in the incarnation of Christ

there was imparted "*immortalitas*," not in the divine, eternal sense, not immutability, (the "*non posse mori*,") but simply the phenomenon of the divine power, the being able not to die, (the "*posse non mori*.")

It is very remarkable, that Ursinus here actually raised himself superior to the Chalcedonic standpoint. He no longer merely asked how the ideas of the true humanity and the true divinity were to be thought of; but his inquiries referred directly to the real "*genesis*" of the person of Christ. For it must be remembered that he never said, the human nature of Christ had received the "*posse non mori*," and that the divine retained the "*non posse mori*;" but he predicated of Christ absolutely, the "*posse non mori*." He had a profound and proper apprehension that the divinity and humanity not only were united, but that the eternal *logos* was made man, and in this way gave up the form of eternity (and with it the "*non posse mori*,") and that his eternal existence now appears in another, finite and limited form, as the "*posse non mori*." Still these were occasional rays of light, rather than a clear conviction. He fell back, as it were, upon the more abstract Chalcedonic standpoint, when he added: Christ, according to his divinity, is every where present; but according to his humanity, he is only in "*uno loco*." He ought to have been able to see that Christ from the time of his incarnation, had forever and entirely laid aside the omnipresence in its eternity form, and had absolutely taken upon himself a locally defined form of being everywhere present, included in the divine form.

Andreas availed himself of this weak point. When Ursinus compared the two natures to that of the body and soul, he should have remembered that the soul is always where the body is, and the reverse. This indeed could very well be doubted. For the "*tertium*" of the comparison lies just in this, that the soul is in itself absolutely illocal, but in being united to the body it enters within the limits of space. Just so could Ursinus have replied: The *Logos* in himself is without time, eternal, but by his incarnation, he enters within the boundaries of time and space. But the time was passed, and the discussion ceased.

April 12. Andreas at once endeavored to produce a better argument. He gave up for a moment the "communicatio idiomatum," and passed over to the idea of the glorification of the body. Here he was upon proper ground. He said that it was not suitable for a glorified body in general, "de loco, in locum, progredi." But unfortunately he left this proper ground and turned back to the "communicatio idiomatum," when he maintained that Eph. 4: 10, had reference to the human nature of Christ. If Andreas was for a moment proceeding in a good way, Ursinus now struck upon a wrong path. He was indeed perfectly correct in asserting that the Holy Scriptures, the "analogia fidei," and the Fathers taught that the body of Christ was in one place, and that the opposite led to "opinionibus absurdis, quæ non tantum a rationis judicio, sed multo magis ab unica illa regula et fundamento articulorum fidei et sacræ Scripturæ discrepant;" but instead of acknowledging that Christ's, and indeed every glorified body, although *local* and limited and formed, was still not *material*, not matter heterogeneous to Christ's soul, but as a spontaneous act and manifestation of the soul, he said: Christ's body remained "verum, naturale, creatum, humanum carnem, osseum, contractabile et visibile corpus, et servatque veram humanam carnem et sanguinem, quod in altera vita corporis nostri oculis in æternum usque videbimus in suo splendore et gloria." The "flesh and blood" he was able, indeed least of all, to dispose of, for the reason, that as a Lutheran he admitted that flesh and blood as separate materials existed in Christ's glorified body, and that in the Supper, especially, Christ feeds us with each of these two substances. In this way, he himself made it impossible for him successfully to reply. The discussion, too, soon took another turn. Ursinus proposed, as a primary question, whether it was consistent with the truth and reality of the glorified body of Christ, that he "eodem tempore pluribus locis aut ubique sit." Here Ursinus was again perfectly right.

His opponent now came forward with his argument of the ascension into heaven. It is true that immediately after his resurrection, Christ was able to take upon himself by a free

"dispensation," any form he pleased, but he did not ground the ubiquity upon this, (and exactly upon this he could have founded an objection against Ursinus' materialistic representation,) but upon the "*sessio ad dexteram*." By his ascension into heaven, Christ has withdrawn his visible, not his bodily presence, altogether. It is just of this that Matt. speaks, 28: 6.

Independently of the exegetical untenableness of this distinction, Andreas involved himself in an essential contradiction. For, according to what he had already said, the "*majestas*" of Christ identical with his ubiquity, even here in his state of humiliation, appeared as a correlative of the personal union of the natures; but according to what he then said, it would only be in his state of exaltation, as the result of his ascension into heaven. Upon this Ursinus inquired, whether Jesus in his mother's womb was already omnipresent? No, said Andreas, only since the "*sessio*." Before he had only the right to the "*sessio*," without making use of it. To a certain extent, however, he was already, when in his mother's womb, setting at the right hand of God. He then admitted: "*Habuit omnem divinam gloriam ab initio, sed tum non fuit ubique*." But was it not here admitted, that the "*ubiquitas*" did not belong to the "*majestas*," or "*gloria*?" Ursinus urged this upon him, "If already in his mother's womb, he was "*ad dexteram*," and if it was true, "*qui est ad dexteram Dei, ubique est*," he was then in his mother's womb "*ubique*." Andreas replied, that until his ascension Christ refrained from the exercise of ubiquity; this is what Paul meant by *κενωσις*.* Ursinus, however, did not let him escape so easily. He asked him properly: "*Quando ergo coepit ubique esse?*" Andreas: "*Quando coepit exserere majestatem*

* Without saying anything of this false exegesis, how shallow and senseless is the idea itself! It places Christ's person and life in the category of contingency! It depended already upon his own will, even in the womb, whether he would sit at the right hand of God or not! How entirely this is in the face of the significant *διο* in Phil. 2: 9. If, however, we give to this *διο* its proper force, and acknowledge an inward necessity in the history of Christ, the assertion that the *sessio*, and the supposed ubiquity, falsely connected with it, is an element in the union of the two natures, falls entirely to the ground and the "*sessio*" must be inferred from the specific work of Christ, the free dominion of the soul over the body, (which is to be substituted for the "*ubiquitas*") and from the general nature of glorified humanity.

suam." Olevian: thus he yielded his previous argument of "commun. idiom." The new argument, however, would not hold good; for his exaltation commenced already with his resurrection, and not just with his ascension. Andreas now asserted, that he wished to prove from the "commun. idiom.," nothing more than the possibility of a ubiquity. He then came with the manifest doketic assertion that Jesus, as he "instar infantis alicujus omnis sapientiae expertis" lay in the cradle, was already omnipotent, (his childhood was a mere phantom,) and in proof of this, he relied upon Luke 2: 52, where it is said that "Jesus increased in wisdom and in years." Olevian asked him to stick to the point, and to say whether Jesus, previous to his death, was everywhere present as to the body? Andreas: "Aperite dico, humanum in Christo naturam fuisse corporaliter in utero matris in loco et nusquam pectore quamvis secundum majestatem ubique esse, et in omnibus locis se ostendere potuissit."* Olevian: "Verene igitur verum Christi corpus et anima cum divinitate in utero matris unita fuerunt?" Andreas: "Fuerunt. After Olevian had received the answers to the other questions, that Jesus was then in a state of humiliation, and that the state of exaltation began with his resurrection, he drew the irrefutable inference, by which he check mated his opponent: "Sequitur unionem personalem non dissolvi, neque divinitatem ab humanitate divelli, etiamsi corpus Christi non sit ubique praesens. Id quod in nobis reprehenditis." Andreas now sought to assume another position, and tried to show, that Jesus could have exercised his "majestas" at his first supper, immediately before his death. Olevian, however, held him fast. He forced him to the confession, that by John 1: 14, he only showed that Jesus *could* be everywhere; Andreas admitted this; he compelled him also to acknowledge: "Personalem unionem non continuo dissolvi, si quis una vobiscum fateatur, divinitatem eodem tempore esse ubique, humanitatem vero

* What a Nestorian separation on the one hand, that the humanity should be local, and the divinity at the same time, omnipresent and omniscient! And what a Doketic solution on the other, that that humanity could be at pleasure everywhere! And this "commun. idiom." was to be an advance upon and a farther development of the Chalcedon system.

nonnisi certo in loco." When he admitted this, the *Elector* directed that the following syllogism should be entered upon the protocol :

"Quod re ipsa est et fit, manente personali unione naturarum id personam non dissolvit.

Humanitas Christi uno in loco esse potest (atque adeo re ipsa est) divinitas autem ubique manente personali unione naturam.

Ergo : personalis unio duarum in Christo naturarum non propeterea dissolvitur, quia humanitas Christi uno tantum loco, divinitas autem ubique est."*

There was now no escape left to the good Andreas, except this, that it at least belongs to the "unio personalis," that Christ should possess the "majestas." On the other hand he admitted again that to the "majestas" the actual ubiquity did not belong.

What now was gained? The Palatines had not as yet denied this.

April 13. Andreas sheltered himself behind distinctions, which put an end to all sound human sense, and beyond which there is nothing more to be imagined. "Actu primo," i. e. possessione," Christ always had ubiquity, "actu secundo, i. e., patefactione," he had it only after the ascension. He was naturally asked, what he meant by "possessio," whether the possibility of ubiquity, or an invisible reality. (If the first, then he only repeated what he had said the day before, and the expression "possessio," was a subterfuge. If the last, then the "possessio" and the "patefactio" were one and the same thing, because this last is also invisible, and he thus contradicted what he said the day before.) His answer was no less dark and confused than his distinction. Christ at all times was *really everywhere*—but only as to "possessio." They were as wise then as before. Did he really think that the ubiquity was something that he might have, without actually making use of it? He

* After this, the statement of Hartman, II, 892, is to be corrected. If Berents, as Hartman says, did really assert that the Palatines were forced into a strait, and obliged to acknowledge that according to their view, Christ became divine only after his resurrection, this plump misrepresentation does no honor to the veracity of Berents. It may be, however, that there was a misunderstanding on the part of Hartman.

thought nothing about it ; for he added: "Cum Christus corpore suo uno quopiam in loco fuit, eodem illo loco majestatem in se habuit, quae ubique est." Ursinus: Then the "majestas" is every where, but not the body ? Andreas : "Tantum de majestate agitur." Dathen and Diller then inquired again, how it was with the body of Christ ? He avoided a reply, and brought against Ursinus a charge that awakened the greatest dogmatical interest.

He charged that he held that the divinity of Christ was everywhere diffused, but that his humanity was confined to a single point, so that the two stood related "as the ocean did to Antwerp." Ursinus asked, When he had ever expressed "*tam crassas phantasias*." He never conceived of the divinity of Christ as diffused in space, so that he could say : "*Altera pars est hic, altera illic*;" but in the same sense omnipresent as God himself is. In this way Christ, according to his "*majestas*," is also omnipresent. This assertion is of the greatest importance as an authentic interpretation of the 48th question of the Heid. Cat. It is possible to maliciously misunderstand this question,* in a Nestorian sense, as if the divinity of Christ was self-subsisting in heaven, and from that out was every where, and amongst other places, in a very special way, was in the humanity of Christ as one particular point.† A far better sense is the following : The divinity of Christ is in the humanity, and has the germ of its subsistence in the I of the *person of Christ*, but from this out the divinity extends farther than the humanity, reaches far above and beyond it.‡ Ursinus had

* "But in this way, are not the two natures in Christ so divided, that the humanity is not always everywhere where the divinity is ? Not at all: for as the divinity is incomprehensible, and present everywhere, it follows, that though external to the humanity, it nevertheless, still remains not the less in it and personally united to it." Not a very skilful conception, that certainly needs an authentic explanation

† Figuratively represented: the universe is a circle in which the centre is the world governing Logos in heaven. Just as the periphery of the circle is a less one, still within the ring: the humanity of Jesus.

‡ Figuratively represented: two concentric circles, a very small one, and one immeasurably larger; the centre of the larger, the divinity is one and the same with that of the first, the humanity. From the humanity—the individual consciousness of Jesus out—the Logos pervades the world.

not only apprehended this last as the correct authentic signification, but in addition to this, he had also given to it the more important and wider definition that this extension of the divinity beyond the humanity was *not local*. It was the Lutherans at Maulbrun, and elsewhere, who conceived of the omnipresence as an *object of imagination*, as a local every where presence of God. The Reformed there, as well as on former occasions, regarded the divine attributes as appropriate to eternity, i. e., endless duration and immensity: (Ueber zeitlichkeit und ueberraumlichkeit.) For them, omnipresence does not consist in this, that God is every where in space, but that all space is in God. Even so, they conceived of the omnipresence of the divine nature of Christ. They held that the two natures were not two existing parts, of which the one was (something like a sponge) in one place, the other (somewhat like a pond in which the sponge lies,) was also in this place, and besides in every other place; but they held that the divine nature was an *eternal essence*, that in itself was immense and endless, and that in relation to time and space it was the original source of all; and that the human nature was the real humanity in time and space in which the eternal essence *appeared* in time-form, and within the limits of duration revealed and *glorified* itself. The Lutherans did not elevate themselves to this idea of eternity, but thought of it simply as endless duration in space and time; it followed, on the one hand, that they gave a false sense to the Reformed view, and on the other, that they so united the *two parts* of Christ, that the one by means of unlimited extension was geometrically equal to the other.

After Ursinus had in this way disposed of this charge, he passed over to the *Scripture doctrine*. The Scriptures say: "Christ is not here," not: "he does not *visibly appear* here." And when Andreas referred to his passing through the closed door, he replied: "Non sequitur, id simul pluribus locis factum esse." Diller very shrewdly added, that the miracle explained itself in this way, that "the creature gave place to its creator," not that the body of Christ was in more places at the same time.

They now came to the patristic writings. As Andreas was here obliged to give way, he became abusive, and said that there was no difference between the heaven of the Palatines and the Turkish heaven, in which we could sit and stand. He evidently conceived of the sphere of glorification, spiritualistically, as an absolute dissolution of all corporeity, inasmuch as on the following day, in the afternoon, when they discussed this point farther, he proposed the following: "Deum omnium electorum coelum fore," but was obliged, nevertheless, to take back his abuse.

April 14. In the forenoon, Ursinus proceeded to prove, that even after the ascension there was no ubiquity, and that the "*argumentum a sessione*" was of no account. "*Gloriam illam et ingressum Christi in majestatem suam humilitatis domum statui successisse. Abire et auferri ipsis (Wirtebergensibus) interpretibus nihil aliud esse, quam eodem loco manere quidem sed videndi solummodo, et percipiendi sui copiam non facere.*" This is an objectionable exegesis. But just as objectionable is the dogma which it sustains; for Andreas was obliged to admit: "*Christi corpus ubique esse, et non ubique esse.*" This would be to do away with the reality of God, and of his word and of the body of Christ in the bargain. "*Ita fieret ut hi christianæ, et indubitatae fidei nostræ articuli naturali, quidem modo sui, majestatico autem modo falsi essent. Et profecto,*" he proceeded, "*injuria nobis hac in parte fit, cum accusamur, quod omnipotentia certam finem statuamus, aut quicquem ei derogemus. Nemo enim, sat scio, vere affirmaverit, unquam nos in quaestionem vocasse, quid Deus facere aut possit, aut non possit, quin potius pie et demisse et rationem nostram et fidem divino ejus verbo voluntatique subijcimus.*" If the ubiquity could be proven from the holy Scriptures, he would immediately embrace it. And in fact, what could we have thought of the Palatines, if they had given up to such miserable scholastic distinctions as Andreas produced, and had preferred such soft confectionary of human invention, to the plain declarations of the Bible.

Ursinus went farther. In Phil. 2, it is said, that Christ

considered the "divina forma," (this he explained by "divina natura,") as no robbery, i. e. he did not make use of his "majestas," ut humanitatem suam gloriosam redderet." This is indeed not the most natural exegesis; this, however, just then was of no importance; for Ursinus, at the time, only insisted upon this one point, that Christ, *immediately* upon his resurrection "*redderet gloriosam*" his human nature, and that there was no farther change produced by his ascension. As Andreas was unable to bring any argument against this, he brought forward a distinction, that was just as empty as those he had made before. He distinguished between the "majestas" and the "gloria." The "majestas," Christ had already from the time of his resurrection, possessed "patefactione;" but the "gloria," from the time of his ascension. He was reminded, that such a distinction was not founded in the Scriptures, and that he himself had twice before derived the ubiquity from the "patefactio majestatis," and not out of it the "gloria." He then again turned to other questions, and asked Ursinus whether Christ did not from the first, possess the "majestas." He replied: Yes, but it was only after the resurrection that the humanity was taken into the "majestas." He was not even obliged to say this. The exaltation is to be derived entirely from the deliverance of humanity from death, and not from the relation of humanity to the divinity. He should rather have wholly rejected and destroyed the equivocal and obscure conception of the "majestas." Still he did better perhaps, and actually derived the nature of the glorified body of Christ from the idea of the glorified human body generally. "Corpus Christi nostris corporibus esse simili consubstantiale, quod ad substantiam et proprietates attinet, quas humanum corpus postulat," also "visibile, sensibile;" but the body of Christ is different from the bodies of sinful men upon earth, that is "nec morti, nec corruptioni obnoxium, celesti splendore et gloria ornatum."

Andreas now passed over to the doctrine of the holy supper, and drew from the doctrine of the Palatines the inference that they taught, that in the holy supper we received only the divinity of Christ, or Spirit. To this Ursinus gave the impor-

tant explanation: We do not teach that we partake of the *divinity of Christ*, "sed nos etiam virtute sui Spiritus in ipso et nobis habitantis cum vero ipsius carneo et osseo, corpore copulari atque uniri;* multo quidem arctius, quam corporis nostri membra cum capite unita copulataque sunt.

At the request of the Wittenbergers, the discussion concerning the ubiquity was broken off, and on the 15th of April they *took up the subject of the holy supper*. Here it is true, the long and well known arguments were for the most part repeated; still we must not altogether pass by some interesting points of the discussion. Andreas began with a "contradictio in adjecto." We must take the words, "ut sonant," that is, as synecdoche! If we give to another a glass, in which there is wine, we say, "This is wine;" so Christ said, when he gave bread, in which was his body; "This is my body." (Just observe now to what a *grossly local* presence this explanation conducts.) When Ursinus inquired whether this was "verba accipere, ut sonant," Andreas replied: When a mother asks for her child wrapped up in a blanket, to be brought to her, she does not say: Bring me the child in the blanket, but: Bring me the child. Ursinus replied: "Si quis verba ita explicat, ut non panis ipse, sed in pane aut cum pane sit corpus Christi, is re ipsa fatetur, se nequaquam scriptum, sed sententiam atque explicationem horum verborum sequi. Acque atque is, qui dicit: Hic cantharus est vinum, nullo tamen modo hoc vult, ipsum cantharum esse vinum, sed in cantharo vinum esse. Jam vero vos haec verba: Panis est corpus, eodem quo diximus, modo explicuistis. Ergo: Re ipsa fateamini, verba non ita ut sonant, et ad literam intelligenda, sed explicationem verbo Dei consentaneam quaerendam esse." The choice was thus between two tropical explanations, no longer between a tropical

* Here we see clearly, that it was precisely this desire to save the *real* union with the *real* body and blood of Christ, that led the Palatines to their materialistic views of the glorified body. The Wittenbergers could not properly speak of the true body and blood of Christ, for they had reduced this body to an utterly unsubstantial shadow. The truth lay between the two. On the one hand, the *unity* and *reality*, the *identity* and *locality*, and on the other the immateriality of the body of Christ, must be acknowledged.

and a proper one, and had to be decided upon other grounds. Andreas was no longer able to support his explanation upon the ground that it was not tropical.

To get over this, he denied that *Touvo* meant "this bread." It meant much more: "*this, that is here in the bread*, is my body," and thus we need not make use of a trope. This was disposing of it very handsomely indeed, but what was poor Andreas to do, when Ursinus opposed to him the words: *This cup* is the New Testament in my blood! If he explained it: "this in the cup," or, "this in the wine of the cup," in either case he would make use of a trope! Still when his arguments failed him, he had recourse to abuse, and he declared every one to be a "*homostultus et rerum imperitus*," who could not see that such a trope as he regarded it was a "*communis loquendi formula*." Ursinus quietly remarked that the chief thing was, that Andreas himself should accept of a trope. Which now was the best trope, must be determined upon other grounds, and the best norm for this would be, which explanation is in harmony with the articles of faith.

Andreas began now really to scold, and endeavored to maintain, that he still took the words in their literal sense. In reading this part of the protocol, we cannot but be surprised at the Christian meekness and composure which Ursinus maintained. When Andreas again fell back upon the "*majestas*," and brought up the question, whether this was visible or invisible, the Princes brought the discussion to a close, and the Wittenbergers were told that they had sustained their case badly, and the Duke of Wittenberg was more favorably disposed to the opposite theory than before.

Thus terminated the Maulbrun discussion with a complete surrender of the Lutherans. The Elector of the Palatinate, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was confirmed in his convictions. The discussion is important, as in it the whole body of contradictions, in which the doctrine of "*ubiquitas*" is involved, is brought out in clear day light.

Baltimore, Md.

B. C. W.

ART. II.—LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

NO. 2.

THE REGULAR SERVICE ON THE LORD'S DAY, WHEN THERE IS NO COMMUNION.

FIRST FORM.

1. INVOCATION.

[After the singing of a short *anthem* or *one* verse of a *hymn* by the choir, to excite devotional feelings and the spirit of worship, the minister shall commence the services before the altar with an *Invocation*, as follows :]

In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.
Amen.

The Lord is in His holy temple ; let all the world keep silence before Him.

Let us pray !

O Lord, who sittest on a throne of glory, surrounded by the hosts of heaven, and yet delightest to dwell in a broken and contrite heart, and who hast promised, that where two or three are gathered together in Thy name, Thou wilt be in their midst : inspire us, we beseech Thee, with a solemn sense of Thy holy presence and preside over the exercises before us, that we may worship Thee in Spirit and in Truth, and that all the words of our mouth and the meditations of our heart may be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, our strength and our Redeemer ! Amen.

Or :

O Lord, our God, we lift up our eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh our salvation. As the heart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth our soul after Thee, O God. For Thou only art the fountain of life and peace, and in Thy presence is fulness of joy. Bestow upon us, O heavenly Father, Thy richest spiritual blessings, and mercifully incline Thine

ear toward us, whilst we shall be engaged in singing Thy most worthy praise and in meditating upon Thy most holy word. Jesus Christ, Thou Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, Thou merciful high priest that sittest at the right hand of the Father, make intercession in our behalf and fulfil Thy promise unto us, Thy servants : Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them, and: Behold I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. And Thou, O Holy Ghost, the Comforter, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, give us mouth and wisdom, that our prayers and praises may be acceptable before Thee, and that as we worship here in Thy courts below, we may worship at last with the Church triumphant in heaven forever and ever. Amen.

2. CONFESSION OF SIN AND PROFESSION OF FAITH.

[Minister.]

Dearly beloved in Christ !

Let us humble ourselves before the throne of Almighty God our heavenly Father, and confess our manifold sins and transgressions with lowly and contrite hearts, that we may obtain forgiveness of the same for the sake of Christ's merits, remembering the words of His holy Apostle: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us ; but if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." (1 John 1 : 8, 9.)

[Minister and people kneeling.]

Almighty God, our Creator and most bountiful Benefactor, who art of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, we appear in Thy holy presence with a deep sense of our depravity and guilt, and acknowledge ourselves to be utterly unworthy of Thy favor. Created in Thine image and surrounded by Thy mercies, we have all wickedly departed from Thy glory, rebelled against Thy righteous authority and transgressed Thy holy laws. Instead of loving Thee, the giver of every good and perfect gift,

with all our hearts, and serving Thee in righteousness and holiness all our days, we have ungratefully abused Thine infinite goodness and long suffering kindness, and often and greatly offended Thee not only by sinful words and deeds, but also by evil thoughts and selfish desires; and if Thou shouldst enter into judgment with us we could not stand for a single moment. But, O God, we sincerely repent of our sins and approach Thy throne of mercy with broken and contrite hearts, in the blessed and ever acceptable name of Jesus Christ our Saviour, whom Thou hast sent into this world, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Have mercy, therefore, according to Thy promises, and grant us the remission of all our known and unknown sins, for the sake of the abundant merits of Thy dear Son, our Lord! O Thou Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us and grant us Thy peace! Sprinkle our hearts with the blood of atonement, and make us to know the blessedness of the man, whose transgression is forgiven and whose sin is covered. Create in us a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within us. Cast us not away from Thy presence and take not Thy Holy Spirit from us! Restore unto us the joy of Thy salvation and uphold us with Thy free Spirit! Grant us power to believe in the great mystery of godliness, as revealed in Jesus Christ our Lord, that we may profess with sincere hearts our holy catholic faith and ever live according to this profession to the glory of Thy great name and to the salvation of our souls!

[The minister and congregation rising.]

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our Lord: Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary: Suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead and buried: He descended into hell: The third day he rose from the dead: He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead: I believe in the

Holy Ghost : I believe in the Holy Catholic Church : the communion of saints : The forgiveness of sins : The resurrection of the body : And the life everlasting. Amen.

3. THANKSGIVING AND PRAISE.

Min. The Lord be with you !

Congreg. And with thy spirit !

Min. Lift up your hearts !

Congreg. We have lifted them up to the Lord !

Min. Let us give thanks unto the Lord !

Congreg. It is meet and right to do so.

[Then the whole congregation and the choir shall sing or chant the *Te Deum* or the *Gloria in excelsis*, or any thanksgiving psalm of the hymn book.]

4. READING OF THE GOSPEL AND THE EPISTLE IN CONNECTION WITH THE COLLECT FOR THE DAY, ACCORDING TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.

5. GENERAL PETITION.

Let us pray.

Almighty and eternal God, we adore Thee as the only true God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as our Creator, Preserver and most bountiful Benefactor, and would unite with angels and archangels around Thy throne, with the glorious company of the prophets, apostles, martyrs and saints in heaven, as well as with Thy militant Church upon earth, in ascribing unto Thee honor and glory and blessing, and crying aloud : Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory ! We bless Thee for the innumerable gifts of nature and for the richer gifts of Thy grace with which we are continually surrounded. Thou hast created us in Thine own image for Thy glory and communion ; Thou hast redeemed us with the precious blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ from ruin and destruction ; Thou hast sanctified us by Thy Spirit and called us out of darkness into Thy marvellous light. Grant, we entreat Thee, that we may at all times be duly sensible of these unspeakable mercies, which we enjoy without any merit of our own, and that we may manifest our gratitude not only with our lips, but also with our lives, by surrendering

ourselves to Thy service, and walking before Thee in righteousness and holiness all our days. Deliver us more and more from the bondage of sin and error, from the power of the flesh, the corruption of the world, and the temptation of the devil. Give unto us a faith that shall always be zealous in good works, a hope that shall never make us ashamed, a charity that shall never cease, a confidence in Thee that shall never be shaken, a patience that shall never faint, a noble Christian courage that shall always be ready, in the face of opposition and persecution, to confess Christ and to fight under His banner against the powers of darkness ; so that in all the changes and revolutions of time we may live in Thy fear and love, die in Thy grace, rest in hope and attain at last with those who through faith and patience have inherited the promises, to the resurrection of the just, through the infinite merits of Jesus Christ our Lord.

Congregation. Amen.

O Lord our God, who from the beginning to the end of the world dost call, defend and preserve unto Thyself in the midst of a fallen race, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, look down, we beseech Thee, with Thy special favor and benediction upon Thy holy catholic Church in all lands, the work of Thy hand and the sheep of Thy pasture. Pour out Thy Spirit upon Thy ministering servants, the dispensers and stewards of the mysteries of God, that they may truly be the salt of the earth, the light of the world and proclaim with fiery tongues the wonderful works of the Lord. Heal the divisions and distractions which now mar the beauty of Zion and the communion of Saints ; unite Thy children everywhere more and more in truth and in love, that they may be made perfect in one, and be one spirit, one heart and one body under Christ the one head and chief Shepherd of souls. Build up the broken down walls of Jerusalem, cause her to arise and shine, her light being come and the glory of the Lord having risen upon her. Extend her borders, and bless to this end all home and foreign missionary efforts, until the heathen shall be given to Thy Son for His inheritance and

the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession. Hasten the good time, when at the blessed name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that He is Lord to the glory of God the Father. Remember also in mercy that branch of Thy kingdom with which it is our privilege to be more especially connected. Forgive our sins and short-comings; revive thy work in our midst; fill us as a people with sound faith, fervent love, self-denying charity and untiring zeal for the glory of Christ and the salvation of the world. Bless our institutions of learning, guard them against error and sin, and make them fountains from which shall continually go forth pure streams to make glad the city of God. Give a double portion of Thy Spirit to our pastors, elders and deacons, and grant that in word and deed they may be true followers of Jesus, the great Lover of souls, and, after a plentiful conversion of sinners from the error of their ways, shine like stars in glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, the Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth, the King of kings and Lord of lords, look down in mercy, we beseech Thee, from the throne of Thy majesty upon all nations, especially upon that to which we belong. Bless Thy servant, the President of the United States, the Governor of this Commonwealth, our public councils and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Inspire our rulers with Thy fear, give them health and strength, wisdom and prudence, and so direct and control their endeavors that they may promote the true welfare of the people committed to their charge and inherit at last the reward of faithful stewards on the great judgment day. Be pleased to continue the rich favors which Thou, notwithstanding our unworthiness, hast bestowed upon this nation to this time, and make us duly grateful for them. Prosper the fruit of the earth, the labor of the husbandman, the merchant and mechanic and every other useful and honest occupation. Shed down the heathful influences of Thy Spirit upon our schools, colleges and seminaries and upon those who are entrusted with their care, that our youth may grow up in virtue and piety as well

as in sound knowledge and become a blessing to their day and generation. Arrest the course of vice and wickedness; preserve us from pestilence and famine, from war and rebellion, from distraction and dissension, and from every national sin and calamity. Defend us from outward and inward foes, that threaten the destruction of our laws and liberties, and make us an instrument in Thy hand to promote, by our influence and example, virtue, happiness and the unspeakable blessings of the gospel among the nations of the earth, until all kingdoms and dominions shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. Amen.

Most merciful Father, Thou fountain of all blessings and Giver of every good and perfect gift, we commend to Thy care and benediction all classes and conditions of men, the old and the young, the high and the low, the learned and the unlearned, the rich and the poor, neighbors and strangers, friend and foe. Remember them all according to their several wants and necessities and grant unto them the knowledge of Thy saving truth as it is in Jesus. Especially we beseech Thee to look down in compassion upon all widows and orphans, all prisoners and captives, all sick and dying, and upon all those that are in any way afflicted and distressed, or persecuted for righteousness sake: grant unto them repentance and faith, the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, patience and resignation in Thy good and holy will, the rich comfort of Thy grace in this life and an eternal weight of glory in the great day of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Finally, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to favor us with Thy special presence whilst we shall be further engaged in singing Thy most worthy praise and in hearing Thy most holy word. Be pleased to fulfil Thy promise, that where two or three are gathered together in Thy name, thou wilt be in the midst of them. Enable Thy servant who shall be mouth and wisdom to us on this day, to speak Thy truth without fear of men, with the power and demonstration of Thy Spirit, and with an eye single to Thy glory and to the salvation of sinners. Grant unto the congregation the hearing ear, the understanding heart

and the applying conscience, that the gospel may be unto them a savor of life unto life, and not a savor of death unto death, and that we all who are here assembled in Thy courts below, may be numbered at last with the glorious company of Thy saints in heaven, and with that great multitude which no man can number, of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands, there to reign with Christ as kings and priests, and to praise Thee the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, world without end. All which we ask for the infinite merits of Christ our Redeemer who has taught us to pray :

Our Father, etc.

[The congregation accompanying the minister with an audible voice.]

[After the sermon the minister may make an extemporaneous prayer with special reference to the contents of the sermon and to the wants of the congregation : or, if he prefer, he may conclude with the following form of thanksgiving :]

Let us pray.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, in whom we live and move and have our being, we draw nigh once more into Thy holy presence and would unite with angels and saints in heaven and with converted sinners on earth in adoring Thine infinite majesty and goodness. We would call upon our souls and all that is within us to bless and magnify Thy great name and Thy wonderful works toward the children of men. We bless Thee for our creation and preservation, for body and soul, for health and strength, for food and raiment and for all the innumerable temporal mercies which we daily and hourly enjoy at Thy bountiful hands. But still more would we bless Thee for the greatest of all gifts, Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, by whom life and immortality have been brought to light; for His incarnation, His holy life, His atoning death, His glorious resurrection and ascension, His sitting at Thy right hand, His priestly intercession and His precious presence with His people to the end of the world. We bless Thee for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, for the founding of the Church, for the communion of saints, for Thy holy word

and sacraments, for the remission of sins, for all the means and gifts of grace and for the sure hope of the final resurrection and life everlasting. Especially would we thank Thee, that Thou hast permitted us this morning to tread the courts of Thy sanctuary, to hear Thy word, to sing Thy praise, to enjoy the communion of saints and to be builded up in our most holy faith on the foundation of the apostles and prophets. And we ask Thee now to accompany with Thy special benediction the truth which has been preached unto us this day, and to let it fall as good seed into good ground, that it may grow up and bring forth fruit in due season to the honor of Thy great and adorable name. Grant unto every one of us, that we may never fall into the condemnation of forgetful hearers, but inherit the reward of the faithful doers of Thy will, and that, growing daily in grace and in the knowledge and service of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we may be numbered at last with the company of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs and saints of all tribes and tongues, to render hallelujah and praise unto Thee, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed for evermore. Amen.

[After a concluding hymn and doxology the minister shall pronounce the apostolic benediction, 2 Cor. 13 : 14 :]

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.

Or :

The peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God and His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord ; and the blessing of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost be with you now, henceforth and forevermore. Amen.

SECOND FORM.

1. INVOCATION, as in the first form.

2. CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION OF SIN.

[The minister.]

Beloved in the Lord : Whereas we see in the holy law of God, as in a mirror, that we are all poor, miserable sinners,

who have deserved temporal and eternal punishment, and inasmuch as He exhorts us by His holy word to confess our sins with an obedient, lowly, penitent and contrite heart, that we may receive forgiveness of the same through His infinite mercy: therefore, let us all, as many as are here present, humble ourselves before the throne of His majesty and sincerely confess as with one heart and with one mouth.

[The minister and people all kneeling.]

Almighty and most merciful God our heavenly Father, we acknowledge before Thy divine majesty, that we are sinners conceived and born in sin and corruption, prone to all evil and incapable of any good, without the aid of Thy Spirit. We have transgressed Thy holy commandments in thought, word and deed, and thus justly exposed ourselves to Thy wrath and curse. But, O Lord, we heartily repent that we have thus offended against Thee, our most bountiful benefactor. We condemn ourselves and our evil doings, and implore Thee graciously to help us in our wretchedness and wo. Have mercy upon us, therefore, O most gracious God and Father, pardon all our sins and shortcomings and blot out all our transgressions for the sake of the holy life and sufferings of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. And vouchsafe unto us henceforth the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, that He may deliver us more and more from the power of all sin and evil, and enable us to present ourselves as living sacrifices unto Thee, that we may serve Thee without fear in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life, to the honor of Thy great name and to the salvation of our souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

[Then shall the minister rise, the people still kneeling, and pronounce the following declaration of absolution or remission of sins for Christ's sake, to the penitent:]

Hearken now unto the comforting assurance of the grace of God, promised in the gospel to all that repent and believe.

Thus saith the Lord: "As I live I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him, should not

perish, but have everlasting life." Unto as many of you, therefore, beloved brethren, as truly repent of your sins, believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and resolve daily more and more to turn from all evil and to live in true holiness and righteousness, I announce and declare by the authority and in the name of Christ, as His minister, that your sins are remitted in heaven according to His promise in the gospel, through the perfect satisfaction of the most holy passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ.

R. Amen.*

Or thus :

Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live; and hath given power and commandment to his ministers, to declare and pronounce to His people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins : have mercy upon you : grant unto you full remission and forgiveness ; and absolve you from all your sins, iniquities and transgressions.

R. Amen.

M. Peace be with you.

R. Amen.

[Then the people shall rise and join the minister in chanting or saying the Te Deum or a part of the 103 Psalm, or another psalm of praise.]

M. O ! Lord open Thou our lips.

P. And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise.

[Both, or the minister and people alternately, verse by verse.]

* This, or a similar confession and absolution, is found in the old Palatinate Liturgy and several other Reformed Liturgies of the sixteenth century, (see Ebrard's Collections of Ref. Lit., p. 2, 3 and 58 sq., and Mercersburg Review, II, pp. 269, 270.) We have left out, however, the declaration to the impenitent, which is attached to the form of absolution in these Liturgies and which reads as follows :

"But as there may be some among you who continue to find pleasure in your sin and shame, or who persist in sin against their conscience, I declare unto such, by the command of Christ, that the wrath and judgment of God abides upon them, and that all their sins are retained in heaven, and finally that they can never be delivered from eternal damnation, unless they repent. Amen."

This negative part may be added on special occasions, for instance in the preparatory services to communion.

Bless the Lord, O my soul ; and all that is within me bless His holy name.

Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits :

Who forgiveth all thine iniquities ; who healeth all thy diseases ; who redeemeth thy life from destruction ; who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies.

The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy.

He will not always chide : neither will He keep his anger forever.

He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities.

For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is His mercy toward them that fear Him.

As far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our transgressions from us.

Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him.

Bless the Lord, ye His angels, that excel in strength, that do His commandments, hearkening unto the voice of His word.

Bless ye the Lord, all ye hosts, ye ministers of His that do His pleasure.

Bless the Lord, all His works in all places of his dominion ; bless the Lord, O my soul.

Or, the Gloria in excelsis :

Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will toward men. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesus Christ ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us. For thou only art holy ; thou only art the Lord ; thou only O Christ, with the Holy Ghost art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

4. CONFESSION OF FAITH.

M. Let us, together with the holy catholic Church, confess our undoubted Christian faith to the praise of the triune God and to the edification of our souls, remembering the words of St. Paul: "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." Rom. 10: 10.

[Minister and people still standing:]

I believe in God, &c.

Or, the Nicene Creed:

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; Begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made; Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; And was made man; And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; He suffered and was buried; And the third day he arose again, according to the Scriptures; And ascended into heaven; And sitteth on the right hand of the Father; And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life; Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe in one catholic and apostolic Church. Acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; And I look for the resurrection of the dead; And the life of the world to come. Amen.

5. READING OF THE GOSPEL AND EPISTLE, WITH THE COLLECT OF THE DAY, ACCORDING TO THE TABLE OR CALENDAR.

M. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

P. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.

M. Praise ye the Lord !

P. The Lord's name be praised !

M. and P. Amen.

6. GENERAL PETITION.

M. Lift up your hearts !

P. We lift them up unto the Lord.

M. The Lord be with you :

P. And with thy spirit.

M. Let us pray :

Almighty and everlasting God our heavenly Father, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift, we appear before the throne of Thy mercy in the blessed name of Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, to ask Thee for those things which are agreeable to Thy holy will, and promotive of the salvation of our souls and the welfare of our fellow-men. Impart unto us, we beseech Thee, by the Holy Ghost more and more the power of that faith in Jesus Christ which overcometh the world, the flesh and the devil ; create in us a clean heart, and renew in us a right spirit, to love Thee supremely, and our neighbor as ourselves ; establish in us the hope of everlasting glory, and strengthen us by Thy Spirit unto every good word and work. Make us to grow more and more every day in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, until we shall be perfect in Him who is the Author and Finisher of our faith. Amen.

Most merciful Father, who hast sent Thine only begotten Son into the world, and by His life, death, resurrection and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, hast established a Church for the glory of Thy name and for the salvation of sinners, we commend to Thy care and benediction all the interests of Thy kingdom throughout the world. Illuminate all ministers of the gospel with true knowledge and understanding of Thy word, that they may preach it faithfully and practice it in their lives, setting a good example of virtue, piety and godliness to the people committed to their charge. Send down the healthful influences of Thy grace upon all congregations, that they may receive Thy word with a believing and grateful heart, and

bring forth the fruits of the Spirit. Make, O Lord, Thy holy catholic Church, which Thou hast redeemed with Thy most precious blood, strong and mighty against all heresy and schism, against all false doctrines and ungodly practices. Clothe her more and more with the beauty of holiness and make her a blessing unto all the nations of the earth. Enlarge her borders, prosper all her efforts, and hasten the day when the whole world shall be filled with Thy glory, and when all those who sit in the region and shadow of death, shall know and worship Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. Amen.

Almighty God, Thou Lord of lords and King of kings from whom proceedeth all power and authority in heaven and on earth, most heartily we beseech Thee with Thy favor to behold and to bless Thy servant, the President of the United States, the Governor of this Commonwealth, our Legislators and Judges and all Civil Authorities, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Impart unto our rulers the spirit of wisdom and counsel, of justice and mercy and a due sense of the responsibility which rests upon them. Make them mindful of the account which they must render hereafter before Thy judgment seat, and so rule their hearts and their deliberations and so bless their endeavors that law and order, justice and peace may everywhere be maintained, and vice and unrighteousness be punished, that our civil and religious privileges may be preserved, and honesty, virtue, piety and happiness be promoted in our midst. Preserve us from public calamities, famine, pestilence, war and rebellion, but especially from national sins and corruption, and make us great and strong by the fear of God and the love of righteousness. Bless all the nations of the earth and let the time soon come, when Jesus Christ shall reign King of nations as He now reigns King of saints. Amen.

Most merciful God, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, we humbly beseech Thee for all classes and conditions of men. Bless our relatives and acquaintances, our friends and enemies near and far. Be with Thy children of whatever

name, nation or tongue, in all parts of the world, and do them good according to Thine own pleasure and their peculiar wants. Bless the education of youth, that they may grow up in Thy fear and Thy love to the praise of Thy name and for the service of Thy Church. Prosper every honest occupation and every noble enterprise, particularly all such institutions and efforts as have for their object the extension of Thy kingdom at home and abroad, and the promotion of sound knowledge, virtue and true happiness among all classes of men. Have mercy upon impenitent sinners and convert them from the error of their ways. Look down in compassion upon all who are in circumstances of affliction and distress, whether in mind, body or outward estate, and so bless the bereavements of Thy Providence that they may work out the peaceable fruits of righteousness to those upon whom they are sent. Remember in mercy all who suffer persecution for truth and righteousness' sake; grant unto them the spirit of Thy martyrs; strengthen their faith and patience, that they may receive at last the crown of life. Be a friend to the poor and needy; a father to the fatherless; and a husband to the widow; feed the hungry and clothe the naked; protect those who are in danger either by land or by sea; visit the prisoner in his captivity, and comfort the sick and the dying. Be a Saviour unto all men, especially unto them that believe. Preserve us from an evil death and prepare us more and more, by Thy grace and Spirit, for a happy end. Grant thus, O faithful God, that we may live in Thy fear, die in Thy grace, depart hence in Thy peace, rest in the grave under Thy protection, rise again by Thy power, and so inherit the blessed hope, everlasting life: all which we ask for the sake of Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glory world without end. Amen.

Our Father, who art in heaven, &c.

7. SINGING A HYMN FROM THE HYMN BOOK.

8. THE SERMON.

9. PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

[Either an extemporaneous prayer or the following thanksgiving:]

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we, Thine unworthy servants, do give Thee most humble and hearty thanks for all Thy goodness and loving kindness to us and to all men. We praise Thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all for Thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ; for the means of grace and for the hope of glory. And we beseech Thee give us that due sense of all Thy mercies that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we may show forth Thy praise, not only with our lips but in our lives; by giving up ourselves to Thy service and by walking before Thee in holiness and righteousness all our days, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glory, world without end. Amen.

Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplication unto Thee, and dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in Thy name, Thou wilt grant their requests; fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of Thy servants, as may be most expedient for them, granting us in this world knowledge of Thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

10. THE BENEDICTION.

THIRD FORM.

Almighty and most merciful God, our heavenly Father. Look down with an eye of compassion and favor upon us, as we present ourselves at this time before the throne of thy grace. Thou art a great God, and a great King, worthy to be feared and had in reverence of all created intelligences. To Thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein. Let a sense of Thy presence, and of the awful majesty of Thy glory, possess our spirits, we humbly entreat Thee, when we attempt thus to engage in Thy solemn worship. Save us from the condemnation and misery of those who draw near to Thee with their bodies only, and not with their hearts. Turn us not

over upon the resources of our own fallen nature ; but let Thy grace be sufficient for us, and cause Thy strength to become perfect in our weakness. May we have power to draw nigh to Thee with a true heart, and in full assurance of faith ; that it may please Thee at the same time to draw nigh to us, and to fill us with the consolations of Thy heavenly grace, through the infinite merits of Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

We acknowledge ourselves, O God of infinite purity and truth, unworthy altogether of the high privilege we enjoy, in being permitted to tread Thy courts and to call upon Thy name. We have sinned against Thee ; and have broken Thy law in innumerable instances, which is holy, just and good, doing what we ought not to have done and leaving undone that which it was our duty to do. We have erred and strayed from Thy way like lost sheep. We have come short in all respects of Thy glory, and in us naturally there is no soundness nor health. Enter not into judgment with us, O Lord ; for in Thy sight no flesh living shall be justified. But look upon us mercifully in Christ, in whom Thou hast declared thyself to be ever well pleased, and who is the propitiation for our sins, as also for the sins of the whole world. We come before Thee in His name, bewailing and lamenting our deep unworthiness and guilt, renouncing and forsaking all confidence in ourselves, and pleading in our behalf His perfect and all-sufficient righteousness alone. For the sake of His holy life, His precious death and burial, His glorious resurrection and ascension, have mercy upon us, O God the Father of heaven, have mercy upon us miserable sinners. Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Son of God, Redeemer of the world have mercy upon us, and grant us Thy peace. Amen.

Out of the depths have we cried unto Thee, O Lord. Lord, hear our voice ; let Thine ears be attentive to the voice of our supplications. If Thou, Lord shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand ? But there is forgiveness with Thee, that Thou mayest be feared. We wait for the Lord, our soul doth

wait, and in his word do we hope. Let Israel hope in the Lord; for with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plentiful redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities. Amen.

O God of our salvation, who hast so loved the world as to send into it Thine only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life, vouchsafe unto us the aid of Thy holy Spirit, that we may be firmly and constantly assured of this mystery of grace, and cleaving to it always with true faith in our hearts may be enabled to cleanse ourselves more and more from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, and to perfect holiness in the fear of God, following those who through faith and patience already inherit the promises. Grant unto us, we beseech Thee, that we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, set free from the power of sin and hell through the glorious and most perfect merit of Christ, may serve Thee without fear, in holiness and righteousness before Thee, all the days of our life. Let the exceeding great and precious promises of the gospel accomplish in us their proper power, that by them we may become more and more partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust, and may so abound in the graces of the Spirit that we shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. Forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, may we press always toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. So order in regard to us the course of Thy providence, that whether in the form of prosperity, or in that of adversity and trial, it may redound continually to Thy praise through our continual growth in righteousness and grace. Help us rightly to understand, and wisely to improve, the lessons of heavenly wisdom which are set before us every day in the divine administration of this present world. But especially enable us, through the aid of Thy Spirit, so to use the means of salvation we enjoy by the Church, that we may be delivered more and more from the power of all our sins, and that we may grow in grace

and be strengthened with all might in the inner man unto every good word and work. Sanctify us by Thy truth. Let Thy holy sacraments be in us a perpetual well-spring of grace, springing up into everlasting life. Make us equal to all duties and trials. Give us power to be diligent and faithful in our appointed spheres of work, that we may have consciences void of offence in Thy sight as well as towards our fellow-men. Help us to overcome the world. Subdue Satan under our feet. Hold Thou us up in our goings, and lead us by Thy hand in the way in which we ought to walk, that we come not short of Thy glory at the last, and that no man take from us our crown. And finally, when we shall thus have endured to the end, through the power of Thy victorious grace, grant, O most merciful Father, that we may die in peace, and that so an entrance may be ministered unto us abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

O God, the fountain of all truth and grace, regard in mercy, we beseech Thee, Thine own cause and kingdom in the world. Cause Thy face to shine upon Thy holy catholic Church in all lands, that she may become more and more the joy and praise, the peace and salvation of the whole earth. Clothe her ministers with righteousness and truth. Bring to an end the disorders and divisions, the deplorable heresies and schisms, which now mar her communion. Restore, O Lord, the captivity of Jacob. Let Zion arise and shine, that the Gentiles may come to her light and kings to the brightness of her rising. So reign Thou in the midst of all changes and revolutions which are going forward in the world, that they may serve continually to establish and extend the kingdom of Thy Son. Let no weapon prosper, that is formed against the Church. Defeat the counsels of the ungodly. Encourage the hearts, and strengthen the hands of Thy faithful people in every place. Crown with success all efforts made for the dissemination of truth and righteousness. Be merciful unto Thine own cause, O God of our salvation, and cause Thy face to shine upon it; that Thy way may be known upon the earth, and Thy saving

health among all nations. All this we beg, for the sake of Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Almighty and everlasting God, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe, who doest according to Thy will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, most heartily we beseech Thee with Thy favor to behold and bless Thy servant, the President of the United States, and all others who are set over us in the exercise of civil authority and power. Inspire our rulers with wisdom. Direct and control our public counsels, that we may be defended from wickedness which is a reproach to any people, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, and that we may be exalted and established by truth and righteousness among the nations of the earth. Lift up the standard of Thy Spirit, within our borders, against all ungodliness and sin, and shed down upon us the healthful influences of Thy grace, that pure and undefiled religion, as it is before God and the Father, may everywhere more and more abound and prevail. Prosper our colleges, seminaries, and schools. Make them fountains, from which shall go forth pure streams continually to fertilize and bless the land. Continue towards us the common blessings of Thy providence, the dews and showers of heaven, the fruits of the earth in their season, with general outward tranquillity, health and peace. Save us from plague, pestilence and famine, and from the terrible scourge of war. Uphold and perpetuate our political state. Preserve it mercifully from all sources of danger to which it may be exposed, either from within or from abroad. Set us apart and sanctify us as a people, O Lord, for Thine own praise and for the service of Thy glorious Gospel throughout the world. Amen.

Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of our mercies and the God of all comfort, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift, we humbly beseech Thee for all sorts and conditions of men, that it may please Thee to be nigh unto them always with Thy divine help, according to their various

necessities and wants. Especially we commend to Thy favorable and compassionate regard all who are in circumstances of affliction and distress. Remember in mercy the poor and the needy ; the desolate and the oppressed ; all such as are in any danger, whether by sea or land ; and all who are called to suffer, whether in mind, body, or outward estate. Show pity upon all widows and orphans ; upon all prisoners and captives ; upon all sick persons, and upon those who are drawing nigh to the gates of death. Let the afflictive dispensations of Thy providence, in whatever form, be so accompanied by the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, that they may work out in those on whom they are sent, the peaceable fruit of righteousness to the praise of Thy glorious name. Grant unto all such, O most merciful Father, power to take refuge in Thy holy covenant, and to humble themselves truly under Thy mighty hand ; that it may please Thee to lift them up in due time, giving them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Our Father who art in heaven, &c.

FOURTH FORM.

O Thou most holy and everlasting God, Almighty Father of angels and of men ; with all the heavenly hosts, who surround Thy throne and perpetually worship Thee, with all the spirits of the just made perfect, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs ; the whole catholic Church, in heaven and on earth, would we, unworthy as we are, unite in rendering and ascribing, as is most justly due, all glory, honor, might, majesty and dominion unto Thee, the only living and only true God.

Thou art the Creator of all things, visible and invisible ; the Maker of our bodies and the Father of our spirits ; the fountain of all life and blessedness ; the Giver of all our mercies. We bring Thee our humble tribute of thanks for Thy great goodness. We thank Thee for life, health and strength, and the innumerable common blessings, which we enjoy so richly at Thy hand, though we sin against Thee. But above all gifts

of nature, we would never cease to remember, with the deepest gratitude, the unspeakable gift of Thine only-begotten and well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, whom Thou didst send from the throne of Thy glory, into our lost and miserable world, to become an everlasting Saviour unto all them who put their trust in Him. We thank Thee for His incarnation, His life of suffering, His miracles and divine teachings, His bitter passion on the cross, His resurrection from the dead, His ascension to Thy right hand, His prevailing intercession, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and the establishment of the Christian Church, with all her great and precious means of grace.

And yet, in view of all these mercies, we would confess, O God, our Father, that we have sinned against heaven and in Thy sight and are not worthy to be called Thy children. We have sinned against light and knowledge. Members of a fallen race, we do by nature the works of iniquity. We deserve only Thy wrath and curse. There is no health in us. But, blessed be Thy holy name! there is yet mercy with Thee that Thou mayest be feared. Have mercy, therefore, on us, O God, according to Thy loving kindness; according unto the multitude of Thy tender mercies, blot out our transgressions. O Thou Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, take away our sins. Purge us from guilt and pollution. Wash us in Thy blood and we shall be clean. Give us penitent and contrite hearts, and clothe us with the robe of Thy righteousness, that we may rejoice in Thee, the God of our salvation. Enlighten the eyes of our understanding that we may learn to know Thee aright. Reign in us and rule over us, and bring every thought and feeling into complete captivity to the obedience of faith.

O Thou holy and eternal Spirit, who workest mightily through all space and all time, be pleased so to give power to the ministrations of Thy grace and so to order the events of Thy providence, that they may work together for our good, that becoming more and more closely united to our blessed Lord, we may be able to keep up a successful conflict with the powers of evil in ourselves and in the surrounding world, and

at last attain, with all saints, unto the resurrection of the just and the joys of Thy heavenly kingdom.

O Thou holy and adorable Son of God, to whom all power in heaven and on earth is committed for the sake of Thy body, the Church, we heartily beseech Thee to open the windows of heaven and pour out a blessing upon her. Plentifully endow Thy servants, who minister in holy things, with the gifts of Thy grace, so that they may rightly dispense Thy word and sacraments unto all the people, to the strengthening of their faith in Thee and the increase of love toward all men. Heal her divisions and strifes. Bind together her true members more and more with the bands of a never-failing charity. Preserve her safe from heresy and schism. Confound and defeat the machinations of her enemies, and hasten the coming of that day, when every knee shall bow and every tongue confess Thee to be Lord to the glory of God, the Father.

O Thou, who art the King of kings and Lord of lords, grant, we pray Thee, unto all the rulers and magistrates of this great nation, a spirit of wisdom and godly fear. Give us just laws and let them be justly executed. Restrain the violence of the wicked, and pardon our national sins, that we may escape Thy righteous judgments and live out the rest of our days in the peaceful enjoyment of Thy favor. Have mercy on the oppressed and broken-hearted. Be a father to the fatherless, the widow's stay, and the stranger's guide. Prepare the dying for death, and impart the consolations of Thy heavenly grace unto all the sons and daughters of affliction and sorrow. Bring back wanderers to Thy fold. Touch the hearts of impenitent sinners. Increase the number and holiness of Thine own children, and confirm all baptized persons by Thy grace and spirit, that, amid the trials and temptations, peculiar to their years, they may grow up into the stature of perfect men in Christ Jesus, and gain, with us all, the crown of everlasting life.

All these things we ask in the name of Him, who hath taught us to pray unto Thee, saying :

Our Father, &c.

ART. III.—SOME OF OUR POPULAR AMUSEMENTS.

WE are uttering a very common truism when we say that amusement, in one form or another, is demanded by a deep-seated necessity of our nature. Man must have some enjoyments, or the mechanism of his being will get out of joint, if not stop entirely. His organization, both physical and mental, is exceedingly complicated, and its healthful action depends in no small measure upon the alternate action and rest of its different parts. Just as it is more tiresome and exhausting to walk a day's journey upon a perfectly level road, than upon one variegated with hill and valley, so it is exhaustive of any nature to keep it perpetually stretched to its utmost tension in one direction; and if kept so it must prematurely snap and break. Besides the ordinary repose of sleep, man needs relaxation, diversion, recreation, in order that all the vital forces of his nature may recruit their strength and gather vitality for the functions demanded of them. The wasting power of strenuous and long continued effort, or the sluggishness and imbecility induced by no effort at all, must be counteracted by the exhilarating and invigorating play of those powers of our nature which are called into action through the medium of the tastes and sensibilities; and which might be called the light fingered artisans whose office it is to heal the breaches, and restore the lustre of the wondrous city of Mansoul. Moreover, a certain measure of excitement, or stimulus, is not only desirable but often necessary to restore the flagging organs of thought or of effort. All these things are included in the general idea of amusement, and make it thus a necessary condition of our human existence. It will be seen at once, too, that the form of the amusement must be determined largely by the employment, and the prevailing type of character. The relaxa-

tion must be in the direction opposite to that of the tension ; so that what is amusement for one may not be for another, and what is labor for one may be recreation to another. Walking a mile is relaxation to the traveller on horseback, whilst riding the same distance is rest to the pedestrian.

But these general principles being admitted there is room for the widest diversity in their application to actual life ; and at many points of their range they must be modified to prevent their infringement upon physical and moral laws. In no other department of man's life is the sad fact more apparent that human nature is fallen and disordered, than in the sphere of his amusements. In this case, as in almost every other, that which was designed for man's health and pleasure, has become a snare ; and amusement is made the channel through which flows food for the most sensual passions, and morbid cravings of the depraved heart, and the vitiated tastes. Hence the amusements of a people are a proper subject for statutory restriction ; and to exempt them entirely from such restraints would be as absurd as to remove all similar restraints from the proclivities to vice and crime. The recreative powers of our nature, holding a legitimate and God-assigned place, connected as they are with more or less of excitement and enjoyment, are made, under the foul touch of sin, to develop the most hideous and monstrous results. Accordingly we find that the scale of amusement, in every nation, ranges from the most exquisite and thrilling gratifications of a pure and cultivated taste, down to the coarsest and most brutal forms of sensual excitement. A nation's amusements, moreover, may be taken, universally, as an exponent of their civilization and their moral cultivation. A nation's amusements are according to the current of their life. They are as the pulse by which you can detect the morbid or healthful tendencies of the body politic. If they are refined and elevated in their character, they indicate a high grade of mental and moral cultivation. If they are low and sensuous and vulgar, they indicate the predominance of base and grovelling elements in the national character. If they are licentious and viciously fascinating they in-

dicare that the public morals are deteriorating in one of the aspects in which they are most vulnerable. If they are ferocious and bloody they indicate national cruelty and brutality. There are a thousand various shades of national character through which this test might be carried and found correct. To a materialized and sensuous people refined and elevated amusements are like flowers to the jaws of an ox, who will turn away from their fragrance to the coarse herbage to which his taste has been previously adapted; and to a refined and morally cultivated people gross and sensuous amusements are like offering to the bird of paradise the pleasures of the pig sty.

If these things be so it will be seen at once that a most grave interest hangs around the character of a nation's amusements; and that the philanthropist, the statesman, and the man who wishes well to his country, should watch with profound attention the developments and tendencies in this particular direction.

That there are some tendencies in our popular amusements, gradually and insidiously unfolding, which should excite apprehension, is our earnest conviction. We take it that our national amusements indicate, in no small degree, a vitiated, sensuous, materialized taste, and consequently a corresponding corruption of morals. We are pre-eminently a utilitarian, practical-minded, materialistic people, given to the worship of earthly good, the pursuit of wealth, and the enjoyment of the displays, luxuries, pomp and circumstance, pleasures and sensual gratifications which money can procure. An earthly-minded people will have corresponding amusements. "The pendulum cannot swing higher than the point of its starting, and when such a people relaxes from employment to amusement the descending arc of the one must measure the ascending arc of the other." These amusements must in turn re-act on the national character and give additional impulse to the tendency in this perilous direction.

We shall give our attention, before we close this paper, to some of the more prominent indications of the tendencies to which we have referred. Before doing so, however, let us

glance a little at the past, both in illustration of the general principles we have stated, and for the purpose of adding force to our presentation of the facts of the present, and the inferences they afford.

Few more worthy subjects of careful and thoughtful study can be found than the history of national amusements, from the early times of civilized Greece to the present ; in the line especially of the civilization which finds its fontal source mainly in Greece. The Greeks, in the days of their national glory and productiveness, were a refined and cultivated people, measured by the standard of their own age. Their virtue, which was the child of taste, was of the highest order which the world has produced, apart from the influence of Christianity ; although measured by the higher standard which Christianity has erected it was poor indeed. Accordingly, as compared with those of other ancient nations, the amusements of the Greeks were refined and intellectual, and were deeply interwoven with their national character and habits, upon which they exerted a powerful influence. Besides numerous local holidays and sports they had four great national festivals or games, celebrated at stated periods, in which the flower of the nation joined, and the celebration of which moved and excited the whole people. These were the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian games, instituted in honor of some hero or god, or in commemoration of some great national event. Their contests were both physical and intellectual. Chariot racing, foot racing, leaping, wrestling, boxing, throwing the discus, and such like, constituted the former ; music, tragedy, comedy, and literary efforts and contests, the latter. The productions of genius, poems and histories, were rehearsed before all that was choice and learned of Greece, surrounded by the master pieces of statuary, painting and architecture. To gain the wreath of victory was the passport to fame and power. The leaders of her victorious armies returned from conquest to enter the lists, and victory here was the greater honor of the two. Greece was proud of her wreath-crowned sons. They were awarded statues, and poems were sung in their praise. The poet

Sophocles is said to have died of excessive joy at the success of one of his tragedies at the Olympic games. It cannot be doubted that these solemnities had a powerful auxilliary influence upon the literature and prowess of the nation, and helped much to make Greece, intellectually and nationally, what she was.

But though such was the character of her amusements, free comparatively from bloodshed and coarseness, yet they became a snare. They became engrossing ; and in the mania they excited, other and nobler aims were lost. Their later character not only indicated, as a crazed pulse, the decline of the national life, but they hastened that decline. They partially, in the first place, sprang from, and then powerfully aided in fostering that frivolity, and vanity, and idle curiosity for which the nation became noted, and which the Christian missionary Paul discovered in his travels. And in their degeneracy, which went hand in hand with the national decline, they became licentious, drivelling and obscene in the highest degree.

But a far more prominent example of the general fact we are considering is furnished by the history of the popular amusements of ancient Rome. The Roman character was fierce and sanguinary, as was well symbolized by the founder of the city being suckled by the wild she-wolf. Consequently all through her history the popular amusements of Rome partook of the violent and rude character. The men of iron who conquered the world were not noted for delicate sensibilities. Nevertheless it is most noticeable that in the days of her conquering prowess, and her stern virtue, the popular amusements though fierce and rude, had something of magnanimity and heroism mingled with them ; and that in the days of her gilded rottenness and effete decline, these amusements, whilst they retained their original character of fierceness and bloodiness, exhibited these qualities in their most loathsome and dastardly aspects. Virgil, in his great Epic, represents his hero Æneas, whilst wandering from fallen Troy to the banks of the yellow Tiber and the seat of the seven-hilled city, as pausing in Sicily at the court of king Acestes, and there instituting four

kinds of games in honor of his dead father Anchises. These games were the ship-race, or contest of rowing, the foot race, the boxing match, and arrow shooting, besides a horse race for the young Ascanius and the Trojan boys. These may be taken as furnishing a type of the early sports of the Romans. As the indulgence of the thirst for conquest extended the boundaries, and augmented the power of the nation, other and more sanguinary sports were introduced. Wild beasts were brought from the neighboring countries to fight in the amphitheatre for the amusement of the citizens. Subsequently the captives taken in war were condemned to fight with wild beasts and with one another, as a flattering compliment to the prowess of Rome, and a testimony of the triumphs of her chiefs. These bloody spectacles retained their popularity in the imperial city for many centuries; but with each succeeding one became more hideous in their character, and excited in the popular mind a more uncontrollable frenzy. And when the conquering will and iron muscle had yielded to the inroads of luxury and effeminacy; when the Roman eagle, with her wings spread over half the world, began to droop them, gorged and sickened by her own fullness; when a foul and loathsome corruption of manners pervaded every nook of society; then the rage for fierce and bloody orgies, and for gross sensual excitements, grew more insatiable, and demanded them in more despicable forms. In the theatre the higher drama was supplanted by the mimes and pantomimes, and plays the coarseness and scurrility of which exceed all belief, and in which the exhibitions were often attended with the most abominable indecencies. In the circus the fierce spirit of excitement and faction knew no bounds. "As complete a separation," says a modern historian, "took place in society; adverse parties were banded against each other in as fierce an opposition; an insurrection as destructive and sanguinary took place; the throne of the emperor was as fearfully shaken in the collision of the blue and green factions of the chariot race, as ever took place in defence of the sacred rights of liberty and faith." In the bloody arena of the Coliseum the combats of gladiators were most brutal and inhuman. Roman monsters

with money, followed the business of buying captives and slaves, and hiring Roman citizens, fattening and training them for these sports; and thousands of noble ladies smiled and applauded as the victim's heart's blood was poured out upon the sand; and it was the especial privilege of the vestal virgin to give the signal for the mortal blow. "No war," says a historian of the 16th century, "was ever so destructive to the human race as these sports." The imagery which they furnished to the mind of Byron has made a passage in *Childe Harold* familiar to all readers of English poetry :

I see before me the gladiator lie ;
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low
And through his side the last drops—ebbing slow
From the red gash fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder shower ; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
E'er ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.

He heard it but he heeded not—his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away :
He recked not of the life he lost, nor prize ;
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their Dacian mother—he, their sire,
Butchered to make a Roman holiday—
All this rushed with his blood—shall he expire,
And unavenged ? Arise ye Goths and glut your ire.

Aye, and he did not die unavenged ! The sons of those dastard Romans and those Roman mothers, were speedily called to stand face to face with the young barbarians of that Dacian mother from the banks of the Danube, and the sons of other butchered sires from the shores of the Baltic and the forests of Gaul ;—and the pampered and imbecile Roman turned his back in coward fear before the stern visages of the hardy northmen, and the Imperial city, "the Niobe of nations," was swept with the besom of destruction. Her popular amusements had long told that the pulse of her life had become crazed, and that the sun of her glory was fast hastening to the occident.

One instance more from history. The national character of Spain has much in it that is cruel and relentless ; and in the degeneracy of those great qualities which once made her powerful and renowned, she has long shown a morbid ferocity in the character of her popular amusements. The leading sports of Spain have always been the bull-fight, the cock-fight and the fandango ; and the history of these in their various phases and circumstances would be the best possible comment upon her national life. The accounts of some English travellers of scenes witnessed in the Spanish amphitheatres, almost stagger credulity, and illustrate most forcibly how the human taste may be schooled so as to take a morbid delight in scenes which, to all correct taste, are most horrid and disgusting. Statesmen, and men of letters and science, and even the dark-eyed, languishing maidens of the South will gaze with acclamations and waving of handkerchiefs upon the ferocious and foaming animal goring several successive horses to death, and being himself at last gored to death by the horseman's spear. A noble steed, worthy to be the pride of an Ishmaelite, galloping round the arena with his bowels trailing upon the ground, and a maddened bull following in his track, is a spectacle, to relish which requires a taste of which it is hard to form any conception. And yet, *mutatis mutandis*, we may see it re-appear by and by. In 1809 several Englishmen who had in their lives witnessed pitched battles, were present in the Governor's box at the great amphitheatre of Santa Maria, opposite to Cadiz. The death of one or two horses completely satisfied their curiosity. A gentleman present, observing them shudder and look pale, noticed the unusual reception of so delightful a sport to some young ladies of gentle blood, who stared and smiled, and continued their applause as another horse fell bleeding to the ground. No wonder that from such scenes they would fall an easy prey to the more treacherous excitement of the fandango, or enlist readily in the intrigue of assassination.

The fandango, as a characteristic Spanish dance, is the very language of licentiousness. The reciprocal allurements of the dancers, their retreats, approaches and varied movements, by

turns pursuing and pursued, their looks, attitudes and whole expression are indicative of voluptuousness. And to this, perhaps, in no small measure, is to be attributed the extraordinary fascination of the fandango; for it is remarked with evident *naivete* by a historian, that few foreigners fail to become reconciled to it, though greatly astonished and no less offended when witnessing it for the first time. A characteristic story is told of its conquest of certain of the wifeless priests of the church of Loyola and Xavier. "The court of Rome, scandalized that a country renowned for its faith should not have long before proscribed such a profane dance, resolved to pronounce a formal condemnation of it. A commission was appointed to examine into the matter, and the fandango was prosecuted *in forma*. The sentence was about to be pronounced, when one of the judges observed, that a criminal could not be condemned without being heard. A couple of Spaniards were brought before the assembly, and, at the sound of proper instruments, displayed all the graces of the fandango. The judges were so much excited that their severity abandoned them; their austere countenances began to relax; they rose, and their arms and legs found their former suppleness. The hall of the grave fathers was thus changed into a dancing room, and the fandango was acquitted." Perhaps it might be called Puritanical, even though it be true, to say that many other dances, especially those designed for habitual public amusement, which moderns find so enchanting, owe the potency of their spell to an affinity, more or less intimate, with the most popular dance of Spain.

France might be cited as furnishing an instance of the undue power of amusement over a people; a tendency from which no country is exempt at all times in her history, public and private. The French, according to D'Israeli, unlike ourselves or the English, who toil and tug at business "from morn to dewy eve," spend half their time in their numerous resorts of amusement, and emphatically take it "coolly;" business of any kind being with them rarely an engrossing pursuit.*

* In illustration we cannot withhold the following fragment from the trav-

The amusements of the English are in many respects similar to our own. The drama, since the rise of English literature, has always held the first place; and though it has always been connected with great abuses, and at one time seriously threatened the public morals with hopeless profligacy, yet it is impossible to over-estimate the indebtedness of English literature, and the world, to it, for giving birth, in the plays of Shakspeare, to the greatest intellectual productions of any age or country. Among his other amusements grandfather Bull formerly revealed an irrepressible *penchant* for the field sports of hunting, hawking and archery. A chapter might be filled with the history of his weaknesses on these points. The old Eng-

elling sketches of a modern writer. Sad were it indeed to think that our own country were drifting even ever so slowly towards an atmosphere of popular sentiment so hideously foul.

"Let us go to the theatre. It is the "Palais Royal," and there are five different pieces, all short and high spiced, to be acted. High-spiced indeed they are, full of false sentiment and the utmost licentiousness, all wrapped up in pleasant wit and lively songs. Not one honest thought or healthy moral from the first to the last. One piece especially, (it is called "Un Charge de Cavalerie,") is decidedly the most filthily obscene performance I ever witnessed, carrying its obscenity beyond words into actions. Yet it was Sunday, and the house was full of young girls and men, out for their weekly holiday, drinking in poison with every breath they drew.

And as I listened very thoughtfully and mournfully, and looked with purged English eyes upon all this, I almost believed I could see the spirit of another revolution, more terrible than the past ones, sitting in the midst of the ungodly crowd and rejoicing.

Let us go to the ball at the opera; a wild scene of riot if ever there was one. It is crowded to suffocation; yet there are two every week, one here and one at the Opera Comique. It is not, therefore, the single holiday of a people, spent in a new pleasure, in which a little license may be allowed; it is the habit, the custom, the common thing with them, as Jullien's concerts may be with the Londoners.

An immense space, the stage and pit of the theatre, is brilliantly lit up, and an excellent band, under the direction of young Musard, is playing lively airs, while some three or four hundred people are dancing like mad things. The dancers are mostly masked, and all, or nearly all, in extravagant costumes, in the worst possible taste. To describe a tenth part of the wild licentiousness, the indecencies, the songs, the speeches which take place in this palace of infamy, this very high temple of the vices, would be a thankless and impossible task. Let us go into the Foyer, where the better part of the guests, many of the most distinguished men in Paris, never fail to assemble. Shouting women, screaming, laughing, quarrelling, speaking words which should blister their lips, such is what we hear; and costumes more fit for a place which shall be nameless, than for what we see at a ball. Nay, do not ask me to take you into the boxes, or to any of those supper houses on our way home; what passes there beggars belief, and almost possibility."

May fair to Marathon.

lish Baron cherished his falcon as tenderly as his wife, and would resent an abuse of his favorite hound as fiercely as he would an insult to his eldest son. But matters at home compel us to restrain the digressive habit to which the subject tempts.

We have glanced thus imperfectly at the history of popular amusements, not so much for the value or interest which these things have in themselves, although they have intrinsic value and interest, as for the purpose of bringing the facts, and the principles involved, to bear upon our own popular amusements. We think there is visible, to the most careless observer, a tendency, especially in our metropolitan cities, to excess in the direction of amusement *ab extra*;—a tendency to underrate the enjoyments of a happy, peaceful home, and those sources of enjoyment which a cultivated mind may create for itself, and to substitute for them amusements which are external, whether furnished by the most gifted opera troupe, the prince of pianists, or such high spirits as the author of the “Autobiography of an Actress,” or those fiercer and more intoxicating excitements which are provided by unprincipled panderers to a vitiated public taste. The rage for artificial excitement, such as is furnished by the theatre, the opera, the circus, the hippodrome, the boxing-match, the cock-pit, the burlesque, the club, &c., &c.,—we class them thus together here, without intending to compare them,—because they are alike amusements *ab extra*—is becoming a mania, a sort of chronic frenzy. Life is felt to be a cheerless vacuum without them, a mere vegetation. Their nightly return is waited for with craving anxiety, as the chief antidote of the nausea of a do-nothing life, or as the chief solace of the aching head and care-worn mind of the laborious business man. If, unlike the French, we toil and tug at business “from morn to dewy eve,” it is nevertheless true that the hours which follow immediately upon “dewy eve” are habitually spent by the masses in seeking artificial excitement; and thus with all his materialistic tendencies, his practical common sense, and his love of substantial good, it seems as if excess of amusement is threatening to become one of the beset-

ting sins of Brother Jonathan. These unhealthy symptoms of the times seem to be pointing in the direction of the rock, though it may be still very far in the distance, on which Rome struck and foundered. Whenever a nation's families and their social circles, cease to furnish to her people the chief quantum of the amusement which nature demands, it indicates a state of things which needs to be looked after. The current of the national life is forsaking its true channel.

We are not disposed to think that the tendency just referred to has as yet manifested itself largely in the "rural districts." We incline to the opinion that the reverse of this is true in our country places, as compared with the past. The characteristic old sports of the rifle match, the fox chase, the deer hunt, and such like, have disappeared from a large portion of the country by the necessity of the case. The village balls, too, of former days which sent a fervor of excitement through all classes from the first breath of winter until the opening of spring-time, have in many parts of the country, lost much of their popularity; and, remembering the forms which they ultimately assumed, society certainly has little reason to mourn their loss. The places of these old amusements have been filled by the raffling match, the performance with the wheelbarrow, ten-pins, quoits, and various games of strength, chance and skill, but their influence is comparatively limited. Higher amusements of a literary and artistic kind are gaining upon the public taste, wherever a borough is happy enough to have a town hall. But the "rural districts" cannot hope to claim exemption from the tendencies which are developing in our cities. Paris gives law to France. Our cities are the arbiters of our tastes, our fashions, our manners, and our morals to no small extent. We must expect that amusements, as they wear out in the cities will be transplanted to the country, and that the mania for periodical excitement will be felt in all our towns.

It is not our design to discuss in detail the merits of the various amusements which we have noted as coming to prevail unduly in our cities. The theatre alone, in its history and the philosophy of its attractions, would afford material for a vol-

ume. Its primary idea, that of representing sentiments, and thoughts, and passions on the stage, is not to be quarrelled with, in fanatical style, as essentially evil. It is one which every orator studies and practices, and it lies at the bottom of much of the power of all strong characters. But humanity has been so unfortunate thus far, according to the showing of history, as to have been unable to reduce this idea to a system, and carry it out as it is in the theatre, without making for itself a snare. It may rightly be a source of heartfelt pain that the theatre has so universally been attended with very grave abuses. Perhaps no other agency in the civilized world has done so much for the corruption of youth. Men of taste and high moral aim in every age have made strenuous efforts to "reform the theatre," but it has always been found that "Old Adam was too strong for Young Melancthon." It remains to be seen whether our own age, with its other herculean labors, will succeed in this.*

There is one comprehensive charge which may be brought against many of our metropolitan amusements, in the forms in which they are served up to the public; viz: that they are *too exciting*;—and indeed this lies, doubtless, at the bottom of the moral abuses connected with them, and of the morbid power

* As a relic of the past, and as an index of the thinking of the time we subjoin the following Memorial of one of the pioneer ecclesiastical bodies of the country:

"To the Honorable, the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle, agreed upon at a meeting at Shippensburg, June 16th, A. D., 1789, humbly sheweth:

That our duty as citizens, and concern for the moral character and happiness of the State of Pennsylvania, oblige us to remonstrate against the Law passed in the last meeting of the House of Assembly, for repealing that part of a Law of this State for the prevention of vice and immorality, which relates to the *Theatre*.

We are persuaded that the Divine Being has connected human happiness with virtue; and therefore as the great end of civil Government is the good order and happiness of mankind, it must be the grand object of Legislators to secure the practice of morality, and guard against anything of a contrary tendency. But this Law, we conceive, is inconsistent with this grand end of Government, and especially with the true principle and spirit of a Republic, the existence and happiness of which depend upon simplicity of manners, purity of morals, industry and frugality. It gives a kind of establishment to an employment of men, merely for the sake of amusement, whose business it

they acquire. They are too intense in their action on the sensibilities. Like intoxicating drinks in their effects upon the physical system, and like "love and murder" novels in their effects upon the mental habitudes, they destroy the normal state of the mind, and instead of being healthful and invigorating they are enervating and injurious. They work up the sympathies above the sphere of actual life, and they excite the passions to a dangerous degree. The delicate female who has almost wept her eyes out whilst witnessing the imaginary wrongs of the poor orphan or deserted wife on the stage, will turn in cold indifference from the tale of the actual character, some "little Katy," on the street whose rags and haggard face appeal piteously for relief; and the excitable youth will leave such scenes to seek more sensual gratifications. And then there are actual displays in the more vulgar places of this class of amusements, which, in grossness and indecency, fall little short of those of ancient Rome. Here, however, they are confined principally to the lower classes, there, in the days of her imbecile magnificence, they were tolerated in the higher

is to prey upon the industry of others, without contributing to any good purpose, moral or political, for the good of the community.

However depraved nature may be pleased with the Diversion, it is certain that the employment itself has always been detested as infamous and contemptible, by men of understanding and virtue; and the subjects represented in the Theatre, which must be always conformable to the taste of those who pay for them, will ever be, as they always have been, such as have a bad influence on morality; and the actors themselves, being generally persons of dissolute characters, are not only unfit for the instruction and improvement of mankind, but unworthy to be attended by any who have a regard to true dignity of mind, or the good order of society.

It is inconsistent with the Christian Religion, which expressly condemns comic diversions, and requires a pitch of virtue directly opposite to the ungodly and dangerous amusements of the Stage; and therefore as ministers of the Gospel, we cannot but feel a real affliction that anything should obtain the countenance of the Legislature, which is opposite to the spirit of Religion; and especially as we believe that the righteous judgments of God may be expected sooner or later to fall upon that community which establishes by law that which is contradictory to his will.

Though we live at a distance from Philadelphia, and may be thought to be unconcerned with what relates to the city; yet we well know that the disorders of the Capitol must affect all the parts of the State; and the proceedings of the Legislature have a general influence upon the whole. Therefore we pray that the Honorable Assembly may review their proceedings in this matter, and restore the law to its full rigor and operation, in all its parts."

Where was the Hon. S. A. DOUGLAS then?

classes. We might rest at ease on this thought, were it not for the other, that in republics, influences are more likely to work up from below than to work down from above.

But the object most distinctly in our mind's eye during the progress of this article, is yet to be accomplished. There are certain other classes of amusements, and indications of the temper of the public mind on the subject, which yet remain to be considered ; and which seem to show that we still have a lingering fondness for sanguinary spectacles. There are still some things tolerated among us which seem to indicate that the same taste might be cultivated on American soil, which gloated with delight upon the combats of the Roman gladiators, and the bull-fights of Spain. The sensitive humanist, with strong faith in moral suasion and mankind's innate sense of the beautiful, is slow to believe how readily, with a little practice, a taste for inhuman and bloody spectacles is cultivated, and how strong the fascination is which they weave upon the mind. The manner in which this contagious passion for bloodshed is liable to engross the whole soul, is described with singular power and truth by St. Augustine, the master spirit of the fourth century, and a most discriminating critic of the morals of his time. Take a single illustration : "A Christian student of law was compelled by the importunity of his friends to enter the amphitheatre. He sat with his eyes closed, and his mind totally abstracted from the scene. He was suddenly startled from his trance by a tremendous shout from the whole audience. He opened his eyes, he could not but gaze on the spectacle. Directly as he beheld the blood, his heart imbibed the common ferocity ; he could not turn away ; his eyes were riveted on the arena ; and the interest, the excitement, the pleasure, grew into complete intoxication. He looked on, he shouted, he was inflamed ; he carried away from the amphitheatre an irresistible propensity to return to its cruel enjoyments." There is a foundation in our nature for the fascination of such scenes. There is an innate ferocity which answers to their appeal. It may be seen early exhibited in the mania of boys for cock-fights, dog-fights and man-fights, and the pro-

propensity to kill birds and beautiful insects; and it is manifested in another and more mature form in the thirst for blood which inflames the soldier in the hour of battle. Shall we say that bloody and roistering sports which gratify such propensities are necessary as safety valves to give vent to elements which might disturb the peace in more serious ways? We return our emphatic dissent. The tendency is just the other way, in nurturing these propensities for more formidable outbursts. Are we to suppose that if the farmer's son does not gratify his love of the cruel by witnessing the valorous encounters of dung-hills cocks, shooting larks and mocking birds, and piercing butterflies, he will vent his propensity by beating his little brothers and sisters? We opine the latter is much more likely to follow upon the indulgence of the former. The pent up humors of the national mind may and ought to have their safety valves, but they must not be of such a character as to react with increasing power upon the production of these humors.

But to come to these inhuman sports,—one of them is *horse-racing*. Humanity has a right to protest against the abuse to which the noble animal the horse, the inseparable companion of man from the infancy of his civilization to the present time, is subjected in being degraded into a mere tool of reckless gamblers, and tortured like a helpless Sampson to make sport for barbarous Philistines. Fleetness of foot is a distinguishing quality of the horse in his finest developments, and may be honorably used by man; but to use that fleetness in the race for the purposes mentioned, is a violation of nature. Allow us to commend the manner in which the genial and humane Dickens speaks of the race-horse of England. "It has to work three or four times a year, for three or four minutes each time, and is in other respects completely useless either for war, sport or taking an airing. Such preposterous steeds require a special race of riders. By means of elaborate chemical processes England has succeeded in creating the genus "jockey,"—an intermediate race between the Laplander and the jockoo mon-

* Putnam's Monthly, Feb. 1854.

key, deriving its name from the latter quadruman. The race horse, in fact, is not a horse; it is a pure piece of abstract speculation,—a betting machine and nothing more.” We cannot conceive how the amusement of horse racing, in the forms which it always assumes where it prevails as a popular amusement, can be participated in by any except those in whom the process of eradication of the finer and better sentiments of our nature, is successfully going forward; and nothing can be more certain than that the habitual indulgence in such a sport tends to the degradation of the whole man, and makes him an obnoxious element in the community. The abuse of the horse in the race might fitly fall under the operation of the laws respecting “cruelty to animals.”

As an instance, noted in the history of the turf, let us refer to the extraordinary trotting match which came off on Saturday, November 12th, 1853, on the Centreville, (L. I.) course. One of the most powerful and noble steeds in the world was laid under heavy bets to trot one hundred miles in nine hours, and he did it,—and *died*. He performed the last mile almost as soon as any of the others, but when he was stopped he soon showed himself very feeble, and was led from the track to a neighboring stable, where in the complete exhaustion of nature, he stretched himself out and his great heart ceased to beat. Ought not the blood to boil in indignation at the recital? Justice would demand, in the case of the perpetrators of such a deed, that a whip be “put in every honest hand, to lash the rascals naked through the world.” And yet thousands of American citizens looked on in intense excitement, and derived great pleasure, we suppose, from the spectacle. Where is the difference, in point of cruelty, between having a horse gored to death on the horns of an infuriated Spanish bull, and killing him by his own exertions through a lingering death of nine hours, and all for amusement? The one shows a no less barbarous taste than the other; and whilst the Englishman will turn pale in a Spanish amphitheatre we are not to suppose it is from the inherent tenderness of his nature, for he has always shown a keen relish for the more concealed barbar-

ities of the turf. Though not sharing to the full the zest of the English, the American is by no means insensible to the attractions of the race. Horse-racing is practised in all parts of the country, and in multifarious forms, from the sweating, physicking and leg-brushing system of the regular courses, to the customs of the West, where two Buckeyes or Suckers will pit their clumsy mares against one another, on the smooth prairie, returning from a village muster.

Another amusement, which is a relic of the old barbarism, is *prize fighting*. Who has not heard of Yankee Sullivan, and John Morrissey, and Tom Hyer, and other renowned heroes of the fist? We have seen their full-sized portraits, in their pugilistic attitudes, hung up for ornament in the chambers of hotels. Weekly are reports published in our current newspapers of encounters in these worse than brutal combats; and not unfrequently are they blazoned abroad as edifying matters, and worthy of being specially chronicled. Virgil, with poetic skill throws an air of romance around the combat of the boastful Dares and the grave, gray-haired Entellus, but its horror gleams through its covering. It is tenfold more horrible in the prose of fact, than in poetry. As a spectacle in a civilized country it can serve for amusement only to those natures which have reached the last stages of brutality; and to the extent in which it prevails it indicates the presence of elements in the body politic, which are in the last degree undesirable. This amusement is by no means unknown among us. Thousands will flock out from our cities to see two men, of a race once made in the image of God, with no mortal hate of each other deliberately batter one another to pieces;—and the lookers on will enjoy it in uproarious hilarity, as the Romans did the mutual slaughter of the captive Dacians. Why, in this nineteenth century, what fiends we have among us! Let such elements increase upon us, and they will soon let loose a spirit, like Ate hot from hell, which will cry havoc, and unleash the furies of internecine strife and fratricidal frenzy.

The amusement of *cock-fighting*, against which we bring the charges of inhumanity and vulgarity, still prevails to a con-

siderable extent amongst us. The age in which we live is rendering unprecedented honor to the chicken. Shanghaes are all the rage; and Asiatics, Cochin Chinas, Creoles, Brahma Pootras, and breeds and cross-breeds innumerable, strut proudly in vast numbers in the presence of the assembled crowds at our agricultural fairs. In all this we rejoice. We own to a weakness in the way of chickens; and we are happy to see the time turning its appreciation in a direction in which it is so well merited, and will be so well repaid. But *procul O profani!* we exclaim when we find our noble canticleer clipped, trained and dieted as a gladiator, his natural valor perverted into an instinctive eagerness for bloody battle, and himself made to minister a bastard pleasure to human brutes, who gloat upon his sufferings. This execrable amusement is, we are glad to know, generally held in bad repute. In England it has been repeatedly denounced and prohibited by the laws. Its debasing influence is perhaps not widely felt upon us a nation, but it does exist; and notices of it are among the things which not unfrequently meet the public eye. If it is a safety-valve for the high pressure of our impetuous national life, we would say keep it open even at the sacrifice of the cock, but we suspect it is an extra appliance to generate a greater quantity of dangerous steam; and so are all the amusements with which it affiliates.

Monstrous shows is another indication of a vitiated taste in the direction of our popular amusements. It is amazing how people will crowd to look upon an object which can legitimately excite only the most painful sensations; and the extent to which this popular weakness is made the occasion of a catch-penny traffic, is humiliating indeed.

We refer not now to exhibitions of rare and curious animals, if their conformation, however unusual, is natural and normal; but to the exhibitions of deformed monsters, prodigies and abnormalities; dwarfs, giants, Aztecs, Lilliputian kings, fat boys, monstrous women, Siamese twins, &c., and corresponding abnormalities in the brute creation. We object emphatically and in the strongest manner, to all such exhibitions. They are re-

volting to all right taste. They are a shameful advantage taken of the anomalies which abound in the disordered planet on which we live, and their influence upon the popular taste is highly deleterious. The eagerness with which such shows are sought is ominous of no good. We do not object to their examination by the scientific world; but there would be just as much reason for making surgical operations in the removal of hideous tumors, involving terrible dissections of the human frame, public, for the amusement of assembled crowds. An affliction because it is curious and anomalous, ought not the less to be considered sacred; and should be held above being made a tool to filch money from people's pockets. It is enough to make one's heart sick to see some specimens of unfortunate humanity dragged around the country, preceded by turgid advertisements, to gloat the eyes of vulgar gazers, and frighten children in their dreams.* Let them be cared for in other ways. Humanity owes this to them and to itself.

We notice one more indication in the same general direction, viz: of the morbid taste for the sanguinary and the shocking. A wretched criminal, guilty of the highest crime which the law knows, is about to suffer the death penalty;—a scene which is now transacted, as it should be, within the privacy of the jail wall. But the event is anticipated with eager interest. For weeks previous the sheriff receives threatening letters from all parts of the country warning him to make it public, or there will be a mob and the jail torn down. When the hour arrives the top of the wall, and every elevation, far and near, overlooking the scene, are crowded with eager spectators, and thousands disappointed and surly, are congregated without. What does all this mean? Is hanging an amusement? Does the spectacle excite pleasurable emotions? We take it to be an indication of that morbid taste, and that ferocious, blood-thirsty spirit, which, if ever the proper conditions

* The following advertisement appeared some time ago in the *Public Ledger*:

"Fat women, lean women, dwarfs, lilliputians, giants, living skeletons, &c., &c., can meet with speedy engagements at the Museum of curiosities, Market Street, below Ninth."

are presented to it, will blow the trumpet of carnage over the hills of the north, and the savannas of the south, and the prairies of the far west. Those conditions may never be presented. We vigorously hope they will not. We confidently expect all the tendencies to which we have referred to be restrained and overruled, but *as far as they go* they augur no good.

We need go no farther in our enumeration of amusements which mark the undesirable elements in the American character. Our object has been to note them, as indices of what lies beneath them, rather than to discuss at length the Philosophy of Amusement; nor is it to be supposed that we take these as the general exponents of our prominent national peculiarities. They are but diseased spots upon the body of a strong, young athlete, and however insignificant they may seem at present they will be nothing the worse of being probed.

But how shall men be amused? Shall we abhor all outward amusements? Certainly not! The Puritanic extreme does as much violence to nature as the other, and eventually induces it. The profligacy of the Restoration far exceeded that which preceded the regimen of the great Oliver, and his men of solemn visage and lank hair. Let genuine diversions, and sources of innocent exhilaration never be outlawed—not even by public sentiment. Let them, if possible, be taken out of the hands of rowdies and black-legs and made to conduce to our national health. But where are we to look for that measure of relaxation and stimulus which is indispensable? *Primarily*, we say, the grand, perennial source of enjoyment and exhilaration is to be sought within the circle of *the family*. The family is the divinely-appointed, integral form of human society; and is designed to exist alike in all stages of civilization, and under all forms of government. And it has been made the repository from which the vast majority of the essential and perpetually recurring social wants of the race are to be supplied. The strongest defences and sanctions of nature are thrown around it. A bad man even, will resent to the death violence done to the sanctity of his family relations; and one of the first lessons which nature breathes upon the spirit

of the child is an ardent, almost romantic attachment to *home*. The word is a talisman whose magic spell binds the memories of stormy manhood, and declining old age. As the family is universal it is evident that the vast majority of mankind must find in it their chief sources of relaxation and amusement. Do our city fashionables say that life is dull and meaningless without perpetual play-going and outward excitement? Then we ask how do the millions who either by poverty, or the seclusion of the country, are deprived of these things, live? Have they no enjoyments? Has life no meaning to them? Ah, yes! they drink from a fountain, opened by the God of nature and of man, for whose exhilarating waters the morbid palate of the city belle, and the Broadway buck, have lost their relish. True, the home feeling, and home joys may vary in intensity with locality and circumstances, but wherever the family, in its normal integrity, exists, there is the material for enjoyment. When man relaxes from the toil of the workshop, or the field, or the office, or the counter, to the amusements of the family, the descent is natural and easy and healthful; and the smiles of his wife, the gambols of his children, the cheerful talk of the fireside, the boyish sports of the summer evening upon the lawn, and a thousand others are better to him, if his taste is not vitiated, than all the attractions of the theatre, the faro bank, or the hippodrome. The youth who is thrown entirely beyond the range of family influences, and their attendant enjoyments, or the youth who finds his taste for these cloying or supplanted, has need to watch his steps,—he is standing upon slippery places.

But we by no means discard all amusements which are external to the family. The sun does not shine all the time, and it is not desirable it should. In its absence we may light tapers and make ourselves comfortable. Other amusements may be indulged in occasionally with profit. The onward stream of life may have its ripples and its brisk cascades, adding to it variety and beauty and purity, as well as have its leagues of smoothly-flowing water. As man's life is not circumscribed by the family, his amusements ought not to be. As the next

step from the family is to the social circle, so several families may blend their amusements, or seek amusement in each other. Hence the advantages of the *social party*—we mean not the gorgeous and fashionable party, where everything is bound in the fetters of an icy formality, and where display is sought rather than enjoyment,—such, it is true, may have their enjoyments, and may serve to “chase the winged hours with flying feet,” but they have their pangs, deep and pungent, as all know,—but we mean the informal and truly social party where the pleasures of the intellect and the heart are blended, and the flow of good feeling and fancy is unrestrained,—where there is no pride to be mortified, and no envious display to arouse its canker in the heart.

Beyond the boundaries of the family and the social circle, let all innoxious and refreshing amusements, and all manly, or if you please, boyish sports, everything that is not immoral or morbidly fascinating, in the city or in the country, varied to suit all classes and employments, be honored and used as nature and manhood require. For those needing intellectual variety or stimulus, let us have the musical concert, the lecture, the lyceum, the literary club, exhibitions of art with certain exceptions, and such like. For those needing to have the physical secretions promoted, the shattered nerves repaired, and the overwrought brain relieved, let us have physical pastimes, sports and games of skill, and let us honor them accordingly. Let us regard gymnastics, boating, foot-ball, ten-pins, skating, quoits, angling and gunning to supply our tables, and such like, as indispensable condiments, specifics for dyspepsia and nervous derangement, and the legitimate antidotes of sedentary occupations. Why should not these things be raised above their collateral abuses? Why should the ascetic frown upon them, or the gentleman regard them as beneath his dignity? Why should our clergy be condemned to “die at the top” rather than use essential means to maintain their physical and mental equilibrium? We are becoming a nation of dyspeptics and hypochondriacs. Work, and especially mental work, is an American sin. We must have both safety-valves

and reliefs. Our national morals and our national health demand a change in public sentiment on the subject of physical pastimes. In this matter homœopathy, after a fashion, is the true doctrine. It is said to cure disease by creating similar, counteracting disease. The evils of our popular amusements must be remedied in some measure, by amusement. The moralist will carry on a fruitless war against the indispensable demands of nature.

The subject would be left unfinished did we fail to notice the very ancient and popular amusement of *dancing*. It is a subject on which much may be said both *pro et contra*. It undoubtedly has some foundation in nature. It is one of our instincts to accompany music with certain corresponding motions; but the same instinct exists in the bear, the monkey and the elephant, and hence, if nature is to be *infallibly* followed, we should have dancing schools for bears, monkeys and elephants. The fact is there is no more harm, as far as it pertains to the thing itself, in a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, a young man or a maiden, accompanying music with the motion of the "light fantastic toe," if they feel disposed to do so, than there is harm in the bear or the monkey doing the same after their fashion; but experience has abundantly shown, and we think there is a philosophical reason for it, that when this thing is reduced to a *system*, and inaugurated as a promiscuous popular amusement, it brings into play certain activities of our nature, which had better have as little stimulus as possible. The same objection, too, may be brought against dancing which was brought against another class of amusements, viz: that it is *too exciting*. Who does not know that nine tenths of the votaries of the ball-room retire from it, not refreshed but exhausted, and unfitted for the ordinary duties of the following day? This alone is fatal to the claims of dancing as a popular amusement; for the essential idea of amusement is, not exhaustion, but invigoration. A grave physical objection also may be urged against dancing on account of the time most generally devoted to it. The "witching hour of night," and those bordering upon it, are not, as any physiologist will tell us, the

hours for exercise but for repose—and dancing is a flower which never blooms well by day-light. However plausible may be the abstract reasons in favor of any practice, if history and experience unite in putting a black mark upon it, we beg leave to harbor our distrust.

In thus discussing a few of our leading popular amusements we trust we have not been unmindful of the adage, *in mediis tutissimus ibis.*"

Chambersburg, Pa.

J. C.

ART. IV.—QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

THE ministerial office occupies an important position in the relations of society. Its intimate connection with the morals and intelligence of the community is generally felt and acknowledged. The influence it brings to bear on all with whom it comes in contact tends both to purify and to elevate. It is, however, in its relation to the great economy of salvation, that it receives its special prominence. It constitutes an important and indispensable part of the appliances which have been appointed, and are made use of, for the purpose of realizing in the experience of the children of men, the great ends of human redemption. As such, it is constantly recognized in the word of God, a special instance of which we have in Paul's epistle to the Romans, 10 : 18-15.

Calling upon the name of the Lord, as embodying all practical religion, is there set forth as the only and indispensable condition of salvation. A series of questions, however, is immediately propounded, indicative of the particular process

through which the sinner must pass in order to attain to this important position. "How then," inquires the Apostle, "shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" Whilst those who call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved, it is, at the same time, impossible that any should thus call upon him, who do not believe in him. Faith is indispensable to the rendering of any acceptable service to God. "But without faith it is impossible to please him; for he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." Heb. 11: 6. This faith again, cannot be exercised in God whilst we are ignorant of him. Knowledge and faith are inseparable. The one may be considered as the necessary compliment of the other. Whilst, in an important sense, faith is indispensable to knowledge, knowledge is, at the same time, inseparable from faith. There can be no faith without knowledge. This knowledge also, has its particular source. It does not spring from mere intuition. In order to its existence, there must be those who form the medium or channel of its communication. This is the particular relative position in the economy of grace, assigned by the Apostle to the ministry of the Gospel, in the connection under consideration, and it is sufficiently indicative of the great importance of the agency which it specially represents.

The series of questions started by the Apostle does not, however, close here. It is yet added, "And how shall they preach except they be sent?" Those accordingly who preach the gospel, if they are rightfully called to their work, must do so by virtue of a divine commission, and in view of a special fitness for the work. "No man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." Heb. 5: 4. Still, this calling of God itself necessarily includes in it submission to the order established in the Church. Paul himself furnishes a striking exemplification of the truth of this position. Although he was baptized by Christ himself with the Spirit, yet he refused not to be baptized by Ananias at Damascus;

and although he was especially designated from the first for the work of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, yet he entered not upon the sphere of labor for which he was thus destined, until he was specially chosen and set apart to it by the Church at Antioch. With this divine commission, however, are invariably connected, the requisite qualifications for the work. God never calls any to the ministry without having qualified them for the duties it involves. He is incapable of committing the folly of assigning men to a work for which he has not specially fitted them. What these qualifications for the work of the Gospel ministry are, it is important for all who are aspiring to the office, or who already occupy it, to know, and to point them out, shall be the particular object of the present article.

These qualifications are partly natural and partly acquired. The former are susceptible of improvement, and the latter must have their foundation at least, laid by nature itself. The two are accordingly so inseparably connected with each other, that the attempt to classify them on a basis which shall involve their separation, must prove a failure. We shall consider them in the order in which they seem to us most naturally to occur.

Personal piety has ever been regarded as an indispensable qualification for the ministry. It lies at the foundation of every other. In its absence, it matters not what may be an individual's gifts or acquirements in other directions, he must be wholly unfitted for the work of the ministry. "The natural man," the Apostle tells us, "receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." 1 Cor. 2: 13. The same authority also informs us, that "the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." Rom. 8: 7.

Without an experimental acquaintance with the truths of religion, therefore, it is impossible to enter fully into their spiritual character, so as to be able to unfold them successfully to others, whatever may be our knowledge of them so far as mere

theory is concerned. Yea more, in the circumstances supposed, there must be an utter aversion to the truths of religion in their true spiritual character, so that a cordial recommendation of them to others must be wholly impossible. There are, moreover, experiences in the history of every one who becomes a subject of divine grace, which no one can enter into or fully understand, who has not himself been at some time or other a subject of them. Without a personal knowledge, therefore, of the exercises of mind peculiar to the subjects of divine grace, it will be impossible to impart unto such the counsel or consolation which their condition may require. A graceless minister is a perfect anomaly. He is so regarded, and that justly, even by the world. Without personal piety, no one has any right whatever to be in the ministry. Whilst in this position, he is out of his proper place.

It is not enough, however, that a minister be simply pious. He should be such in an eminent degree. This is necessary for his own personal comfort and happiness, as well as for his usefulness. It is expected of him that he will himself exemplify in his life the principles of the religion he recommends to others. If he fails to do so, just to the extent that this is the case, is he shorn of his strength. His success in the work of the ministry will be, in a great measure, proportionate to the extent of his personal holiness, as this is made to appear in his life.

Another qualification for the ministry, intimately connected with that we have just been considering, is a love for the work, such as evinces itself in a supreme consecration or devotion to it. This qualification is based on personal piety, and cannot exist in its absence. A love for the work is indispensable to success in the ministry. There can be no energetic or efficient action without it. This is the case with regard to every calling in life. It is, however, more especially so with regard to the Christian ministry. Its duties are exceedingly arduous and trying, and must often be attended to in the midst of much self-denial. The services which are rendered in this capacity,

are, in many instances, thankless services. They must also be often attended to in the midst of many discouragements and in the face of much opposition, and that too, not only from avowed enemies of the cause, but sometimes even from its professed friends. To bear up against these various discouraging and opposing influences, so as to persevere manfully in the labors required of the ministry, they must have an ardent love for the work itself. It must be to them as their meat and drink to attend to its duties. Yea, their feelings in reference to these things must be like those cherished by the Apostle, when he exclaimed: "Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel."

Mental culture may be noted as another important qualification for the work of the ministry. This, of course, presupposes a capacity for such culture. Some minds are naturally so sluggish and dull, that with all the discipline to which they may be subjected, and with all the efforts that may be put forth for their improvement, it seems almost impossible to bring them under any special cultivation. Where this is the case, it seems to us, that it is a plain indication that such an individual was never designed by the Great Head of the Church, for the work of the ministry. It matters not how well he may get along in other spheres of life, it is certain that he never can succeed in this.

It is not sufficient, however, on the score of intellectual endowments, to qualify one for the ministry, that he be susceptible of mental improvement. He must be the actual subject of such culture. The ministry demands for its service the very highest order of talent. Those who are engaged in its duties, find abundant occasion for calling into requisition the most extensive literary attainments.

It is sometimes said in the way of opposition to this position, that the original disciples were illiterate fishermen. It is true, that when they were first indicated for their work by our Saviour, they had not enjoyed the advantages of a high degree of mental culture. They had, however, minds susceptible of improvement, and before they were called to enter fully upon

the duties of their ministry, they were subjected to a process of training under the immediate eye of the Saviour himself, which continued during a period of at least three years. Besides this, they were favored with the special advantage of direct divine inspiration and miraculous powers, which cannot be claimed for the ministry of the present day. It must also be remembered, that the later Apostle Paul had enjoyed the advantages of the very best education his age and country could afford; and his superior power and usefulness beyond what distinguished the rest of the Apostles, were no doubt, in a great measure, owing to this fact.

If a high degree of mental culture was important, yea, indispensable to the work of the ministry in the days of the Apostles, much more so is it at this remote period of time. A successful prosecution of the labors of the ministry requires a thorough knowledge of the truths of Christianity and of their practical workings on the hearts of the children of men. In order to this, however, intellectual culture of every variety of character is necessary.

They should be capable of reading and studying the sacred records, not only in the prevailing language of the age and country in which they live; but also in the languages in which these records were originally written. In the absence of such a knowledge of the ancient languages they cannot be certain from personal investigation, of the correct interpretation of any particular portion of the word of God; but must be dependent for their views upon the knowledge and judgment of others.

The same course of remark holds good with respect to a knowledge of the geography of the country, and of the manners and customs of the age in which the Scriptures were written. The forms of speech and modes of thought, and especially the manner of presenting and illustrating truth, peculiar to any age, are to a great extent conditioned by immediate local influences and circumstances. This fact must have frequently forced itself upon the attention of the most casual observer, as it is constantly being practically exemplified in every day life. If, therefore, the ministry wish to enter fully in-

to the sphere of thought conveyed by the language of the Bible, and to see the beauty and force of its teachings, and of its numerous illustrations of divine truth, they must be able to place themselves in the position and circumstances, in which its several authors were found. To do this, it is indispensably necessary that they be familiar with the geography of the country, and with the manners and customs of the age in which the writers respectively lived. And hence it is, that Archæology, or Biblical Antiquities, very properly forms an important item in the course of study prescribed in every well regulated Theological Seminary.

A similar prominence must also be given to a knowledge of Church History on the score of intellectual culture as a qualification for the work of the ministry. This department of theological science furnishes a record of the dealings of God with his people. It accordingly presents those who familiarize themselves with it, with practical exemplifications of the truths of the gospel, as these are to be seen in their workings and effects upon the hearts and lives of individuals in different ages and in every variety of circumstances. A knowledge of Church History, therefore, must furnish the ministry important aid in arriving at a proper understanding of the distinctive truths of Christianity, so as to be able to unfold them fully to others in all their practical bearings, whilst, at the same time, it will serve to encourage them to diligence and perseverance in the important work committed to their hands.

It may be still further briefly remarked in reference to intellectual culture, in general, as a qualification for the ministry, that a more or less extensive acquaintance with every branch of science, is of vast account to a minister of the gospel. Whilst it will serve simply so far as discipline is concerned, to strengthen and invigorate his mind, it seems indispensably necessary, in order that his intellectual resources may be so enlarged as to fit him for meeting infidelity in its various forms on its own ground, inasmuch as it is more or less disposed in every age of the world, and especially in the present, to make a show at least of calling science to its aid.

A faculty for communicating truth to others may also be noticed as an important qualification for the duties of the ministry. This is doubtless what the Apostle Paul means by an aptness to teach. Individuals are often to be met with whose minds are naturally strong and vigorous, and susceptible of the highest degree of culture; but, who notwithstanding they may have made extensive attainments in knowledge, and have been subjected to every variety of disciplinary process, have no power or tact for communicating their thoughts and feelings to others. This disability from whatever source it may arise, whether from natural or other causes, constitutes a serious disqualification for the ministerial office, inasmuch as the greater portion of the labors of those who fill it, consists in communicating to others their own particular thoughts and feelings. It is true, that some possess this faculty to a greater extent than others, and that in some cases at least, where it seems to be naturally feeble, it is capable of being greatly improved by proper discipline; yet, whilst all this is so, the faculty must be possessed at least to a reasonable extent, if an individual is to be qualified for the peculiar work of the ministry. A hesitating, stammering manner must not only be painful and embarrassing to the speaker himself; but operate in a manner positively prejudicial to the cause he professes to advocate.

A knowledge of human nature, in the estimation of the writer, is also a qualification for the ministry of the highest importance. It evinces itself in a talent for entering into and adapting themselves to the position and circumstances of all with whom they come in contact. This talent in most instances is natural. It is, however, susceptible of great improvement, and that even where it exists naturally only in a moderate degree. We are disposed to lay much stress upon this qualification. It is most intimately connected with the success of the ministry. In its absence, it will be impossible for a minister to take advantage of times and circumstances, and to adapt his instructions to the peculiar wants and necessities of his people, in which case, his efforts, though otherwise of an excellent char-

acter, will be in a great measure robbed of their effect. It is from want of attention to this fact, no doubt, that some ministers of the gospel who seem not to be deficient in knowledge or in fluency of speech, accomplish comparatively little by their pulpit labors.

Then, again, if a minister is to be successful in his public ministrations, he must follow them up with efforts of a more private and personal character. He must mingle with his people so as to gain their confidence and affection, become acquainted with their circumstances and wants, and administer to their several necessities. To do this successfully requires the particular talent to which we now have reference. In its absence, all attempts in this direction, must prove a failure, if they do not result in something worse. Where, however, it exists and is employed in the way recommended, it is attended with the most happy results. "He that has the happy talent of parlor-preaching," says Dr. Watts, "has sometimes done more for Christ and souls in the space of a few minutes, than by the labor of many hours and days in the usual course of preaching in the pulpit." And the truth of this remark is constantly verified in the experience of the Christian ministry.

We will yet note as another important qualification for the work of the ministry, the possession of bodily health. Of course this cannot be insisted upon to its utmost extremity. Every candidate for the ministry, however, should possess at least a moderate share of this blessing. The halt and the maimed were not allowed to enter the priesthood under the Old Testament dispensation; nor would any animal having about it a bodily defect, be received in sacrifice. The principle embodied in this rule, we conceive to hold good with respect to the Christian ministry, at least so far as bodily health is concerned.

The duties of the ministry are such as to demand the most vigorous bodily health for their successful performance. The course of intellectual training through which the ministry should pass in the way of preparation for their work, is itself

such as to make the very heaviest draught upon the physical powers. The same remark holds with respect to a proper subsequent prosecution of their studies from week to week. The exhaustion occasioned by the effort of public speaking, moreover, as those who have had experience in the matter are fully aware, is also such as to require good bodily health, to enable them to bear up under it. And the frequent exposure and fatigue to which the out door labors of the ministry subject them, are too much to be endured by feeble constitutions. It is a great mistake, therefore, to imagine, as is the case in some instances, that the ministry is a proper sphere of labor for invalids, or persons of infirm bodily health. Such persons are fitted for almost any other sphere rather than this ; and will be found, if in their proper place, anywhere else than here. The labors of the ministry call for men of vigorous bodily health, as well as for men of the various other qualifications which have been specified.

The several particulars which have been thus briefly considered, constitute, according to the writer's view of the subject, the qualifications indispensable to the successful discharge of the duties of the ministry. It is true, that all of them are but seldom, if ever, found in full perfection in any one single individual. Still they must all be present to a greater or less extent in every one who shall be properly qualified for the arduous and responsible duties of the ministerial office. And the greater the degree of perfection in which they shall be found to exist in any single case, the more fully will that individual be fitted for the important duties of his station.

By way of bringing our article to a close, we shall briefly advert to several of the practical lessons furnished by the subject discussed.

In the first place, it is not without profitable instruction to the membership of the Church generally. A consideration of the qualifications necessary for the work of the ministry, must serve to give them some idea of its true character, and impress them with a sense of its greatness and importance. This again, is

calculated to lead them to appreciate the ministry as they ought, and to induce them cheerfully to do all in their power to place them in a position to discharge successfully the various important and responsible duties devolving upon them. It may also serve to create a willingness on their part, in view of the infirmities which attach to the best of our fallen race, to make every allowance for whatever short comings they may discover, and constantly to seek for them the bestowment of a large measure of divine influences, whilst they themselves strive diligently to profit by the instruction which is communicated to them from time to time.

In the second place, those who are aspiring to the office of the ministry can learn, in the light of the subject discussed, what is required of them, if they shall be properly fitted for the work to which they are looking forward. If in any particular they find themselves deficient, they should set themselves diligently to the work of acquiring it, if its acquisition be at all within their power. And should they be found, to a great extent, destitute of the several qualifications specified, and the acquisition of them from natural causes or from circumstances over which they have no control, be placed beyond their reach, it should be a plain indication to them, that they are aspiring to a work for which God never designed them. At the same time, however, in forming their conclusions with respect to these matters, they should implore the direction of heaven, and seek the aid and counsel of those whose position and experience fit them for forming a correct judgment in the case.

In the third place, parents, ministers of the gospel and others, can learn, in the light of the subject discussed, the particular cast of young men whom they should seek out, encourage, assist, and urge forward to the work of the ministry. Not every one who manifests a willingness to enter upon this sphere of labor is qualified for it. The same may be said of some who are urged forward to it by their friends. In the midst of their anxiety to multiply candidates for the ministry, greatly increased as it necessarily must be, by the loud calls that come from

every quarter for laborers in the vineyard of our Lord, they should be careful not to encourage any to aspire to this position, who do not possess, in a reasonable measure, the qualifications requisite for the ministry, or are not at least capacitated for acquiring them. To introduce men into the ministry who are destitute of these qualifications, is to place them in a sphere in which they cannot but be unhappy, and in which their influence is decidedly against the interests of the very cause they professedly would promote. As greatly as men are needed for the ministry, it is only such as are properly fitted for its duties, that can be advantageously entrusted with its important functions.

In the last place, the subject discussed, is calculated to remind those who are already clothed with the responsibilities of the ministry, of the solemn nature of their calling and of the imperious necessity of faithfully improving whatsoever talents God may have entrusted to them, as qualifications for their particular work. The best of them cannot but be impressed with a deep sense of their vast deficiencies; and should, therefore, humble themselves before God on account of them. At the same time, they should seek diligently to employ every talent of which they may be possessed, to the purpose for which it has been given, and endeavor faithfully to improve every opportunity which may be afforded them for the successful discharge of their responsible duties. In the midst of all—they should constantly look to God for his presence and grace, and especially for his blessing to accompany all the efforts they may put forth for his glory. And thus, whilst they undertake to preach the gospel to the perishing, they shall give to the world some reasonable evidence at least, that they do not preach without being sent.

As ministers of the gospel, they are entrusted with an important work, demanding for its successful performance qualifications of no ordinary character. They should see to it, then, that their duties are faithfully met in the several spheres in which they are called to labor, by the diligent use of the means of which they are respectively possessed; and in that event,

there is reason to believe that their labors shall be successful, and that when their work on earth is done, they shall each be permitted to hear the welcome plaudit : " Well done good and faithful servant ; enter thou into the joys of thy Lord."

Chambersburg, Pa.

S. R. F.

ART. V.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELLER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

II. HISTORY OF THE PRESENT KINGDOM OF GREECE DURING THE REIGN OF KING OTHO I., FROM 1833 TO THE PRESENT DAY.

Administration and death of Count Capo d'Istrias—Arrival of King Otho in Greece—Conspiracy of Kalo-Kotronis—Dissensions in the Regency—Government of Armanberg—Anecdotes—Internal organizations—Improved state of the Country—Diplomatic intrigues—Ministry of Councilor Rudhardt—Second Conspiracy, frustrated—The Turko-Egyptian War—Agitation in Greece—Ministry of Zographos—Dilemma of King Otho—Ministry of Christidis—Crusade of the Public Press against the Government—English Calumnies—Russian influence—Third conspiracy and insurrection of September, 1843—Night scene at the Palace—Revolutionary movements in the Provinces—National Assembly of the Ball-Room—Inaugural speech of King Otho—Violent disputes in the Assembly—Constitution of 1844—Ministry of Kolettis—Rebellion of Grivas—Blockade of the Peiræus by Lord Palmerston—Weakness of the Greek Government and lingering apathy of the nation—Insurrection of Epirus and Thessaly supported by Greece, in the present Russo-Turkish War.

THE rising of the humbled and oppressed Hellenic nation against their Othoman tyrants, and the heroic fortitude with which they, single-handed, for eight years repelled their overwhelming forces, forms one of the most interesting pages in the history of our century, and excites the more our admiration and sympathy, when we consider the weak and defenceless state of Greece in 1821, the heterogeneous admixture of her Romaic,

Albanian, and Valachian population, and the political jealousy with which the great European powers, Russia, Austria, France, England, and Prussia, regarded every change in the relations of the Levant. Yet the valor, constancy, and disasters of the Greeks, roused the deepest feeling of compassion among their Western Christian brethren; the governments followed the general impulse, and the cannonade of Navarino, (20th October, 1827,) at last proclaimed an intercession in their favor.

Sultan Mahmoud II, had hitherto refused every mediation, but the occupation of the Peloponnesus by a French army in 1828, and the defeat of the Turks in the Balcan against the Russians, together with the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, secured *de facto* the entire independence of a suffering and decimated nation.

Count Capo d'Istrias had already arrived in Greece, and begun the internal organization of the young state; and though with inadequate means, this practical and intelligent statesman laid successfully the foundation of its future development. Yet in spite of his indefatigable exertions and benevolent intentions, he found so unruly and quarrelsome a spirit among the Greeks, and so passionate and selfish an opposition among their leaders, that the coercive measures which he was obliged to adopt, in order to restore unity in the administration, soon brought on the most virulent opposition and open rebellion, to which he himself fell a victim.

It has often been said that he was a Russian at heart, and an enemy to the liberty of Greece. Yet great injustice has been done to Capo d'Istrias; some of his measures may have been too violent; but he has proved himself a man of extraordinary talents and ability. The monuments of his wisdom still speak loudly in his favor; reduced to his own scanty resources, he did more for Greece comparatively, than the Bavarian regency, afterwards, with its loan of sixty millions of francs.

The president was assassinated by Georgios, and Konstantinos Mauro michalis, in Nauplion, on the 9th of October, 1831. A civil war, more destructive and demoralizing than the long contest against the Othomans, now broke out among the polit-

ical parties; and the feuds between Rumeliotes and Moreotes had already arisen to such a height that they threatened the final destruction of the distracted people,—when a Bavarian regency, with 4,000 troops, and shortly afterwards young King Otho himself, arrived at Nauplion in February, 1833.

In the midst of the civil dissensions, the shadow of a national assembly had met at Pronia, the suburb of Nauplion, in July, 1832, in order to re-establish the constitution of Troezen, which had been set aside by Count Capo d'Istrias. The minds of men were exceedingly irritated at that time, and violent discussions arose; but the diplomatic residents of the three powers at Nauplion interposed, and demanded that the assembly would not by precipitate measures increase the existing anarchy, but quietly await the arrival of the new king, in common with whose government the final constitution of the kingdom would be determined upon. This promise was not fulfilled; and it has often been repeated in aftertimes, that King Otho ought instantly, on his landing in Greece, to have called together a national assembly, granted a liberal constitution to the Greeks, and placed some of their distinguished men at the head of his government. But such a system at that time would certainly have been impracticable, and instead of pacifying the parties, would only have contributed to prolong the anarchical state of that unhappy country. Whoever has lived in Greece during that distressful period, from 1832 to 1835, will fully understand the impossibility of uniting into one government, minds like those of Mavrokordatos, Kolettis, Metaxäs, Kolkotronis, Konduriotis, and others, whose violent ambition and inveterate jealousies have, after the tranquillity of ten years, with the new constitution in 1843, revived the old dissensions and bloody feuds which, even at the present moment, are weakening and distracting the constitutional government of Greece. In 1833, a regency, composed of *foreign* statesmen, who themselves were legislators and organizers, supported by a strong body of foreign troops, were of the highest necessity. Without a neutral government, independent in its actions and standing aloof of the contending national parties, there remained no

hope of putting a stop to the chaotic condition of the country. The Greeks themselves were of that opinion—they wanted bread, and a strong hand to crush the hydra of dissension.

The hopes of Greece were, therefore, raised to the highest pitch; and, indeed, the energetic measures of the regency, backed by the regular army, and a loan of sixty millions of francs, or twelve millions of dollars, soon effected the pacification of the country; all the fortresses and mountain-strongholds were opened without resistance to the Bavarian troops; the *pallikars*, or irregular Greek warriors, were marched off to their separate camps, where they were drilled and equipped to serve as regulars, and thus tranquility was soon restored, even in the mountains.

The Turks, who had remained in possession of Attica and the island of Eubœa, sold their estates, and retired to Thessaly. A frontier line, extending along the mountain-ridge of Othrys, from the Gulf of Volo to that of Ambrakia, on the Ionian Sea, was laid down by commissioners, appointed by the three protecting powers and the Porte, and very soon a perceptible amelioration took place throughout the kingdom. A regular government was established; general governors were appointed for the Peloponnesus, the mainland of northern Greece, and the islands of the Ægean. Three central tribunals were erected, and the small state received a complicated and expensive administration in the style of a European kingdom. But here, unhappily, lay the great difficulty; because this too close imitation of a petty German court, with a host of military and civil officials strutting about in rich uniforms, was ill chosen for poor, emaciated Greece. Among all the Bavarian counselors who were sent from Munich to organize and civilize Greece, there happened to be hardly a single man of genius or profound learning, joining a true and deeply-felt admiration for ancient Hellas to the necessary familiarity with the history and language of the modern Greeks. Hofrath Thiersch, the professor of the university of Munich, and author of an able work on Greece,* would, perhaps, have been

* De l'état actuel de la Grèce, et des moyens, d'arriver à sa restauration. Leipzig, 1834. 2 vols. 8vo.

the man. He possessed an immense popularity in Greece; he spoke the language, knew personally all the leaders and their partizans, and had once, together with Kolettis, put himself at the head of the Rumeliotas against the Capo d'Istrian party in Nauplion. He was with anxiety expected in the country, but the suspicious politics of King Lewis chained him down to his chair at the university. All the counselors and other officials sent to Greece, with the only exception of the Chevalier de Maurer, were home-bread Bavarians, who, with the best possible will and intention to do everything right, did many things wrong, because they were ignorant of the language, the religious prejudices, customs and habits of that lively, cunning people, who, having suffered all the demoralizing effects of a desperate war, could only be brought back to labor and order by an austere and active government, employing the ablest Greeks themselves as its instruments to give a national organization to their country. This, most unhappily, the regency did not; they had no confidence in the Greeks, and took the whole government into their own hands. Numerous laws, decrees, ordinances, written in the diffuse, unintelligible Bavarian dialect, translated into a bad French, and then into a worse Greek, were promulgated, but hardly understood, and never executed. Count Armansperg directed the finances and the diplomatic relations with the powers. Chevalier de Maurer, an active and able jurist, introduced an excellent criminal, civil and commercial code, which contained trial by jury, and became a *permanent benefit* to the nation. His suppression of the convents on the mainland of Greece, (with the exception of Megaspilaion and a few others,) has afterwards proved itself, was a rash and inconsiderate measure, because the *Kalogeri*, or Greek monks, are farmers, who pay their tithe and rent; and by depriving them of their estates, the lands remained waste, and the government lost the annual revenue. King Otho has, therefore, a few years ago been obliged to give the monasteries back to the fugitive *Kalogeri*, in order that their fields might be cultivated, and the taxes paid. The formation of a Greek synod at the head of the oriental Greek church, in-

dependent of the Patriarch, was highly beneficial, and cut off all the ecclesiastical communications and intrigues with Constantinople.

The *Klephties*, or robbers, who had infested every part of Greece, were destroyed during the two first two years of King Otho's government. They had formed some strong bands on the Thessalian frontier; but during summer, in 1834, they were surrounded, and after a most desperate combat, cut to pieces by the brave Philhellene, Colonel Christoph Fabricius. A few gangs still infested the Arcadian mountain passes, but they were soon dispersed, and Greece enjoyed henceforth the benefit of nearly perfect tranquility and security from the robbers until the general demoralization which followed the September revolution of 1843. One of the best institutions of the Bavarians was that of the *gendarmerie*, or *Χωροφυλακή*, an armed police-corps of twelve hundred men, horse and foot, commanded by the vigilant Colonel de Rosner, a Bavarian officer, who was highly esteemed by the Greeks, and knew how to inspire the troops with feelings of honor and fidelity. The wild Maniatsæ, or Mainotts, living on the barren and rocky coast of Laconia, were pacified by another worthy Bavarian officer, Colonel Feder. They broke their castles, submitted quietly to their liege lord, and entered his army. Thus the general tranquility on sea and land soon permitted the Greeks to return to their wonted occupations of agriculture and commerce.

Yet, how much soever the regency exerted itself by beneficent measures and German institutions to improve the condition of the country, they, nevertheless, found a continual and secret opposition in the Capo d'Istrian party, at the head of which were several of those chieftians, who, nine years afterwards—in 1843—succeeded in overthrowing the Bavarian system of government, and introducing a national constitution. The warriors who planned the *first* conspiracy against King Otho were the old Theodoros Kolokotronis of Karitena in Morea, Makry-Yannis, of Athens, Rhiga-Palamides of Kalavrita in Morea, Spiridon-Milios, a brave captain of Epirus; Londres,

Kolliopulos, and many others. Their plan was to seize the young king; to arrest the regency and to send them home; and taking the government into, their own hands, proclaim a constitution in accordance with their own interests and those of their followers. But such a plot could not succeed in 1834, because the tormented nation was now for the first time, after so many misfortunes, enjoying the fruits of reviving industry and commerce. The regency had money, troops, and a body of well-paid Greek *employees*, who were ready to obey the slightest intimation of the will of Count Armansperg. The plot was betrayed to an intelligent German secretary, Dr. Frank, who instantly gave notice of it to the Count. The conspirators were seized, and after a curious sham trial, the old heroes, Kolokotronis, and Kolliopulos, were condemned to death as traitors to King Otho. This ridiculous sentence was, of course, commuted for another of a temporary imprisonment; yet the retainers of the leaders flew to arms, and an insurrection broke out in the Morea. The Bavarian troops, young levies, unaccustomed to the guerilla war-fare in the mountains, were now most imprudently sent against the active and insidious Mainotts who awaited them among their inaccessible precipices. The Germans, full of ardor, advanced into the centre of the Maina, where they soon found themselves surrounded by numerous bodies of daring mountaineers, who, cutting them off from the sea, and keeping them blockaded on the barren crags of Zimova, forced several detachments to surrender their arms, and obliged at last the disgraced government in Nauplion, with thousands of dollars, to release the rest.

The position of the regency thus became awkward and embarrassing. In order to quell the rebellion in the peninsula, Kolettis was called in to support the government with his war-like and faithful Rumeliotes. More by his simple appearance than by his sword, Kolettis restored tranquility to the Morea. He was soon afterwards nominated minister of the interior and president of the royal Council, while the conspirators obtained their pardon and Kolokotronis, the old lion of Karitena was drawn to court and received by King Otho with every demonstration of respect and confidence.

But this apparent victory of the regency did not strengthen the Bavarian Cabinet ; on the contrary, it served only still more to weaken it. A most unhappy contest rose between the members of the regency themselves ; each faction sought every possible means to fortify itself by forming a party among the Greeks, who, of course, wished for nothing more than intrigue and cabal. Count Armansperg was supported by Prince Alexander Mavrokordatos and that host of Phanariotes from Constantinople, who, having lost their lucrative offices in the Turkish service by the revolution of 1821, had now come down to Hellas, where, well instructed in European languages and manners, they soon formed the *elite*—not of the Romaic nation, by whom they were envied and detested, but of the gay courtiers of the drawing-room, of the household officers and boastful councilors of Count Armansperg. Nay, the Count even went so far as to give his two charming daughters in marriage to two brothers, the princes Kantakouzenoi, quite contrary to the doctrines of the oriental church, which prohibits the marriage of so near relations. On the other part, was Chevalier de Maurer, supported by Mr. Abell, General Heydeck, and Kolettis with his Rumeliote captains. But, however great were the exertions of his enemies, Count Armansperg succeeded at the time ; he bore down his opponents. Chevalier de Maurer and Mr. Abell, the most intelligent members of the regency, were suddenly recalled to Bavaria, and their places supplied by the councilors de Kobell and de Greiner, who were altogether unfit for the high station entrusted to their care. The Count, at the head of his brilliant Phanariotes, and vigorously supported by Mr. Dawkins, the British ambassador, went on in great style. Athens was declared the capitol of the kingdom, and large sums were spent in building that inland city, where government was obliged to buy every span of ground to erect the necessary buildings for the public service. The foreign ambassadors vied with one another in giving dinner parties, masquerades, and theatrical representations. All the hotels and coffee-houses were crowded with Greek and German officers. Lancers grenadiers, and chasseurs were parading and

mustering, as if the Seraskier, with his Turkish Spahis, was at the gates of the city ! The activity of secretaries, clerks, and translators, was very great ; yet, among the many degrees promulgated, few were of any real importance to the improvement of the country. German architects, engineers, geometers, foresters, were galloping-off in all directions ; but unhappily the cities were rebuilt but in part ; the fields, though measured, were never cultivated ; the harbors not repaired ; the roads not opened, and the forests not protected ! Blunders and mistakes were continually made, which, forming the topic of the day, made the people at Athens laugh heartily at the want of practical ability and tact which the Bavarians showed in nearly every branch of the administration. One or two will illustrate this. General Schmalz, formerly a colonel of dragoons in Bavaria, was now minister of the war and navy department in Greece. Supposing that light dragoons were the persons to civilize Greece, some squadrons of these expensive horsemen were sent to Athens, where the minister soon discovered their total uselessness in so mountainous a country, and therefore resolved to send them back, and instead of them to order miners, sappers, and military workmen. Several of these mechanics had just landed at the Piræus after a long voyage from Trieste, when they immediately received the order to re-embark and return to Germany. The Bavarian officers were already obeying the order, when General Heydeck, one of the regents of the kingdom, by chance taking a ride to the Piræus, learned this singular occurrence. He therefore instantly, on his return to Athens, called on the minister, and inquired why he sent those useful troops back to Munich ? M. Schmalz stared at him and exclaimed, in his coarse Bavarian dialect—" *Ei was, di' Leit' seind ha't nit g'sheit !*"—Why ! the people are crazy. The order was now produced, and it appeared that the general had written *ouvriers*, or workmen, instead of "*chevaux legers*," or light dragoons ! These latter were accordingly sent back to Germany, and an attempt afterwards made to colonize the Bavarian workmen in Greece, which did not succeed. Another still more ridiculous accident happened in

1834, while government was residing in Nauplion. Some disorders having taken place at Syra, between the German military and the citizens, a combined court-martial of military officers and civilians of high standing had been sent off to that island. Sentence was passed accordingly; the proceedings were sent back to Nauplion, and the court there awaited for orders to return. But no such orders came. A week passed away—a fortnight—a month—six weeks! Every body in Nauplion wondered at the absence of so many high-paid state officers. At last, a secretary expressed his astonishment to General Schmalz, who looked foolish, and exclaimed: “Sapperment! the order lies in my great coat!” The undue confidence of Count Armansperg in a Bavarian fortune hunter was still more unpardonable. Among the many Bavarians who, during this period, received offices in Greece, which they considered no better than a sort of Bavarian Algiers! was a certain Baron Von Tettenbach, a particular friend and *protege* of the Count. This worthy was sent as president to the court of justice, which had been organized at Tripolitza, in Arcadia. A month or two afterwards it happened that the royal gendarms, or *chorophylakes*, had surrounded a gang of robbers, or *klephites*, in the mountains of Divri, and after a desperate struggle, taken them prisoners. In one of their dens the gendarms found, among other spoils, a strong iron chest filled with splendid Turkish weapons, such as pistols, daggers, yatagans, sabres, and the like, all richly ornamented with gold and silver, diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones of great value. As these Turkish trophies had been robbed from different persons, who now pretended to reclaim their property, the chest was transported to the tribunal at Tripolitza, and placed in a cabinet adjoining the court-hall. But on a night when the janitor of the tribunal had returned late at home from a party, he heard a noise in the upper story of the house as if somebody was at work with a hammer. Instantly supposing that thieves had entered the house in order to rob the precious arms, he hurried to call the neighbors to his assistance. A large number of Greeks soon surrounded the court-house,

while the janitor, and another troop armed to the teeth, and holding lighted-torches and cocked pistols in their hands, silently stole up the stairs, and suddenly burst into the hall. But who would be able to describe their surprise, their amazement, when they found Baron Von Tettenbach, the president of the tribunal, standing with sledge-hammer and crowbar, knocking away on the iron chest of the klephties containing the Turkish arms. The Bavarian felt a little awkward, but recovering his presence of mind, he called out to the janitor that he was a blockhead, having locked the door of the hall upon him, and thus forced him to while away the dreary hours of night with knocking a little at the chest. But the Greeks were too intelligent people not to hiss and hoot at the president, who was instantly arrested. This scandalous affair ran like wild-fire through Greece. Count Armansperg got into a fury; and a few days later, it was reported in the newspapers that Baron Von Tettenbach had passed through Patrasso on his route for Bavaria.

These, and numberless other mistakes and faulty measures, still more expensive, such as the unsuccessful military colonies established at Tyrinth and Erakli, were daily committed by the government of Count Armansperg. They exposed the Bavarian ministers to the witty sarcasms of the Greek press, and created a general dissatisfaction throughout the nation. Yet the cause of this slow progress in the different provinces of the kingdom did not altogether originate in the ignorance and blunders of the administration, but partly in the totally exhausted and depopulated state of the country, in the avarice and selfishness of the Greek governors themselves, and partly in the want of confidence, good will, and activity among the inhabitants, and their continual fear of the chieftains, by whom they so often had been robbed. Instead, therefore, of employing their means in extending their agriculture, they would conceal their money, bury it deep in the earth, and wait for the turn things would take, without cultivating more ground than that which was absolutely necessary for the scanty support of their families. During the spring of 1835, it was a general opinion

at Athens, that the existing system of administration could not be continued for three months longer—and this proved true.

King Otho, having become of age, took the government in his own hands on his twentieth birthday, June 1st, 1835. The regency, on this occasion, gave another instance of their extravagance and indiscreet wastefulness of the public treasury. Though they had already expended the greatest part of the two first series of the loan, they intended to give the Greeks the brilliant exhibition of a grand coronation. The silly councillors, Von Kobell and Von Greiner, had a month before sent a number of big folio volumes to Doctor Lewis Ross, the director of the excavations on the Acropolis, with the order for the learned antiquarian to *extract* all passages from the Byzantine historians of the middle ages referring to the pompous coronations and processions of the Roman emperors of Constantinople, which were to be imitated at the small court of King Otho, in the midst of the ruins and misery of modern Athens ! This folly speaks volumes ! But the good sense of the excellent young monarch instantly put a stop to this last infatuation of the regency. His accession to the throne was celebrated by an interesting festival in the true national style. On the plain, north of Athens, near the academy of Plato, were held the gymnastic exercises of the muscular and nimble Greeks, in the presence of the king, court, and assembled Athenians ; the pallikars, gorgeously dressed, on their prancing steeds, ran the race and galloping about threw the *jerid*, or Turkish javelin, in imitation of Eastern warfare—all combined, presented an animated and highly picturesque spectacle, on the old classical soil, suggesting so many pleasing associations, and being illuminated by so glorious a sun, that it appeared to the beholders more like a beautiful dream of fancy than the happy day of Grecian regeneration and independence *in all reality* !

The first act of the young king was the dissolution of the regency, who, with many secretaries and other officials and the greater part of the Bavarian troops, were sent back to Germany. Only Count Armansperg remained as *archi-kancellarios*, or chief chancellor of the kingdom and a great coun-

cil of state was formed, consisting of thirty-six of the most popular leaders of the nation. This institution would certainly have proved highly beneficial to the country, and might have afforded intelligent Greek Patriots the means of imparting their experience to the foreign government and thus quietly prepare the foundations of a more liberal constitution, if Count Armansperg had been sincere in the choice of its members, and had granted them enlarged powers for consultation. But the chief chancellor not only selected as counselors of state those chieftains who were most dependent on government, and secured their votes by large salaries, but he ordered all the *leaders* of the different parties, the most intelligent and influential statesman of Greece, to be sent off as ambassadors to foreign courts. This was a truly diplomatic *coup d'état*! Kolettis, the leader of the French party, went to Paris; Count Andreas Metaxäs, the Naptist or Russian chief, to Madrid; Prince Alexander Mavrokordatos, to Munich, and afterwards to London, where he replaced the less dangerous Spiridon Trikoupis. Strongly supported by England, Count Armansperg had now got his hands free; he maintained peace and tranquillity throughout the land, and turned his attention seriously to the social and literary improvement of Greece. *Suum cuique*! It would be unjust not to own that many excellent works were undertaken by government in this period.

A great amelioration now took place in the general aspect of that beautiful, but suffering and desolate country. If a traveler would compare the flourishing condition of Greece during the reign of King Otho, with its nearly total desolation in 1828, on the arrival of the French army, he could not but rejoice at the change. Many cities, such as Athens, Thebes, Livadia, Lamia, Corinth, Argos, Tripolis, Mistra, Calamæ, Pyrgos and Patræ, presented, in that distressful period of war and civil discord, nothing but heaps of ruins. Churches and monasteries, towns and villages, vineyards and olive-groves, had been totally destroyed. The fortress of Nauplion, the nearly inaccessible Dimitzana, in Arcadia, Arachova, on Mount Parnassus, the monastery Megaspilæon, and the villages of the

Maina, were the only places on the mainland of Greece which had escaped the sword of the Turk or the Arab ; while the islands of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ægina, were the only safe retreats of the fugitive inhabitants.

The towns and villages were now quickly rebuilding ; extensive mulberry and olive-groves began again to embellish the beautiful plains of Messenia and the valley of Laconia, where a new Sparta rose on the banks of the Eurotas, at a short distance from the ruins of the old. The swamps of the Piræus, of Argos, and Pyrgos, in Elis, were drained or filled up. A macadamized high-road was laid out between the Piræus and Athens ; another was continued across Mount Cythæron to Thebes, and along the Copaic lake to Livadia and Thermopylæ ; and a third one from the table lands of Arcadia to the coast of Nauplion. The plains of Bœotia, Locris, and the island of Eubœa were again cultivated, and covered with wheat, barley and maize ; the hills of Achaia and Elis with precious currant plantations. Sugar mills were established at Thermopylæ ; silk spinneries at Sparta and Nisi ; paper mills at Dimitzana ; powder mills at Kephalaria ; coal mines were opened at Kumi, and copper mines explored at Karystos in Eubœa, where it was proposed to build a new harbor. The ports of Piræus and Syra were repaired, and many useful public buildings erected. The University of Athens was founded ; the *didaskaleion*, or seminary for teachers, four colleges, and a large number of preliminary and Hellenic grammar schools were opened, and soon filled with studious young men.

But all this was not enough in a country where new resources of industry and produce were to be created. The borrowed funds of the sixty millions had not been judiciously or economically administrated, according to the views of Professor Thiersch, for the direct encouragement of agriculture, to an equitable distribution of public lands, and Colonies for the Greek fugitives from Chios, Ipsara, Crete, Cyprus, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Asia Minor and Constantinople, had been established in different parts of Greece, but they were left without support ; the poor exiles were suffering the greatest

distress in Syra and Ægina; and seeing all their hopes of a permanent settlement frustrated, were obliged to abandon Greece and return to Turkey! And yet were the intrigues and jealousies of the native Greeks themselves the principal cause of the failure of the two colonies at Eretria and Karystos in Eubœa!

Another difficulty which the government of the chief chancellor had to overcome, was the indemnification to be granted to the Hydriote navy and the *kapitanei*, or commanders of the irregular troops during the war of independence. A large number of the former received their rank and pay as officers of the royal navy, and the latter were formed into a *phalanx* of eight hundred officers of different rank. They received a high pay, wore the splendid Albanian arms and costume, but did no service, and remained faithful to the king only as long as they touched their salary. To many were granted assignments of lands and the means of cultivating them; but the old warriors had no taste for agriculture; they generally sold their shares to the neighboring villagers, and returned to the coffee-houses in Athens. When the treasury, in 1848, became exhausted, they were the *first* to take up arms against their sovereign, hoping, by getting the administration into their own hands, to renew their former military sway. But fortunately for Greece, they did not succeed.

This defective system of administration, and the open protection given by Count Armansperg to the intriguing Phanariotes, nourished the fermentation in the mind of the people, and gave rise to an opposition of the press, which at the time was moderate, but in the course of a few years became formidable, and evidently tended to the overthrow of the existing government.

Another evil still more neutralizing the activity of the Bavarian administration, arose from the petty and despicable rivalry of the ambassadors of the three protecting powers, who used every effort to keep up their predominant influence in the small infant kingdom of Hellas! This would, to the general observer, seem to be nearly incredible; but it is, nevertheless, a most

remarkable historical fact. Great Britain evidently disliked the commercial and political development of Greece, and dreaded her influence on her Hellenic brethren in the Seven Ionian Islands, and in Candia. Such a conduct of the British Government is plainly proved by the continual intrigues of the Lord High Commissioner in Corfu, where the Italian language was encouraged and protected, and the Greek mother tongue disowned and regarded as revolutionary !

Russia had, by her victorious war against Turkey in 1828 and 1829, and the treaty of Adrianople, rendered a *more efficient support* to Greece than any *other* European power, and mainly contributed to the recognition of her full independence by Turkey ; yet she did not possess any strong hold on the affections of the mass of the people, though she belonged to the oriental Greek Church, and had numerous emissaries at work in every part of Turkey. Her influence was at the time confined to a Napist or Russian party, consisting chiefly of the clergy and of some bribed chieftains, who formed an armed vanguard for the future advance of her armies on Constantinople.

France, on the contrary, sincerely desiring the consolidation and free development of the young kingdom, showed herself more disinterested, and in consequence possessed more than any other of the great powers the affection and gratitude of the Greek nation, who looked upon the French as their true allies, who had made the most generous sacrifices for her preservation and liberty. France, therefore, succeeded, by the ingenuous conduct of her ambassador, M. de Lagrene, to secure an alliance, which might become important with regard to her political relations in Syria and Egypt.

King Otho went to Germany in 1836, and married the beautiful princess Amelia of Oldenburgh. Count Armanberg, in the meantime, governed Greece like a sovereign, and by his intimate alliance with the British ambassador, Sir Edmund Lyons, the successor of Mr. Dawkins, the count, by degrees, attempted to emancipate himself from the control of the court of Bavaria. But the dissatisfaction in Greece with his pro-

tection of the Phanariotes, and his arbitrary and interested measures, became general ; his influence was even undermined in Munich by the Bavarians themselves, and King Lewis demanded his dismissal. On the 14th of February, 1837, King Otho arrived in the Piræus with his lovely queen, and Mr. Rudhardt, the new prime minister. The chief chancellor quite unexpectedly received his *conge*, to the great disgust of Sir Edmund Lyons and the universal satisfaction of the Greeks. Count Armansperg soon after left and retired to his estates in Switzerland, not without having improved his own fortune with the spoils of poor Hellas. Such was the common opinion both in Greece and Bavaria.

Mr. Rudhardt was a very plain and honest Bavarian, who had distinguished himself as a provincial governor in Germany, and as an able speaker in the national assembly at Munich, but he was ignorant of the relations, language, and politics of Greece. He arrived unprepared for his high station ; with the best intentions, he resolved to carry out the Bavarian system in Greece, and not to listen either to the insinuations of Sir Edmund Lyons, or to those of M. de Lagrene, or the Greeks themselves—but just straightway to execute the orders he regularly received by couriers from the council of King Lewis of Bavaria. Yet, instead of gaining friends and partisans by standing aloof from all parties, he soon found himself surrounded by enemies, who joined in a coalition against him. The miserable state in which Count Armansperg had left the finances, did not furnish the means for maintaining the royal household, the Bavarian army, and numerous officials in the different departments of the public service. The storm broke loose against poor Mr. Rudhardt. He resigned in the month of December, 1837, and died broken-hearted on his return in Trieste. In this dilemma, King Otho resolved upon a change of system, and chose a native Greek minister, the intelligent and active physician, Dr. Glarakis, from Syra. The new Premier instantly disbanded the greater part of the German mercenaries and dismissed many foreign officials, such as geometers and foresters. He then boldly attempted an improvement

in the dilapidated finances by introducing a greater regularity in the collection of the tithes and taxes, and the most rigid economy in the administration, diminishing the fees of some and the pensions of others. But alas! instead of gaining the confidence and good-will of the nation, the government of Mr. Glarakis now lost its power and respect. The parties grew bolder, and a second conspiracy against King Otho was plotted by the Napist or Russian party. The leaders taking the mask of hypocrisy, formed a *Philorthodox Society*, which under the pretence of supporting the sinking Greek Church against the encroachments of Protestantism, by placing her under the direct guardianship of Russia, intended nothing less than the overthrow of King Otho's government and the revolt of all the rajahs or Greek subjects of the Porte. The real and important object of this secret rebellion, therefore, had in view the re-union of those seven or eight millions of Greek and Bulgarian Christians, the re-conquest of Constantinople, and the re-construction of a Greek empire under the sway of a Russian prince!

The period for so vast an undertaking seemed singularly propitious. The total defeat of Hafiz-Pasha and the Turkish army at Nezib, in Syria, the sudden death of Sultan Mahmoud at Constantinople, and the treacherous surrender of the Othoman fleet by the Capudan-Pasha to the powerful Viceroy of Egypt, had placed the throne of the young Sultan Abdul-Meshid on the very brink of a precipice. An open insurrection broke out in Crete, and intrigues spread the alarm through all the northern provinces of Epirus, Thessaly and Macedonia. But the leaders of the *Philorthodox Society*, Count Augustin Capo d'Istrias and Nikitas Stamatopulos, were men without talents, means or influence. The second plot, which was to have broken out on New-Year's day, 1840, while King Otho, surrounded by his ministers of state, attended divine service at the church St. Irene, was revealed, and the conspirators disarmed and imprisoned. Count Augustin fled from Corfu to Alexandria, in Egypt, where he died shortly afterwards. Government was again victorious, but this success did not save the

minister, Mr. Glarakis. He resigned, and returned to practice medicine at Syra. The learned and eloquent Zographos was his successor. During the winter, 1840, the greatest exultation and desire of conquest reigned in Greece. Turkey was supposed to be lying in her last agonies, and the Greeks considered it as the most favorable moment for taking up arms, and by a sudden onset invade Thessaly and Epirus, where the Christian population were expected to rise and follow the standard of the Cross. The commander of the royal troops on the Turkish frontiers of Mount Othrys deserted into Thessaly and Albania, proclaiming on their own responsibility the warlike projects of King Otho. Armed bands of mountaineers already began the marauding warfare on the outskirts of Thessaly—while a badly equipped and nearly starving Turkish army assembled at Larissa, at the foot of Mount Olympus.

The Albanian chiefs received the Greek officers, in their glittering epaulettes and golden tassels, with cordiality. "They were ready," they said, "to rise and assemble their clansmen, but they first wanted to see the color of King Otho's money;" and when the Greek emissaries then, in their disappointment, made fine speeches about patriotism and liberty, the Albanians beckoned them to begone, with their usual "*besa dia besa*." "Let peace be among us."

In Candia the Greek sympathizers fared still worse. Many unruly and warlike *pallikaria*, among whom were several citizens of the Piræus, such as Lambrinidis and Captain Manolas, who had distinguished themselves in the war of independence, and some hundred others, who, by this expedition, hoped to force government to a public demonstration against Turkey, secretly embarked for Candia. Twenty-five thousand drachms, or three thousand American dollars, a large sum for Greece, were collected—every official giving his share—and a few Hydriote barks, no doubt, with the secret connivance of the Greek minister of the navy, Mr. Kreisis, occupied the royal arsenal at Poros, and embarking cannon, small arms and ammunition, set sail for the island. A decisive blow might perhaps have been struck, and a revolutionary fire spread throughout European

Turkey; but the indecision and timid politics of King Otho, in every measure yielding to the inspirations of the Court at Munich, suffered the only favorable moment to pass—and thus all the private exertions of the Greeks proved unsuccessful.

The alliance of the four great powers in July, 1840, decided the fate of Syria and Egypt, and once more supported the tottering skeleton of the Othoman empire. The Turkish Admiral, Tahir-Pasha, landed with troops on Crete. The Candiotes became traitors to their Greek auxiliaries. The brave Captains Lambrinidis and Manolas were treacherously slaughtered during a parley by the Turks, and their followers, robbed of their arms and baggage, fled to the coast, where they were saved by a British man-of-war. The Greek government now publicly disavowed the disturbances on the frontier, and declared its peaceful intentions towards Turkey. But this declaration only augmented the general dissatisfaction in Greece, and the hate against King Lewis of Bavaria, whom the Greeks looked upon as the main cause of the unwarlike and anti-national measures of their own government. Zographos, the prime minister, had negotiated a commercial treaty with Turkey, which was considered unfavorable to the Greek maritime and commercial interests, and King Otho, in consequence, was obliged to refuse its ratification. A violent outbreak against the premier took place at Athens; he retired, and his successor found himself in a still more difficult position, without any hope of extricating himself, except by contracting a new loan to cover the running expenses of government. It was Austria, who, with the guarantee of King Lewis of Bavaria, granted a loan of one million of dollars.

The Russian or Napistic party continued in its efforts to foment the universal discontent, and the Athenian newspapers, particularly "*The Age*" and "*The Friend of the People*," began to sound the trumpet of a crusade against the ministry. The "*London Morning Chronicle*," which at that time was considered the organ through which the foreign office communicated its opinions and prejudices to the public, went even farther—its columns were filled with injurious articles against

the Greek government, and the most scandalous attacks against the person of the king and queen, in which the kind and benevolent Otho was called "the puny wretch who was permitted to trample on Greece—who hesitated at no fraud, and blushed at no falsehood." These calumnies appeared in the form of letters, from a correspondent at Athens; but it was evident that they originated in diplomatic circles, where dark intrigues were known, of which the public remained ignorant. It was, therefore, generally supposed at the time that they flowed from the pen of the billious Secretary of the British legation, Mr. Griffith, and were not unknown to Sir Edmund Lyons himself.* This correspondence divulged a nefarious attempt of Count Armanberg several years before to retain his position as chief chancellor or regent of the kingdom, by means of a certificate signed by the physician in ordinary, Doctor Wittmer, the Bavarian Grand Master of Ceremonies, Count Saporta, and other persons holding high offices at court, who declared that the king, being an *idiot*, was unfit to govern the kingdom himself. The existence of such a plot among the Bavarian household officers against the monarch, produced a general outcry of indignation against Dr. Wittmer, who was the only official among those accused by the anonymous writer still continuing at the court of Athens. He was instantly dismissed, and ran some personal danger before his departure from Greece. The whole nation considered itself insulted by the publication of such calumnies in a ministerial paper, and by the insulting manner in which the despicable intrigues of Count Armanberg, long after his downfall, had been proclaimed with the sanction of the British ministry. The personal enmity of the Greek govern-

* We cannot omit to state here a curious fact, which has been perverted in the letters of Mr. Griffith, and since repeated in the silly book of Lord Nugent, and some British Reviews. Among other falsehoods, they accuse the worthy Colonel of Gendarmes, Mr. Sinis, of the horrible crime of having *roasted alive* several Greek shepherds, &c. The truth, as told me by Col. Sinis himself, is this:—Pursuing with his gendarmes a gang of Klephties through the ravines of Mount Othrys, he found a shepherd sitting near a heap of ashes. To his questions the *tsupanis* answered that he had burnt some wood a few days ago, and that he knew nothing about the robbers. Sinis now ordered the gendarmes to put the fellow's head into the ashes, when he singed his beard, and called out: *Affendi!* the robbers just now roasted and eat my sheep; they are hidden in the cave yonder. They were of course immediately surrounded, and soon after captured.

ment and the British legation at Athens now broke out into an open feud. Some miserable Maltese street-porters, who had committed disorders in Athens, and been imprisoned, were, by Sir Edmund Lyons, reclaimed as *British subjects*; and an intoxicated English footman of a traveling lord, who had been arrested at Patras, was not only reclaimed, but the British ambassador even insisted on the dismissal of the Greek officers and gendarmes in Patras, threatening with a hostile demonstration of the English squadron off Corfu!

King Otho, thus pressed on all hands, called Alexander Mavrokordatos from London to form a new ministry. This distinguished Phanariote, the rival of Kolettis and Ypsilantis, so well known for his talents and intrigues during the war of independence, was welcomed by hundreds of Greeks, high and low, who flocked to the Piræus to receive him, and place themselves under his banner. This popular reception made him arrogant, and relying on the effective support of the English party, of which he was considered the leader, he in a somewhat high tone demanded of King Otho the dismissal of the foreign officers, the formation of a new ministry after his own choice, the independence of the synod, the publication of a budget, and the enlargement of the powers of the council of state—all measures that might be considered as preparatory to the introduction of a constitution. Maximilian, the crown-prince of Bavaria, and elder brother of King Otho, being at that time a guest in the palace at Athens, advised his royal brother at once to accept the propositions of Mavrokordatos. But the king displeased at the proud bearing of the man, and yielding to the insinuations of his German counselors, rejected his propositions, and sent him off as ambassador to Constantinople. The English party was thus defeated; the French had its turn. The governor of Syra, Khristidis, an inconsiderate and superficial man, the *protege* of the French ambassador, M. de Lagrene, was selected prime minister, and a new system began.

The royal authority once more prevailed. Alone, and abandoned by his partizans, Mavrokordatos departed from the Piræus for Turkey. All intelligent and patriotic Greeks were

exceedingly sorry at this event, yet they unanimously blamed the manner in which that statesman had demanded concessions, which, if made with some moderation, would possibly have saved Greece from the dangerous violence of a revolution. The Bavarian *camarilla* at court, in their short-sighted vanity, looked upon all this as a triumph; but their victory was not destined to be of long duration, nor to yield the golden fruits they so fondly had anticipated! The young sultan, Abdul-Meshid, in the meantime had come off victorious in his war against the Pasha of Egypt. Having recovered his Syrian provinces, the island of Candia, and his fleet, by the arms of the allied powers, a large Turkish army was assembled in Thessaly, and some light troops encamping on the frontiers of Greece threatened an invasion of Thermopylæ. Yet the diplomatic intercession of the great powers soon put a stop to these military demonstrations, and thus a second time thwarted the prospects of the warlike pallikars in Greece. All these disappointments augmented the dissatisfaction with the administration, and an external motive was now only wanting to kindle into a bright flame the glowing embers. This catastrophe was brought about by the financial distress of the country in 1843.

It is a well authenticated fact, that Greece never received the entire sum of the two first series of the loan of sixty millions of francs guaranteed by the powers. Nearly sixteen millions had beforehand been expended in indemnities to Turkey, for the evacuation of Athens and Eubœa by the Othoman troops, and in discounts and commissions to the bankers; *ten* millions more were absorbed in Munich by the enormous expenses for the equipment and transport of the Bavarian troops to Greece; the rest of the two series and the loan advanced by Austria had contributed to support the government of King Otho during these ten years—1833 to 1843. The internal resources of Greece herself had, indeed, showed a rapid increase from seven millions of drachms, or 1,170,000 dollars, in 1834, to seventeen or eighteen millions of drachms, or 3,000,000 dollars, in 1843; but the budget was only nominal, and there existed an annual deficit of several millions of drachms in

the real expenditure of government, which were only covered by artificial means ; nor had it succeeded, in this long course of time, in opening new resources, which might have enabled it to pay off the pending interests of the loan. The payment of the third series of the loan was refused by Russia and England, and by the languid system which had been adopted, the administration was, in the year 1843, at last placed in the difficult situation of not being able to fulfil its obligations to the foreign powers, nor even to satisfy the many different claims and demands rising in the kingdom itself. All the parties which hitherto had fought separately, and therefore had easily been defeated by government, now, as it were, united and took hold of this dilemma, checking the activity of the administration, in order to represent it as unpopular and insufficient, and with loud clamors to demand a national constitution. The press continued the attack with the greatest acrimony, reviling all measures of government with that innate Greek censoriousness slandering even the most worthy foreigners, who faithfully and skilfully devoted their talents to the welfare and civilization of that neglected country. This injustice and want of discrimination done to private individuals, we find to be an inherent evil in all violent revolutions. The Napists, after their repeated defeats now renewed their activity, and this time they received the direct support of the Russian ambassador, Katakasi. A third conspiracy was secretly planned, which a few months later had a better success than the former attempts, and effected a total change of government.

It is now historically proved that the views of the Russian party tended not only to the subversion of the Bavarian rule, but even to a *change of dynasty*. During the summer of 1843, a curious libel in the Greek language was published at Constantinople, and widely distributed throughout the kingdom, in which the situation of Greece was depicted in the darkest colors, and it was suggested that the noble-minded Hellenic nation could only be saved by placing a certain powerful prince of the true orthodox Greek religion on the throne, by dismissing all the foreigners from the public service, and by forming

a national assembly and a new constitution. The orthodox prince thus recommended was supposed to be the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son-in-law of the Russian autocrat. Certain it is, that the cabinet of St. Petersburg directly supported the machinations, by the publication of the infamous note of Count Nesselrode of March 7th 1843, in which he openly authorizes any popular movement against the Greek government. In this note the Russian prime minister not only peremptorily demanded the payment of the pending interest of the Russian dividend of the loan, but with the harshest and most unrelenting expressions reprehended the conduct of King Otho's administration in the presence, as it were, of the whole nation, and requested the instant dismissal of the army and navy officers and the strictest economy in the finances, as Greece, being placed under the immediate protection of the great powers, had no need whatever of an army or a fleet.

King Otho, intimidated by the haughty tone of Russia, and not possessing fortitude enough to return the answer which so unjust a command deserved, resolved to comply, without reflecting on the consequence of dismissing several hundred Greek officers, who immediately were to plan a conspiracy against his throne.

Nearly all the German officials, with the exception of some household officers at court, the professors of the university and colleges, and the engineers at Nauplion, were dismissed from the royal service, and sent back to Bavaria. The cavalry and artillery, with the exception of one squadron of lancers and a light battery, were disbanded, and the horses sold. The infantry shared the same fate; the battalions were reduced to companies. The corvettes and other vessels, even the royal steamer, were ordered to Poros to be unrigged, and the navy officers and crews were discharged.

Yet all these forced measures were in vain; and though one million and a half of the interest were paid off in July, the three protecting powers, by their conference at London, sent in a collective note to King Otho, on the 5th September, 1843, in which the most unjust demand was made, that the king

should give them an assignation on the principal revenues of the Greek kingdom, and call together a national assembly.

The contending parties in Greece thus openly encouraged and invited to rebel against their sovereign, had now united, and a conspiracy of the disbanded officers was organized during July and August. Old Kolokotronis had died in 1839; but the commander of the forces at Athens, Colonel Kalergis, from Crete; Makry-Yannis, of Athens; Griziotis, of Eubœa; Andreas Londos, of Vostizza; Theodoros Grivas, of Acarnania; Rhigas-Palamides, of Kalavrita; Colonel Spiridon Milios, and many others, were at the head of the plot. The 16th September was fixed upon for its execution. Some vague rumors about a riot had begun to spread in Athens, and an intense excitement prevailed, but nothing was known with certainty. An Englishman, who, during the regency of Count Armandsparg, had figured as prefect of police at Athens, and still kept up his connection with the people, learned the names of several of the conspirators, and hurried to the king, who assembling the ministers, ordered the leaders to be arrested and placed before a court-martial. Vlachopoulos, the minister of war, not knowing that Colonel Kalergis was at the head of the plot, called him to his presence, and commanded him to keep the garrison under arms, and ready to occupy the palace and squares of the city. The crafty Cretan, with a bold countenance, requested artillery and ammunition, and then sent the order to all the leaders of the conspiracy to strike the blow the same night between the 14th and 15th September.

The old warriors of Makry-Yannis were to assemble in his dwelling, situated near the temple ruins of Olympian Jove, on the outskirts of the town, while the pallikars of Griziotis from Eubœa, who already were on the march, received orders to occupy the heights and passes of Mount Parnes, and there await the fire-signals from Athens.

The troops of the garrison, consisting of two battalions of infantry, some light companies, a squadron of lancers, and four field-pieces, were at that time commanded by Greeks; the only two German sub-lieutenants still in service at Athens were ig-

norant of the movement, and afterwards hurried to the palace. A large number of Greek officers in glittering uniforms suddenly appeared in the theatre, to the astonishment of the quiet citizens, who had no certain knowledge of what was going on. The Russian ambassador, Katakasi, gave a brilliant party that night, where many of the leaders were invited. When the clock struck twelve at midnight, Kalergis, with his officers, left the ball-room, called the troops to arms, and proclaimed the constitution. *Syntagma, syntagma*, (constitution,) re-echoed from hundreds of voices, and, at the head of his lancers, Kalergis now led the troops in perfect order through the large avenue of Hermes, and formed them into battle array on the square in front and rear of the new palace, while small detachments commanded by the young officers of the military college of the Euelpides were sent off to the dwellings of the councilors of state, whom they arrested and brought together in the council-hall. Rockets were fired, and the wild pallikars from Eubæa, on the summits of Parnes, answered the signals by lighting huge fires along the mountain tops, and then hurried downward to the city. The armed police or gendarmerie was at that time a faithful and well-organized corps, commanded by General Vlachopoulos, the brother of the minister of war. He had ordered a strong detachment of gendarmes to guard the palace, and another body to observe the house of Makry-Yannis, which was the rendezvous of the pallikars. The alarm being given, and the inhabitants of Athens hurrying to arms, Makry-Yannis, with his retainers, were reinforced by the wild old warrior Kostas and another band. These meeting with the gendarmes, a skirmish ensued, in which a sergeant was shot; but Makry-Yannis rushing between the combatants, called out to them: "Stop, brethren, what are ye doing." He then explained their purpose, and the whole party, pallikars and gendarmes, marched off to the palace.

Here all was confusion; the guards had been doubled, and an adjutant to the king, Captain Steinsdorf, sent off to bring up the artillery for the protection of the palace. But arriving at the artillery-barracks, the Greek commander, Captain

Schinas, gave him the haughty answer, "Go and tell his Majesty that the guns soon will be at the palace, at the order of Colonel Kalergis." The adjutant galloped back, and finding the infantry already forming before the gate of the palace, he put spurs to his horse and dashed through the line, overturning some soldiers, but succeeded in entering the palace with the news of the treachery of the whole garrison. Shouts of "Long live the constitution—long live the national assembly," resounded along the lines and among the thick crowds of armed Greeks, who were gradually approaching from all parts of the city, the Piræus, and the environs.

The generals, Gardikiotis, Grivas, and minister of war, Vlachopoulos, came out of the palace, and ordered the troops and the people to retire; they were instantly surrounded, arrested, and conducted as prisoners to the barracks. The king then sent the master of ceremonies, Colonel Heas, the most hated man in the kingdom, to the balcony; but on making his appearance, the tremendous outcry of the multitude forced the Bavarian to retire. King Otho now stepped forward, and speaking French, he called for "le Colonel Kalergi"—to which Kalergis, saluting his majesty with his sabre from the front of the lancers, answered with a loud voice in Greek—"Sire! I am not now a colonellos, but a citizen of Greece, who with his fellow-citizens most humbly requests your majesty to grant us a constitution." The king then required time for consideration, and ordered the troops and the people to retire." "Sire!" replied the steady Kalergis, "it is impossible, until your majesty has consulted with the council of state." The king retired.

The whole city was on the move; muskets were fired in the streets, and the armed peasants and mountaineers flocked in from the country. It was now two o'clock in the morning, when a rattling noise was heard, and a brigade of artillery came up at full gallop. The guns were instantly unlimbered, and posted before the front and side doors of the palace.

In the mean time Colonel Spiridon-Milios, at the head of the officers of the military college, entered the *bouleuterion*,

or council-hall, and placing a brace of pistols on the table before him, ordered the trembling councilors, many of whom well knew how indifferent they had been about the welfare of their native country—leaving the most important affairs to the care of the Bavarian secretaries,—to declare, that the council of state would take upon themselves the responsibility of the present movement, and hereby express their thanks to the people and the army for their admirable conduct, and decree—“that the whole army should take the oath of fidelity to the country and the constitutional throne.”

The old councilors looked at one another, and then at the stern countenance of Spiridon-Milios, who, with his hand on his pistols, was the man to have shot down on the spot the first who would have dared to attempt any remonstrance. The act was therefore laid ready before them, and instantly signed. Then Andreas Londos, accompanied by a deputation of members, was sent off with this important document to the people and army assembled before the palace. Here the first constitutional act was read and received with loud acclamations. During the recital of the oath, the whole population raised their hands to heaven spontaneously, and the old Andreas was lifted up in the arms of the citizens and carried in triumph back to the council. An address to the king was now drawn up by Spiridon-Milios, and a commission appointed to carry it to the king and return with his reply. His majesty demanded to consult with the ambassadors of the protecting powers, but this was immediately refused by the assembled multitude; and when the diplomatists in their stage-coaches and in full uniform arrived before the palace, Colonel Kalergis riding up to them, said, “that this was wholly a Greek affair between king and people, and that until the king had terminated his consultations with his council of state, the foreign ministers could by no means be permitted to enter the palace.” Baron Prokesch von Osten, the Austrian, attempted to advance; but perceiving the extreme excitement of the people and the firm array of the cavalry, he returned to his coach and departed. Baron Brassier de Saint Simon, the Prussian, burst into violent pro-

testations ; but Kalergis and his staff-officers retained their *sang froid*, and quietly answered the hair-brained Prussian—"As for you, Master Simon, you have but too often entered the palace ; and it is to the counsels of yourself, and such as you, that his majesty now owes all his difficulties."

The commission of the council of state still remained with the king. Otho proposed to consult with his father—with the powers—demanded three months—a fortnight—nothing could be granted ; an implicit acceptance of the address was claimed.

Every delay seemed dangerous—signs of impatience were seen among the people and the soldiery. Cries were heard "to batter down the gates and storm the palace." While Kalergis on horseback, was haranguing the multitude to keep them quiet, a gendarme at a window on the ground-floor of the palace most imprudently leveled his musket at him, but a German officer caught his arm and thrust him back. A shot at the commander-in-chief at that moment might have had the most melancholy consequences, as the enraged people, no doubt, would have taken the palace by assault, captured and deposed the king, and put all the Bavarian officers and courtiers to the sword.

During this interval of suspense and intense excitement, a ridiculous scene took place on the square before the palace. A young, elegantly-dressed Greek, lately returned from Paris, dashed through the crowd and the military, ascended the front stairs of the palace, and began to harangue the assembled people on liberty and the constitution, but with so affected and strange an accent, that the multitude, believing him to be a foreigner, cried "*joucha ! joucha !*"—let him perish—and making a rush forward, and laying hold on the supposed Bavarian, would have torn him to pieces, if he had not been saved by Kalergis and his lancers, who carried him, wounded and bleeding, to the hospital.

At last the commission of the state-council made its appearance and was received with unbounded joy ; for they at once announced that King Otho had consented to the dismissal of the ministry and the foreigners in the Greek service, to the ap-

pointment of a new popular ministry, and the immediate convocation of a national assembly for the purpose of drawing up a constitution.

When morning dawned upon Athens, the troops and people, in various picturesque costumes, were still assembled before the palace; but the best order was observed during all the agitation of this most stirring night-scene: not a window of the palace, or garden pale, had been broken—not a flower gathered in the royal pleasure-grounds. Refreshments were carried round to the wearied soldiers and citizens, but no intemperance took place here among the sober Greeks, as would have been the case in other countries of Europe. Foreign ladies actually walked without fear about the palace, as spectators of this extraordinary sight. All the house-tops around were covered with women and children, while on the square below thousands of *fezies*, or red skull-caps, were flung into the air; and the *zitos*, the music of the military bands, the singing and shouting, denoted the general harmony and gladness of this lively and good-natured people.

Different was the scene within the halls of the palace! As soon as the king had given his consent, the ranks of the military opened, and the foreign ambassadors were permitted to enter. They found the royal family somewhat re-assured. Poor Amelia and her elder sister, the delicate duchess of Oldenburgh, had suffered some fear in the beginning; but the queen soon showed more fortitude than her royal consort, and advised him to mount on horseback and appear before the troops. Both Otho and Amelia were beloved by the Greek people; their annual progress through the different provinces of the kingdom had always been a continued triumphal procession. Personally they would never have been exposed to any real danger. Amelia's heart was deeply touched when she learned that not the smallest injury had been done or attempted, either at the palace or the gardens, nor that any shout of insult had been uttered against herself or the king.

The foreign ministers played but a sorry part in the halls of the palace. When Otho with great animation gave them

the details of what had occurred, the French ambassador, M. Piscatory, was the only one who showed some presence of mind, and encouraged, and with French politeness, even complimented the young king "on the glorious days that would now dawn on Hellas, through the union of king and people." Baron Prokesch spoke with dignity. The Englishman stood aloof, and was silent; the Russian and Prussian are said to have shed tears, each in a separate window.

Though the mass of the people had hailed the constitution promised by King Otho with signs of satisfaction, the Russian party, the intriguers, and the dismissed officers, were quite astonished at the facility with which they had overcome the well-known obstinacy of his majesty, who thus had yielded to their demands. Many felt disappointed, distinctly betraying their dissatisfaction. Violent discussions arose in the council; the Russian party having the majority, and being bent on forcing the king to abdicate, proposed and obtained a vote, that the king should be required to thank the troops for their *good* behavior, to promise promotion to the officers, and a medal to all those who had aided or been present during the transaction of this glorious day, which in future was to be celebrated as the day of the regeneration of Hellas. The victory of the Russian conspiracy depended on a refusal on the part of the king, which they no doubt had anticipated. Every precaution had been taken in case of an assault on the palace, to transfer the royal family to the Piræus. The royal steamer had, by a previous arrangement with the prefect of the naval station at Poros, been equipped, and lay now with its boilers hissing at Ægina. On the first signal it would arrive at the Piræus, and bring the high personages to any part of Italy they might choose.

A second deputation then presented themselves with these hard and absurd demands, which afterwards were said to have been unknown to Kalergis and the army. The king received them surrounded by the foreign ministers. The tone of the speaker, Lidorikis, was haughty; only a quarter of an hour was allowed to his majesty for deliberation, and it represented

to him that the army insisted on the conditions exacted. Otho hesitated. The queen, in an adjoining apartment, is said to have pressed him with all the earnestness of affection ;—still, he remained undecided—when Lidorikis stepping forward, said these hard words : “ Sire, if you do not accept these conditions, the Greeks will instantly storm your palace, cut down your Bavarians, and their blood will be on your head.”

This was the moment of real danger ; the populace, tired of the protracted scene of fifteen hours, and illuded by the intriguers as to the importance of the demanded guarantees, showed tokens of ferocity, and began to shout and clamor—when M. Piscatory, approaching the king, exclaimed ; “ Sire, you have made already the greatest sacrifice : this is a comparative trifle ; yield them this, and France will guarantee you the integrity of your crown !”

Otho yielded to these arguments, at the very last moment, saying with much feeling : “ that though as a man, he felt the indignity offered to him, and would not personally have given way, yet as a sovereign, he was bound to concede even this point for the welfare of Greece.”

The Bishop of Attica, heading a procession of priests, now entered the palace. The king and the council of state took the oath to the new constitution. Accompanied by the foreign ministers, he then appeared on the balcony in front of the city, where he was welcomed with continued shouts by the multitude below. At three o'clock in the afternoon, on Friday, 15th September, 1843, the troops with their colors flying, and their bands playing the national airs of Rhigas, marched off, and the crowds dispersed quietly ; the same evening, perfect tranquility reigned throughout Athens. The news of the bloodless revolution in the capitol spread with the greatest rapidity all over Greece, and was everywhere hailed with joy. Kalergis had sent off a courier, who arrived at Nauplion on Friday at midnight. His dispatches were received by the Greek officers who were initiated in the plot. They went in a body to the commandant of the fortress, Colonel von Reineck, a Prussian Philhellene, who, being the brother-in-law of Mav-

rokordatos, was well acquainted with all the secret movements of the leaders. Thus the Greek officers, to their utter astonishment, found the old colonel in full uniform, saluting them with a "long life to the constitutional king of Hellas." In the presence of all the troops of the garrison, the oath was taken.

The fierce Griziotis, "the Pasha of Eubœa," as the Greeks called him, with his armed bands, had taken possession of Chalkis, where he scornfully imprisoned the foreign officials. In the meantime the municipal councils of sixty towns and villages transmitted to the capital their acts approving and adopting the constitutional form of the new government. King Otho was obliged to choose his first responsible constitutional ministry among the principal leaders of the insurrection. Colonel Spiro Milios became minister of war and the active Cretan Kalergis commander of the troops in Athens. Kolettis, Mavrokordatos, Trikoupis and Metaxäs were recalled from their foreign missions, and a national assembly was decreed to be elected, and to meet at Athens on the 20th of November.

This important event was looked for with great anxiety. The moderation of the Greek people on the 15th did not last; the violent party-spirit soon broke loose again, and disgraceful disturbances followed in quick succession. The first consequence of the catastrophe was the giving way of all restraints of order and obedience; foreigners in government service were insulted and wounded in different provinces of the kingdom. The mountain robbers suddenly re-appeared, and English travellers were again, for the first time in ten years, attacked and plundered at Megara, on the Isthmus of Corinth, nay, even on the high-road between Athens and the Piræus. All these convulsions were fomented by the rivalry and ambition of the seven leaders, who, on their occupying the executive authority, grasped at the few thousand drachms they found in the treasury, in order to pay the numerous warriors, from all parts, hurrying to the capital to obtain employment. The foreign officers, professors, artists, and other employees, even the household servants of the king, were dismissed, and soon after left Greece. Many distinguished men were treated with unsparing

animosity, and the hate which the Greeks had shown toward the strangers they soon turned against their own countrymen. Rhallis, Khristidis, and the other deposed ministers, were accused of attempting a re-action, and were exiled to the islands. The king's Greek adjutants, the brave Gennæos Kolokotronis and Tzavellas, were insulted by the multitude, but succeeded at last, with their drawn swords, to force their way to the British men-of-war in the Piræus. Nor did the jealousy of the victorious party stop with the overthrow of the supposed royalists; it soon turned with still greater virulence against the most zealous declaimers of liberty and constitution, the elegant and influential Phanariotes, who having deserted the government by whom they had risen, were now infatuated enough to believe that they had at once got the reins and the whip into their own hands. A few days after the September scene, we met the lively poet, Alexander Soutzos, in the street. The Phanariote looked proudly, and called out to us from afar: "*Cela ira bien, nous avons déjà la constitution toute faite dans la poche !*"—(All comes on nicely, we have already the constitution ready-made in our pocket)—and alas! a fortnight afterwards the admired poet, who in a witty, satirical poem had called the National Assembly "a herd of long-eared jacks," was publicly ill-treated by the populace, and obliged to flee to France.

The popular movement immediately took a turn quite contrary to the intentions and hopes of the Russian party, which thus suffered ridicule and defeat. Instead of obtaining the forced abdication of King Otho, which was the principal object they had in view, they became the tools of men more clever than themselves. A liberal constitution had now been granted, which it never could have been their aim to demand, but which was only intended to serve as a mask for their secret intrigues and Russian aspirations. Thus, then, the fruits of the September night were lost to Russia, whose ambassador, M. de Kataksi, having been outwitted by the crafty Cretan, Kalergis, and his patriotic colleagues, had the deep mortification to see his machinations exposed to the merriment of those Greeks,

who had pocketed the thousands of rubles with which they had been bribed. The total failure of the perfidious politics of Russia was of course thrown on the shoulders of the unhappy envoy, as being an indiscretion of his own. A fulminating *ukase* of Emperor Nicholas openly disowned the proceedings of his minister, and tendered him his dismissal from the imperial service. On the 23d of November a Russian steam-frigate anchored in the Piræus, on which he embarked for the Black Sea. Yet his exemption from punishment on his return to Russia, gives full evidence of his not having dived into the Greek conspiracy on his own responsibility, but by higher orders from the autocrat himself.

Kalergis, in the meantime, was the hero of the day.* As commander-in-chief of the army, he succeeded, by indefatigable activity, to restore order and obedience in the capital. In his address to the Hellenic people of the 16th September, he says: "We have removed the obstacles which separated the throne from the nation. Foreigners no longer surround our king, and the representatives of the people are already assembling. Thus our wishes and prayers have been accomplished. Nothing more is needed that we may enjoy peace and good order, but to persuade the most unbelieving of our adversaries that our contest has been only excited by the honorable desire for the welfare of the state."

The elections went on all over Greece; it was indeed a time of the greatest excitement. In the Morea, they caused serious disturbances. It came to blows in Kalavrita, where several chiefs were killed; nowhere would the minority yield to the majority; each party, therefore, sent off their own deputies to Athens, often accompanied by well-armed retainers. The first task of the assembly was a difficult one; because it had to verify the legal authority of the delegates, and reject a great number as illegally chosen. In ancient Athens, the citizens used

* Kalergis, having been taken prisoner by Reshid-Pasha in the disastrous battle of the Piræus, on the 6th of May, 1827, was saved by the influence of General Church, but had his ears cut off by the Turks. The Bavarians afterwards mocked at the *earless* hero; but Kalergis answered with a laugh, "Better a *cropped* Cretan than a long-eared Bavarian."

to hold their public assemblies on the Pnyx, the high hill westward of the Acropolis, where the ruins are still seen of the platform and the pulpit of the orators. During the revolutionary war, Congress united at Argos in 1821, in the immense theatre cut out of the solid rock of the Larissa or Acropolis, where the picturesque groups, seated around, presented a most beautiful spectacle.

In 1848 the National Assembly, or *Ethnosynleusis*, as the Greeks called it, occupied a large octagonal hall in the old palace, which formerly had served the tripple purpose of a ball-room, a Roman Catholic Chapel for King Otho and his Bavarians, and a Lutheran Church for Queen Amelia, and nearly 800 members of the Protestant community of Athens. It was now suitably fitted out for the occasion, and decorated with white and purple drapery, and the portraits of the most distinguished characters from the war of independence. Panutzos Notaräs, of Trikala, (Corinth,) was elected president. This venerable old man was 105 years of age, but showed an activity and intelligence which seemed incredible for a centogenarian! What times and changes had he witnessed! and through what terrible dangers had he carried his amiable and wealthy family! He was, however, assisted by four vice-presidents, the chiefs of the nation, Mavrokordatos, Kolettis, Metaxäs and Trikoupis—of whom the three first were the leaders of the English, French and Russian parties.

Since the eventful night of the 15th September, King Otho, keeping entirely aloof from affairs, had shown the most open sincerity, and had gained the good-will and confidence of all parties. On the 20th November he opened the first session of the assembly, in person, with a short and simple, yet powerful speech of his own composition, which was received with satisfaction :

“I appear in the midst of you,” he said, “with the pleasing persuasion that this assembly will become the herald of happiness to our beloved Greece. From the very first establishment of the monarchy many liberal institutions have been founded, with the object of *preparing* the way for the intro-

duction of a definite constitution. Free municipal institutions, provincial councils, trial by jury, were the precursors of the representative government in Hellas. We are now to place the key-stone of the edifice by the introduction of a full and liberal constitution. Let us unite our efforts for the establishment of a fundamental law, conformable to the true wants and circumstances of the state, and adapted to advance and secure the real interests of each. Yes, let wisdom and justice reign in all their force, and let the common tie of love unite us all. Confiding in your enlightened patriotism, I open this assembly : may the blessing of God make it propitious and advantageous to Greece ! Her prosperity is my desire—is my glory."

Under loud acclamations King Otho left the hall, and the National Assembly immediately began the great work of the Constitution. Yet the hatred and violence of the parties still threatened with disorders ; all the avenues of the Hall of Assembly were guarded by detachments of mounted lancers. In the entry, some officers, commanding a strong guard of infantry, were stopping the deputies, and ordering them to depose their weapons, pistols, sabres, and daggers, which were given back to them at the close of the sitting. In another apartment was arranged a *lesche*, where the members during the long sittings would refresh themselves with the indispensable paper-cigars, coffee and wine. In the interior hall, a line of fierce-looking gendarmes, with fixed bayonets, kept up a separation between the deputies and the boisterous spectators, who could hardly be hindered from taking an active part in the discussions. The hall was crowded with the 130 members from the different parts of Greece ; nay, the ultra liberal party had even their representatives from Turkey, from Smyrna, Crete, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus, the conquest of which they were dreaming. All these martial and fine-looking men were dressed in their beautiful national costumes ; the Rumeliote mountaineer, in his snow-white kilt, and the shaggy capote hanging down from his shoulder ; the islander, in his Turkish jacket, richly laced with silk, and wide trowsers—some old men, even, in the long caftan and broad sash—all with the dashing red

skull cap—the *fessi*—and the blue silk tassel, giving a picturesque and lively aspect to the eminently interesting scene. The foreigners, officers, secretaries, professors, physicians, artists, had all been dismissed from the royal service, and native Greeks placed temporarily in their situations, but they had free access to the assembly, and the Greek rulers, even with some irony, sent them tickets for the sittings of the deputies, as if calling on them to come on and admire the exuberant flow of national eloquence and talent! Thus, we too, found an opportunity to be present at many of those curious scenes, which we shall attempt to describe. Among the mass of deputies—or *Plirexousii*, as the Greeks call them—were certainly some excellent orators, but they were few; these spoke in the beautiful modern Hellenic; while the greater number went on in their nearly unintelligible jargon, and many did not speak at all. The learned orators, in their imitation of Demosthenian eloquence, were continually interrupted by the illiterate members from Mount Pindus and Agrafa, calling out, “Stop, affendi! stop! speak plain Romaic! we do not understand this hotch-potch!” Nay, the terrible Grivas would sometimes jump on his seat, and in a thundering voice taunt them as “*Bavarians*, who could not speak their mother tongue!”

The celebrated Athenian lawyers, Petzalis, Zographos, Dukas, and others, took the lead, and began the discussion with French rhetoric and exaggeration, describing the tumult in which the poet Soutzos had been boxed on the ears by the palikars, and denouncing that “public safety did no longer exist in the seat of liberty, the city of Minerva!” This called forth an outburst of indignation or laughter, when Count Metaxas, now Minister of the Interior, dressed in an out-worn, shabby coat and a dirty red cap, arose and answered in his Corfiote dialect, “Gentlemen, what happened you know; we shall take care to do better for the future.” But the joke did not end there; a dashing young Hydriote, Damianos, (formerly a humble secretary of Count Armansperg,) sprang forward, and made a most flowery and affected speech in the French style, maintaining in the face of all Hellas, the liberty of the

poets, and of the press, that holy palladium of the most ancient and glorious of nations, and moved for the personal sanctity and inviolability of the members of the National Assembly. He was supported by Dr. Petzalis, who, in the most delightful manner, quoted many passages from the French Revolution, so that the hall re-echoed with the Marats, Dantons, and Robespierres of old—and to the still greater amusement of the audience, an old shaggy Moreote exclaimed in his harsh dialect:

“What the devil are ye all wrangling about! Who can here maintain the personal safety of Congress, when two of our own members, Paikos and Klonaris, were thrashed in the street yesterday by the mob, and had their houses burnt down over their heads!!!”

The whole assembly now rose, and began to speak at the same time, in spite of the “ting-tang,” of the silver bell, which the vice-president, Mavrokordatos, was ringing, in his despair calling out for “the order of the day!”

In the midst of the tumult, old Makry-Yannis, the Athenian, in his coarse white woolen jacket, waved violently with his hand, and succeeding in quieting down the noisy members, he roared forth: “Stop affendades, stop, I say; there shall be no order of the day until the pallikars of the war have obtained eighteen deputies to represent the interests of *the old arms*,” (*dia ta armata ta palæa*.)

It is impossible to describe the excitement and the tumultuous scene that followed on this most *ominous* proposition. The pallikars, from every part of the hall, from the floor, the tribunes and galleries, who, no doubt, had been fully instructed by Makry-Yannis, rose with menacing gestures and outstretched fists. With loud acclamations they supported the motion; “they had shed their hearts’ blood in the holy combat for the salvation of the country—while the *drones*—(kiphines)—had robbed them of their honey! They demanded money, titles and estates.” A pale faced beardless Chiote, resembling a Hamburg Jew, opposed the motion, supporting the inviolable rights of the peaceable citizens—of commerce and industry—“here

in Athens, here in the presence of all Europe—of all the world!" But this only augmented the uproar. The warriors cried, "Down with that *drone*; down with the Phanariote! the mercenary foreigner; he, too, wants to suck our blood!" A robber-captain—a true Klepht—from the Morea jumping up on his chair, began to beat his breast and tear open his jacket, in order to make a show of his wounds and scars! Many members now stole out of the hall to smoke their paper cigars in the ante-room; the gendarmes mustered their arms and drew up in line. A number of our young Greek officers from the military college in the Piræus were standing around, and having been themselves drilled to discipline and order, they immediately showed their disgust at the insubordinate pretensions of the savage and ignorant mountaineers. "Down with the Klephts," they cried, "their time has past."

Tempora mutantur
Et nos mutamur in illis!

The rising generation had already a powerful voice. The violent scene continued from ten o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon. The crowds outside remained watching the progress of the startling question; the moderate party, however, got the upper hand. The motion of Makry-Yannis was lost; and fully exhausted, but proud of its victory, the assembly at last adjourned, amidst the shouts of the Athenian citizens.

Such is the picture of the opening of the Synaeleusis in November, 1848. Many similar scenes followed, in which the selfishness and illiberality of the different parties, of the old warriors and the bigoted clergy, who strained every nerve to keep up their influence, were to be seen in their full and glaring colors, but they all give the brightest evidence of the sound judgment and admirable tact of the great body of the Greek nation, which went victoriously out of this political alembic a few months later.

The most difficult question which, at that time, seemed to threaten the court and capital with real danger, in spite of the

energetic dispositions of Colonel Kalergis, was that of Hellenic nationality or citizenship.

The sittings continued to be stormy; and, by some intrigue of the Moreotes, a most illiberal decision was finally adopted. Thus the new constitution excluded from public service all Greeks who were not born *within* the narrow limits of the present pigmy kingdom of Hellas!—although by far the greater part of men of talent and education were *Heteroektones*, or Greeks, from other parts without the frontiers, from Turkey, Russia or Austria, who had hurried to liberated Greece either during the war of independence or after its termination, in order to take their part in the reorganization of that distracted country. Nearly all the lawyers, physicians and literary men belonged to this class; and twenty professors of the Othonian University, at Athens, were, according to this unjust article of the constitution, to be dismissed from their chairs, while only *one* Greek professor out of the whole number happened to be a *born* Moreote, and consequently an *Autoekton*, or native of Greece. Such a regulation would have been the ruin of the newly-established university, and of the excellent organization of the tribunals of the kingdom, which, with so great care and discrimination, had been instituted by Chevalier de Maurer. The ingratitude and narrow-minded egotism of such a law in a country, which had the greatest need of the joint effort of all her educated and intelligent sons to make a stand against the barbarity and ignorance of the lawless warriors and bigoted clergy, was felt by every impartial man; and yet the violent party-spirit of the time got the better, and the law passed by the joint majority of the numerous deputies from the Morea. All Greeks who were not born in the kingdom, and all foreign Philhellenes who had arrived in Greece later than the battle of Petra, on the Copaic Lake in Bœotia, in 1828, were to be considered as having no pretensions to be provided for by the state. They were to give up their offices to native Greeks and be dismissed from the public service. Yet the pernicious effects of this decree were in part neutralized by the remarkable amendment of the brave General Theodoros Grivas, from Acar-

nanias. He suddenly rose, and, in a simple and pithy discourse, proposed that men of science and literature, as well as artists, should be excepted from that sweeping law. This amendment touched the better feelings of the Greeks ; it was received with acclamation ; it saved the honor of the national assembly, and prevented the ruin of the literary establishments of the young kingdom. The statute of nationality thus in the practice became circumscribed to the military and the ministerial departments, while several foreign literary men and artists were replaced in their offices during the subsequent liberal ministry of Kolettis.

During the whole period of the debates on the constitution, Athens remained in a continual state of alarm. Colonel Kallergis and the Athenian garrison were day and night engaged in putting down boisterous assemblies or seditious demonstrations, and succeeded, by their discipline and vigilance, to secure the safety of the royal family and the capital. Bands of robbers, descending from the mountains, committed depredations on the frontiers, and were with some difficulty dispersed and driven back into Turkey. Four line-of-battle ships, British and French, with several steam-frigates, were anchored within the port of the Piræus, ready on the first signal to land a strong body of marines and sailors, with eighteen field-pieces, for the support of the king and government at Athens. But the thunderstorm passed over. On the 30th of March, 1844, the king accepted, and swore to the constitution. The Constituent Assembly had thus happily terminated its labors to the satisfaction of the throne and the people. Its session had lasted four months, from November 20, 1843, to March 30, 1844, and may, upon the whole, be considered as highly honorable to Greece. The first excitement of the insurrection in September having died away, and the irregularly elected deputies been ejected, the discussions of the Chamber became more quiet, and were mostly circumscribed to the leading points of the constitution itself. Men of such talents as Kolettis, Trikoupis and Mavrokordatos therefore succeeded in introducing order and regularity. Many of the Greek deputies, though

illiterate, and unprepared for public oratory, soon began to form themselves into eloquent speakers by the natural pliancy and versatility of their genius. The ease and self-possession with which the mountaineers then would arise and speak some few words to the point, did not fail to strike the foreign ambassadors present with astonishment and admiration. If, therefore, we compare the Greek Constituent Assembly of 1843-'44, with those which afterwards sprung up in Frankfort, Berlin and Vienna in 1848, and instead of establishing union, harmony and order, only tended to spread dissensions, disorder and rebellion, by their absurd *revivals* and their headlong encroachments on the prerogative of the executive governments, we certainly cannot but express our satisfaction with the innate tact of the Greeks, which prompted them to reject all desultory motions and dangerous firebrands which often were thrown in, and to keep up an austere and determined spirit of business, constantly directed to the *main point* in question—the fundamental laws of the young state. At the same time they showed their acknowledgement of the sincere intentions of King Otho; they often expressed their esteem for the personal character of the young sovereign; his remarks and proposed alterations in the constitution scheme were, with peculiar delicacy, discussed within closed doors, and the replies agreed upon the next day read over in the public sittings.

Another highly interesting subject is the astonishing progress which the modern Greek language had made. This we discover by comparing the text of the constitution of 1844 with the earlier legislations of Argos, Astros and Troezen, twenty years earlier. The former is written in a noble language, which, for terse perspicuity and accuracy of definitions, will challenge comparison with any similar document in the world.

According to the constitution of March 30, 1844, the person of the king is sacred and inviolable—his ministers being *responsible*; he enjoys all the usual rights and prerogatives of constitutional monarchies.

The legislative power is exercised collectively by the king

through his ministers, the chamber and the senate. All laws and regulations regarding the annual budgets, the income and expenditure of the state, &c., shall first be brought before and voted by the chamber. Both the chamber and the senate are to meet by right on the 1st (13th) of November every year, and the duration of each session will last for at least two months. The law election is liberal, but certain qualifications are required for the representatives. They are elected triennially, and their number cannot be less than eighty. They must have completed their 30th year, and receive, whilst in performance of their duties, from the public treasury 250 drachms, or 41 dollars and 75 cents, in monthly allowance during the sitting of the assembly. The king appoints senators for life, their number is twenty-seven; but may be increased with the consent of the chamber. They must have completed their 40th year, and have distinguished themselves in the service of Greece. Their allowance is 500 drachms, or 85 dollars 25 cents per month whilst sitting. The Orthodox Church of Greece is united in its doctrinal union with the Patriarchal Church of Constantinople, but it is self-independent, or *autokephalos*, and exercises its supreme powers within itself, independently of the Eastern Church, and is governed by a *holy synod* of bishops, thus cutting short all the intrigues of the Constantinopolitan and Russian clergy, which have exercised such a pernicious influence on the Ionian Islands, and brought the English government into continual difficulties.

The press was given free, and censorship interdicted; trial by jury was retained from the earlier institutions, but extended to all political offences, as well as to those of the press. One of the most important provisions of the constitution at that time, was the succession of the throne, which was only to be given to a Greek orthodox prince—no doubt, with the intention of excluding the Bavarian family, and making the people proclaim a Russian prince.

The ceremony itself took place in the octagonal hall of the old palace, and is described as being beautiful and touching in the highest degree. We were ourselves absent in Syria at the

time, but letters from our Athenian friends describe the brilliant scene; more than 7,000 persons were crowding the hall and its avenues; the young king, with his charming Amelia, was received with enthusiastic acclamations, and when he had taken the oath of the constitution, and declared the Constituent Assembly dissolved, the members and thousands of citizens spontaneously accompanied the lovely couple back to their residence, and gave nine tremendous cheers, which rang back from the mountains. Greece had become a constitutional kingdom! So far all went on smoothly, far beyond expectation, but now the great difficulty arose at once—the practical application of the new system, at a time of great pecuniary distress, when the insurrectionary movement in the provinces, and the grasping hands of the revolutionary *seven men*, had deprived government of the last few thousand dollars which the Bavarian camarilla had left in the treasury.

The first legislative chamber was then elected in July. In the mean time, the greatest anxiety prevailed in Athens among all the politicians to know if the constitution really could work among the conflicting parties. The leading men, of course, were all hanging around King Otho, making low bows, and fair promises, in order to get his orders for putting together the first responsible ministry.

Otho, no doubt, sincerely wished to make the new form of government a reality; but he had a difficult task to perform, in order to choose his ministry among men who enjoyed the confidence of the nation. By the strenuous exertions of the British ambassador, Sir Edmund Lyons, the first constitutional ministry was taken from the English party, with Alexander Mavrokordatos at the head of the administration. But this triumph was short-lived; it lasted only four months—from the 18th of April to the 17th of August, 1844. Kolettis, the most popular man in Greece, refused to support his old rival, and formed a secret coalition with Count Metaxäs of the Russian party. This strong opposition at the very outset exasperated the haughty Mavrokordatos. In order to strengthen his own administration, he, in the most arbitrary and unconstitu-

tional manner, dismissed a multitude of state officers, and filled their places with his own partisans. By these precipitate and violent measures, he soon lost his long-acquired reputation; in spite of the high-sounding and applauding dispatches of Sir Edmund to the British government. Kolettis wielded the dangerous firebrand of the press; Theodoros Grivas flew to arms, and calling together his wild clansmen, the Klephties spread rebellion and devastation through Ætolia and Acarnania. Having been defeated in several skirmishes against the royal troops, he, with a safe-conduct, returned to Athens. But on his receiving notice from the French ambassador at the Piræus, that Mavrokordatos intended to take him prisoner by treachery, he fled on board a French frigate, which carried him to Egypt. A tumult broke out at Athens on the 23d of June, which could only be quelled by the energetic measures of Colonel Kalergis. The greatest obstacles to the ministry of Mavrokordatos were the unfavorable elections for the next assembly. The prime minister moved every stone by bribery and corruption, by threats and open violence, to secure the votes in favor of the English party. Bloodshed was frequent at Kalavrita and other places, in the Morea. Kalergis was put forward as a ministerial candidate for the Chamber of Deputies, in direct violation of the new constitution, which as yet only existed on paper. Yet the most extraordinary scene occurred at Patræ in Achaia. There the minister of justice attempted, by means of the *chorophylakes* or gendarmes, to force the inhabitants to elect *him* as their deputy. A letter written by himself, ordering the officers to make use of military violence to secure his election, fell into the hands of the opposition. In triumph it was carried to King Otho, and soon made public by the press. It excited a peal of indignation, which sounded the knell of the Mavrokordatian administration. Otho had never had any confidence in the proud Phanariote; he now became an aversion to the king; but the great difficulty was now to reconcile the parties by a change in the ministry. The "*entente cordiale*" between the French and British cabinets, at that time, made the obsequious M. de Piscatory

attempt to employ his influence to support Mavrokordatos, and thus to preserve the appearance of a friendly union of the French and English parties. Kolettis was to take part in the government; but that shrewd statesman soon discovered that the English party had already suffered a total shipwreck in the public opinion, and that the hour had arrived for him, at the head of his numerous followers, and of the malcontents who had lost office, to stand forward as the champion of the constitution. The parties came to a pitched battle at Athens on the 17th of August. Kalergis called on the troops in vain; they refused to interfere; the gendarmes advanced, but they were routed by the armed multitude. In the midst of the struggle, King Otho suddenly appeared on horseback, and order and obedience were instantly restored. This tumult in Athens gave the death-blow to the ministry, and to the military sway of Kalergis. The Constantinopolitan Heterochton, Mavrokordatos, now gave way to the Autochton or native Rumeliote, Johannis Kolettis;—the minister resigned, and the commandant of Athens, the favorite hero of September, was, by one of those sudden reversions of public opinion, scorned and insulted by the Athenian people, like Themistocles and Phocion of old, and forced to seek a refuge in Corfu, and later in England, where he remained for several years in perfect retirement from the political movements of the day.

Kolettis was more successful. Among all the Greek statesmen, he was the only one who combined integrity of character and unceasing activity with the most sincere desire of promoting the happiness of the nation and of strengthening the throne. Johannis Kolettis was a Rumeliote from Mount Agrafa, who had studied medicine at Pisa, in Tuscany; and later, appeared with brilliant success as the leader of the liberal party in Greece, after the death of count Capo d'Istria, in 1831. It was no doubt a most happy idea of the government of Count Armandsparg to send off this able and popular man as Greek ambassador in France, whence he did not return until after the revolution of September.

In spite of the hostility of the English and Russian party,

of the intrigues of Sir Edmund Lyons, and the defamatory articles of his Secretary, Mr. Griffith, in the *Morning Chronicle*,* Kolettis wielded with vigor the mace of office for three years, until his sudden death on the 12th Sept., 1847. He enjoyed the full confidence of the king and the nation. But he had a hard stand against the systematic persecution of Lord Palmerston and the party-spirit in Greece itself, fomented and strengthened by foreign intrigues. The old pallikars, who, after the dissolution of the phalanx, had again become the scourge of Greece, either turned robbers in the mountains, or they raised openly the banner of rebellion against Kolettis. Thus broke out that short but sanguinary contest of the old Griziotis, the lion of Eubœa, who, nevertheless, was quickly surrounded by the regular troops of government, commanded by Grivas, and after a smart engagement on the hills of Alliveri, in which he lost an arm, he was defeated and forced to flee to Smyrna, where he died of his wounds.

This resistance on the part of the mountaineers, the intrigues in the Chamber, the arrogant demands of the Great Powers, pressing poor Greece to pay the enormous dividends of a loan, the third series of which had never been paid, made the unhappy premier adopt several violent measures little calculated to pacify the parties, or to economize the resources of the state. Yet, on the other hand, has his administration, by impartial Greeks, been considered as the most just and active since the day of independence. Kolettis was the liberal protector of the University of Athens, of the colleges and schools in the provinces, which would have gone entirely to ruins, without the necessary support of the minister; the same care was extended to the monuments of the Acropolis and the lower city, where interesting excavations were undertaken.

Kolettis was suffering from a cancer; the disgusts which the

* The *Morning Chronicle* says, Oct., 1847—"Colettis was the willing tool of the corruptive influence of bad men!! The word 'Colettis' is but a symbolic representation of the pernicious system followed by the ministry over which he presided: it is a hieroglyphic engraven on the broken pillar of the Greek Constitution," &c. It is a melancholy fact, that the continual, most unjust, and most absurd attacks on Greece in the British papers, have found many uncritical believers in this country of free and independent research.

opposition party caused him, by thwarting his best intentions, augmented the evil; it suddenly became mortal. Kolettis called for King Otho. The interview was touching. The court and the citizens of Athens followed the hearse of their brave and regretted statesman to his sepulchre on the banks of the Ilissus, where he reposes side by side with Theodoros Kolokotronis, who with his sabre in the derveni of Corinth, had gained that independence for Hellas, to the development of which Kolettis devoted his entire life.

The virtuous Ipsariote, Admiral Konstantinos Kanaris, now formed a new cabinet. But neither the ignorant Tzavellas, nor the active Dr. Glarakis, nor the blustering Khristidis, (of unhappy memory from 1843!) was able to steer the bark of the state clear of the rocks. From one difficulty Greece got into another. Though she was prudent enough to take no part in the juvenile pranks of her western neighbors in 1848-9, and enjoyed both tranquility, and a steady, though creeping progress, in industry, cultivation, and commerce, in spite of intriguing ambassadors and calumniating newspapers—yet the old blunders of the Bavarian rule, and the spirited resistance of Kolettis against British encroachments, soon made poor Hellas smart under the long-nourished wrath and thundering hostility of Lord Palmerston in 1850. The narrow space allowed to us, does not permit us to give the details of his unjust and arrogant attack on Greece; the facts are before the public. The small islands of Cabrera and Sapienza, lying under the coast of Peloponnesus, were demanded by England, quite contrary to former treaties and the law of nations. The claim of Col. Finlay, of an exorbitant indemnification for his grounds on the Ilissus, was as unjust, because the Greek Government had, before the removal of the Capital from Nauplion to Athens, in 1834, already beforehand stipulated the sums it intended to pay for lots which might be required for the use of the state; and, last of all, the pretensions of the Portuguese banker, Mr. Pacifico, were in the highest degree absurd and ridiculous, as it has been sufficiently proved by the papers lately published by the Portuguese government.

We shall, therefore, only add that King Otho's government, with the weighty interference of France and Russia, showed a prudent moderation and integrity of conduct, highly honorable to that small and depressed nation. It would be in vain to deny that the sanguine hopes of Europe and America, during the heroical resistance of the Greeks in the war of independence, have not been fulfilled. Yet the main cause of the slow progress of that country lies in the maimed and crippled condition in which the decimated nation at last escaped from the fangs of the Turks. The tender solicitude of the Great Powers deprived the Greek people of all those fertile provinces of their heroical brethren, who, by a union under the banner of liberty, might have given strength and resources to the new state. The Ionian Islands, Crete, Rhodes, Samos, Chios, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus (Albania,) the richest and most populous parts of Greece, were again riveted to the horns of the crescent; and by transforming the desolated Livadia and Morea, with its 500,000 inhabitants, its barren mountains, desolated plains, and destroyed cities and villages, into a European kingdom, with king, court, expensive administration, army and navy, the real cause was laid to that feverish, yet lingering existence between life and death, which no doubt may still continue for some years, and may not give way to a new pulsation, before the thunders of the Russian myriads are heard peeling from the distant banks of the Danube. That day will certainly come. Greeks, Albanians, Bosnians, Servians and Bulgarians—all are awaiting that day of decision which may prepare a new page for the history of the Orient.*

* Letters, which arrived from Zante and Athens, corroborate to a remarkable degree the above views taken in our article, and prove that the Greek Constitution of 30th March, 1844, does not work, in the midst of contending parties, and selfish, ambitious individuals, who neutralize the honest but circumscribed activity of King Otho's government. A new conspiracy has been plotted in Athens—not like that of September, 1843, in order to overthrow the absolute rule of Otho; no, quite on the contrary—to do away with the Constitution, and once more to put the reins of the government in the hands of the sovereign.

The dissatisfaction with the chambers and the different Greek cabinets which have followed since the death of Kolettis in 1847, has long ago spread through the country. The conspirators had chosen the first day of Lent for

Such were our prognostications while publishing the above article on Modern Greece in New Orleans in April, 1852. The day has come which is to decide on the future existence of the small and impotent kingdom of Hellas as an independant State. At this very moment Athens, Corinth, Chalkis and the islands may be occupied by a French army of twelve thousand troops, the vanguard of which under the command of General Folley has already departed from Toulon for the Levant.

Yet it must be confessed that the position of King Otho is a most difficult one. Surrounded by a band of boastful old Captains from the war of Independence, the Grivas, Tzavellas, Karatassos, and many others who have combined to foment and stir up the dissatisfaction among the Greek Rajahs in Thessaly and Epirus, and the intriguing Hierarchy of the Oriental Church, who everywhere preach the holy war of the Cross against the Crescent under the auspices of Russia, the Bavarian Prince has been forced by the general emthusiasm to connive at the desertion of his officers and the bustling armaments of his unruly subjects.

the execution of their plan. On that day an annual popular festival takes place around one of the most splendid monuments of antiquity, the gigantic group of columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympus, situated on the plain, east of Athens, near the dry river-bed of the Ilissus. On that day all the inhabitants of Athens, from the oldest to the youngest, turn out and wend their way to the beautiful platform of the sanctuary of their forefathers, where the tables are spread beneath the lofty columns, and feasting, singing, and dancing, occupy the lively Athenians to a late hour at night.

The pallikars from the Turkish war sometimes give King Otho a banquet beneath the Olympian Temple-rutns—one of the most romantic and picturesque spectacles that can be seen. It was during the orgies of this truly national fête that the royalist conspirators had the intention of giving the signal, and profiting by the excitement of the crowd, to carry them along with the shouts of "Long life to King Otho—down with the constitution—down with the party-men!" But a sudden thunder-storm inundating the plain in the morning, drove the masses early back to the city, and the *synmote*, therefore, were obliged to organize something like a *riot*, and, in order to render it more effectual, they distributed letters among the officers of the troops in garrison at Athens, informing them that a great popular movement was in preparation, which, being in favor of the monarchy, they requested them to support it with the gendarmes and regulars, by joining the military to the people, as in 1843!! Yet some of the officers, instead of keeping the secret to themselves, made instantly a show of patriotism by appearing in the Chamber of Deputies with their letters, when a violent discussion took place, and, on the motion of a Maniote deputy, Komoundourakis, severe measures were taken to defend the constitution of the country.

No overt act of hostility, however, by the Greek government against Turkey has as yet been recorded. Numerous bands of Greek mountaineers, among whom many deserters from the regular army, began on the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war last October to assemble on the frontiers, at Lamia, Stilida and the Makrinoros. They are commanded by General Grivas, the Acarnanian, Tzavellas, the Epirote, and the brave young Karaïskakis from Agrafa, son of the celebrated General of that name who fell near the Piræus in 1827. In the beginning they made some progress. Having crossed the Othrys they defeated the Turkish frontier detachments at Armyros, and occupied Thaumakos in the Thessalian plain, whence they sent forth a proclamation to the Christian inhabitants. In Epirus Kavaïskakis and Rendis likewise defeated the Pasha of Ioannina near Arta, which was stormed and taken, while Grivas advancing through Mount Pindus, took possession of Metzovo, the wealthy and populous city commanding the mountain passes between Epirus and Thessaly. So far the insurrection had already spread, and great fears prevailed during the winter among the Turkish authorities in Constantinople that the Greek chieftains supported with money from Russia and with combatants from the kingdom of Greece might join the roving Albanian bands in upper Epirus, and by an invasion in Macedonia, make a dangerous diversion in the rear of the Turkish army on the Danube, or by an advance upon Constantinople excite disturbance among the Greek population of the Capital. But the Greek chiefs by their jealousies and dissensions among themselves and the rapacity and cruelty of their followers toward the native Christians of Metzovo and the villagers of the plain, soon produced distrust and disdain in the regions they intended to revolutionize against the Sultan.

In the mean time a Turkish army of five thousand troops were landed by Volo in Thessaly. Grivas retreated from Mount Pindus after having most unmercifully plundered the industrious citizens of Metzovo and laid the city in ashes. Nor did Karaïskaki fare better in Epirus. Fuad Pasha stormed Arta and drove the Greek sympathizers across the frontiers. The

coasts of the Adriatic are blockaded by Turkish and French men-of-war. The Pasha stands at the head of 15,000 Turks on the Ambracian gulf, while 20,000 Greeks have, by order of the Porte, been driven from the Capital, and the divisions of the Anglo-French army are occupying Athens and the Morea.

The position of King Otho is, therefore, very embarrassing at the present moment. Letters from Athens recently received in this city contain the most discouraging account of affairs. Hundreds of families, driven from Constantinople, Smyrna, Saloniki and other Turkish cities, are daily arriving at the Piræus, poor and wretched and are taking up their abode in the Capital and the smaller towns. All kinds of provisions have become dear, while the blockade of the ports stops the commerce and the universal indignation against Turkey and her allies knows no bounds, and thus the rash and unwarranted attack of the old war-party no doubt powerfully supported by Russian money, has brought unmixed evil over the country and even endangered its future independence.

With this melancholy picture of the present condition of fair Hellas, so different from what it was when we, in 1833-1844, lived quietly, occupied with Collegiate Lectures and other literary pursuits in the Island of Ægina or at the Piræus, we shall close our article. In the next we shall draw the attention of the reader to the interesting events in Greece during the times of the Crusades and open a new leaf of mediæval history, which we believe has never yet appeared in the English language.

A. L. K.

Lancaster, Pa.

ART. VI.—THE TWO FUNERALS.

THE FIRST.

Shrouded the stately mansion was in gloom,
And scarce a footfall in its halls was heard ;
All hung in mourning was the pictured room,
And softly whispered was each needful word.
At door the flowing crape beheld deterred
Each thoughtless comer, and sad signal gave
Of death within, and deepest fountains stirred
Of grief, which sympathetic tears did crave ;—
The mansion's lord must carried be to narrow grave.

Within an upper chamber, darkly veiled,
Which with her saddened thoughts did well agree,
The widow sat, and with low sobs bewailed
Her wretched case, and woeful misery.
Her orphans grouped were around her knee,
To whose young minds all seemed a troubled dream
In which were cries and tears for childish glee,—
And mourning friends a few were there, I deem,
All clad in sable robes as did them well beseem.

We gathered there that day in thoughtful mood,
And walked the terraced yard with solemn tread,
And in the spacious hall uncovered stood
To gaze respectful on the honored dead.
To cushioned seats in parlors we were led,
A goodly throng, to hear the pastor's tongue
Hold high discourse ; and many a tear was shed
As on the virtues of the dead he hung,
And when the dirge-like hymn upon the breeze was flung.

Then came the hearse, slow drawn, and richly hung
With sable drapery. By careful hands

To it was borne and laid, the folds among,
The coffin of rare wood from distant lands,
And skilful wrought and gemmed with pearly sands.
Then slow we formed in line, with at the head
The rev'rend man of God ; and various bands
Who came to render tribute to the dead
In order following, with those of grief bested.

And slow we walked that day with measured pace,
And lingered for the tardy step of those
Whose burden was so great. Each in his place
The line unbroken kept to utmost close.
At every turn of street it length'ning grows ;
And all men as we pass give rev'rent heed.
Our words were few ; no hum of gossip rose
Along our path. Sedate in word and deed
Our thoughts in silence much upon themselves did feed.

Thus wended we towards the old church-yard,
And through its open gates we straightway sought
The part where thickest rose, by time unmarred,
The glittering shafts enchiseled deep and wrought
With costly workmanship. Here was the spot
Where ope'd the grave, deep dug. We gathered round
And sadly saw, slow lowered in family plot
The smitten form in death's embrace enwound ;
And saw the stealthy tear fall softly to the ground.

With steady spade the sexton bore the clay
Upon the coffin boards ; nor was the ear
Of ruth offended. Quietly that day
The grave was filled till it was finished clear,—
With head uncovered drew the pastor near,
And words of benediction fervent prayed,
And then we turned and dried the parting tear,
And in long line we left the church-yard's shade
And saw the mansion's door enfold the sorrow-weighted.

And then in groups our various homes we sought,
And spoke of how severe the stroke had been,

Much suffered with the smitten ones in thought,
And mourned the prop on which they used to lean ;
And many praises we bestowed, I ween,
Rehearsed what virtues in the dead were blent,
Nor failed to tell what faults in him were seen,—
And after years when feet we thither bent,
We paused before the rich man's sculptured monument.

THE SECOND.

A straggling few we gathered near the door
Of humble poverty, to render thence
The last sad rites to one who never bore
Wealth's guerdon or fame's flattering blandishments.
Yet virtuous had he been, and frugal, whence
He reared the stricken ones who o'er him now
Pour loud and bitter plaints, nor can from thence
With ease be torn, as on his furrowed brow
To gaze, the closing lid no longer will allow.

Not of the dead brief words the pastor spake
As on the barren floor we stood around ;
But us he earnest warned good heed to take
To latter end, and coming trumpet's sound.
Then on the floor the carriers' feet did pound
And the pine coffin they with ease uptook,
And to the bier lone waiting on the ground,
They bore it straight, which was with silent look
Upraised on shoulders stout which could the burden brook.

And fast we walked that day, in line short-drawn,
Nor did it grow at every turn of street ;
Men paused and with a single glance passed on,
Nor stopped to ask whose funeral they did meet.
Familiar friends by wayside we did greet ;
And briskly did we talk, and tell and hear
Full many a thing unknown before, I weet ;
We talked of weather, weddings, prices dear,
While with firm step we followed the uplifted bier.

Wended we thus our way through street and lane,
And through the open gateway onward trod ;
And sought we then a modest nook o'erlain
With spangled carpet of embedded sod.
No sculptured stones were there. Above o'erawed
We were with oak's rough arms and leafy gloom,
'Mid which the ivy climbed ; while all abroad
A thousand opening flowers shed sweet perfume,—
'Twas here the sexton's hands had dug the poor man's tomb.

Close side by side in measured rows were made
The lowly beds where slumbered human clay,
A grassy mound upheaved by sexton's spade
Alone did mark where each cold sleeper lay.
Among them rueless we did stand that day,
To drop, in like oblivion by their side,
Another who unknown in life as they
Alike from fame and calumny would hide.
Their names shall fear no harm whatever foul betide.

Then rumbled loud upon the coffin-lid
The hardened clods, by stalwart arm down-thrown;
And mingled loud, by bursting grief unhid,
In bitter discord on the breeze out thrown,
Strong sob, and wailing cry, and shriek and moan.
These untaught hearts, by prudent rules to hide
Nature's impassioned sorrow, ne'er had known.
Untutored nature was their only guide
And weetless were the gates of grief thrown open wide.

The grave half filled the tired sexton paused,
And leaned upon his spade and wiped his brow.
We looked impatient of the grief that caused
Our longer stay. From out the leafy bough
O'erhead down fell a requiem soft and low.
To invoke a blessing from the Holy Three
The pastor then drew near with upturned brow;
And straight we turned with eager step set free
And paused again at door of mourning poverty.

The grass now grows upon the poor man's grave,
The rough brier hedges it with prickly wall,
The giant arms of oak still o'er it wave,
And autumn's faded leaves thick on it fall.
No "storied urn" will ever there recall
The legend of his life, nor chiseled stone
Publish his humble deeds, forgotten all.
Yet lost not is that dust; that sod o'ergrown
Shall burst in eager haste when trump of God is blown.

Chambersburg, Pa.

J.

ART. VII.—SHORT NOTICES.

THE HEAVENLY HOME; OR, THE EMPLOYMENTS AND ENJOYMENTS OF THE SAINTS IN HEAVEN. *By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A. M., Author of "Heaven; or, The Sainted Dead," and "Heavenly Recognition."* Third Edition, Philadelphia: Linsay & Blackiston. 1853.

THE Rev. Mr. Harbaugh has we believe performed an important service to the cause of religion by his recent works on the Future Life, of which the above mentioned volume forms the third and the last in the series. A discerning public has already manifested its high appreciation of his labors in this direction. The two former volumes were received with more than usual favor among Christians of various denominations, and in widely different sections of the country. It was, therefore, no matter of surprise that the third volume on the Heavenly Home should immediately on its publication receive an extensive circulation, and in a very short period reach the third edition. It may be regarded as the continuation and completion of his previous works, and hence the publishers showed their good taste in having the three volumes bound uniformly, and giving them a common title in addition to that which designates the subject of which each one treats in detail. Taken together they may be regarded as a treatise on the Fu-

ture Life, the general title under which they are now all embraced. The subjects which they discuss are so intimately connected together, that if one volume were lacking it would create a hiatus, which his readers would naturally desire to see filled up. As it now is, having followed him in his searches for the abodes of the Sainted Dead, and pondered his arguments for the recognition of Christian brethren in the abodes of the blessed, they will no doubt regard it as a privilege to engage with him in his meditations upon the employments of the departed in glory. The whole series now printed on fine paper, and bound in such handsome style, will, from their own intrinsic merit, find their way into many Christian families, and prove a source of edification to them in the various relations of life. The mourner, and all such as have drunk the cup of affliction, and are looking upwards inquiringly for some alleviation of their woes, will be drawn by their attractive titles, and find in their pages the comfort which the world can neither give nor take away. As this class of readers is neither small, nor likely to grow smaller in the present state of the world, we predict that "*Harbaugh on the Future Life*," will not only be extensively read, but also for a long time to come.

It is, however, not only because we think that the wants of a particular class in the Christian community are to be met by the publications referred to, that we here recommend them. We believe that they are calculated to exert a much more extensive influence and to have a wider bearing upon the community at large. They are books that may be considered as adapted to our times generally. In this our materialistic, utilitarian and grossly sensual age, we are disposed to hail with favor every earnest and temperate effort to lead the minds of men away from earth to heaven, from what is seen to that which is unseen, from the absorbing interests of an ever busy world to that higher and better world where man's destiny is to be reached and realized. Notwithstanding the progress which we have made in intelligence, in the arts and the sciences beyond what was accomplished in former ages, the invisible world no longer influences the minds of men as it once did. Its stupendous facts and realities have not come home to the interests, the affections and thoughts of the masses of men generally as they once did. No telescope, for instance, has been as yet discovered by which they may be magnified to our vision, and by which order and distinction may be introduced among them. It is on the contrary to be feared, that they

have receded from our view, and to most persons been converted into thin, misty nebula, of which we can form no very distinct conception. Hence it becomes necessary, and in our country more so than elsewhere, that the Church should put forth efforts to turn the attention of men to that glorious world of truths revealed to us in the gospel. We are constantly tempted to become worldly-minded and sensual in our thoughts and feelings. Material interests, the pursuits of gain, of honors and pleasures meet us at every turn of life, and the general excitement pervading all classes of the community, attendant on the vast progress which is making in material interests, like a dangerous current threaten to draw men everywhere into the whirlpool of ruin. Amidst the din of business, and the strife and conflicts of rival interests in the various departments of life, the French proverb receives a just application: "The noise is so great, one cannot hear God thunder." This state of things is too often regarded as no evil in itself, and we are easily deceived by the various specious names of human progress, and enterprise, by which it is described. Under these circumstances, when the human spirit is pressed downwards towards earth with the weight of a mill-stone resting upon its heavenly aspirations, and is tempted to wed itself to gross matter itself, we know of no better antidote to the downward tendency, than that presented in the gospel, the faithful proclamation of the realities of an unseen world. They have ever been the salvation of men from the bondage of the flesh, and they must continue to be the only magnet to attract them to a brighter and better inheritance beyond the vale of earth.

The work of Mr. Harbaugh, at the head of the present article, which has given rise to these reflections, is we believe well calculated to exert such an elevating and sanctifying effect on the minds of its readers. The book is throughout attractive on account of its simple, natural, yet at times ornate and beautiful style; for the earnestness and piety with which the argumentation is conducted, and the fervor of feeling which pervades it generally, even when the discussions become metaphysical in their character. On the score of ratiocination it is decidedly in advance of its predecessors. The subject frequently leads the writer to the elucidation of points, which have puzzled divines in all ages of the Church, and upon which there is not as yet the much desired unanimity. As an instance of this we might specify the ninth chapter, where the author considers the nature of the glorified body of the saints in heaven.

Here we meet with many things, that are to the point, and which breathe a better philosophy, than that which underlies the popular discussions of the same subject at the present day. From many sermons on the resurrection, which we have read, one can hardly see of what use the resurrection of the body can be to the happiness of the soul. The soul in its disembodied estate after death is considered as perfectly happy, how then can the reunion of the body with the soul at the last day add materially to its enjoyments? Our author, we are glad to see, regards the body as something more than a tabernacle for the soul, a shield and protection for it from external dangers, and insists upon it as an essential part of human existence, without which the soul cannot enjoy the fruition of its joys. The glorified body, therefore, ought to be regarded as a stadium in the believer's progress, similar to that which he makes when he lays aside his tabernacle of clay and ascends to his Father's abode in heaven. We are pleased with the general tenor of the remarks made on this and kindred topics throughout the book, without meaning, however, to endorse every position that is laid down. If we had the time or the space, we might possibly be tempted to break a lance with our friend in assaulting a position or two which he has seen proper to take. For a popular reader, his idea of body, for instance, may be perfectly satisfactory, and may secure the object which he keeps in view, general edification, yet we think his statements on this point might have been more full and philosophically correct, so as to have relieved the minds of some of his readers of objections, which its present statement may suggest. This, and kindred subjects, involving the mode of our subsistence in heaven, present many more knotty points to the philosopher than to the Christian, who receives the facts without attempting to speculate as it regards their relation to each other. There are two errors into which philosophers are prone to fall, when they endeavor to go beyond mere general statements in respect to the future life,—spiritualism on the one hand, and materialism on the other. They are inclined to represent the other world either as something so spiritual, ethereal, and misty in its nature, that it bears no resemblance or analogy to anything which has come under the cognizance of the human mind, and hence reduce it to a barren abstraction, or they run out into the other extreme, and dream of heaven, much as the Mohammedans do, who regard it as some eastern park, the pleasant abode of luxury and ease. Either error is dangerous, and diverges equally

as much from a sound, healthy Christianity. In our day a false spiritualism is more likely to be our besetting sin in our religious speculations, than a gross Anthropomorphism, which cannot see any spiritual reality beyond the forms under which sensual objects present themselves to the mind. The book before us is evidently aimed against the former error, and the writer seeks everywhere for something more substantial in his notions of heaven than barren, empty abstractions. Has he not in endeavoring to avoid one kind of error, run into another of an opposite kind? It would, perhaps, be a more than human moderation had he in all cases kept the golden mean between the two extremes referred to. We think the representations of his theory of another life are too physical in their character, which, if it be an error, leans to virtue's side, as it makes his book more readable and more accessible to the generality of readers. We must not, however, fail to observe, that the author is never dogmatical in giving expression to his view of those things, which lie so far beyond the cognizance of our senses; but, as is becoming, ever speaks with a proper degree of humility, and a consciousness that here we see through a glass darkly, and hence must abide our time until we see face to face.

T. A.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. MY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS; OR THE STORY OF MY EDUCATION. *By Hugh Miller, Author of "The Old Red Sandstone," "Footprints of the Creator," "First Impressions of England and its People," etc.* Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington Street. 1854. pp. 551.

EVERY age of the world has its men of literary eminence, who leave their impress on the times in which they live, which is not lost even upon many after generations. They attain to their position by a great diversity of means, which, although constituting an almost infinite variety, may yet be properly reduced to two grand general divisions.

The former embraces those which are furnished by the vast facilities for intellectual culture afforded by the educational institutions of the age. Minds, which are to any reasonable extent susceptible of culture and, at the same time, possessed of some taste for improvement, are often brought forward to eminence and distinction, by the force of the educa-

tional influences and facilities, which, in the Providence of God, are thrown around them. This class of literary men are of course not without their merit, though, in many instances, they would have doubtless remained unknown, had their educational facilities been different from what they were.

The latter are made up of those which are to be found even in the most humble positions in life, and which are made available by the force of genius, necessarily thrown upon its own unaided resources. Great minds are often to be met with, which are cut off by circumstances over which they have no control, from all special facilities for intellectual culture and seem doomed to remain buried in obscurity; but which through an insatiable thirst after knowledge, a talent of close observation, and an indomitable perseverance, surmount every opposing obstacle, and succeed in placing themselves upon a proud literary eminence. Those who attain their position in these circumstances do not fail to impress all careful observers with a sense of their greatness, inasmuch as nothing but true greatness could have achieved what they have wrought for themselves.

To this latter class the writer, the title of one of whose productions is found at the head of this article, belongs. He is descended from an humble parentage. In his early life he was not only cut off from all special facilities for the cultivation of his mind, but also placed in circumstances which were anything but favorable to the attainment of a high degree of mental culture. Such, however, was the force of his natural genius, such his great thirst for knowledge, such his insatiable curiosity and such his unbending perseverance in the midst of the most untoward circumstances, that he has succeeded in gaining for himself a prominent position amongst the learned men of his age. The productions of his pen, such as "The Old Red Sandstone," "The Footprints of the Creator," &c., have met with a most favorable reception from the literary and scientific world. And well they may. For they are the productions of no ordinary genius. They are fraught with profitable instruction, and evidence a vast amount of literary research.

The volume before us, as its title indicates, is an autobiography. It is, however, one of no ordinary cast. No mere detail of incidents fills out its numerous pages. They constantly present the workings of a strong, vigorous and active mind in its search after knowledge, ever turning to faithful account the different sources of knowledge which come within its reach.

The various details are accordingly ever blended with the most pleasing and profitable instruction, which feature throws a peculiar charm over the whole book.

The work, to borrow the sentiment of the author in his preface, may be regarded as a sort of educational treatise, thrown into the narrative form, and addressed more especially to working men. Such will find that a considerable portion of the scenes and incidents which it records, read their lesson, whether of encouragement or warning, or throw their occasional lights on peculiarities of character or curious natural phenomena, to which their attention might not be unprofitably directed. To other classes, no small amount of its interest besides what has been mentioned, will be that which is derived from the glimpses it furnishes of the inner life of the Scottish people and its bearing on what has been somewhat clumsily termed "the condition-of-the-country question." The author will consider his well-meant efforts amply repaid, if he shall in any degree succeed in rousing the humbler class to the important work of self-culture and self-government, and in convincing the higher that there are instances in which working men have at least as legitimate a claim to their respect as to their pity.

The author's style is terse and vigorous. His language is not mere empty words, but peculiarly the language of thought. We might furnish a great variety of specimens, did our limits permit. We shall, however, content ourselves with but a single quotation. It is taken from the chapter in which he describes his religious impressions :

"The true centre of an efficient *Christianity* is, as the name ought of itself to indicate, 'the Word made Flesh.' Around this central sun of the Christian system,—appreciated, however, not as a *doctrine* which is a mere abstraction, but as a Divine Person,—so truly man, that the affections of the human heart can lay hold upon Him, and so truly God, that the mind, through faith, can at all times and in all places be brought into direct contact with Him,—all that is truly religious takes its place in a subsidiary and subordinate relation. I say subsidiary and subordinate. The Divine Man is the great attractive centre—the sole gravitating point of a system which owes to Him all the coherency, and which would be but a chaos were He away. It seems to be the existence of the human nature in this central and paramount object that imparts to Christianity, in its subjective character, its peculiar power of influencing and controlling the human mind. * * * * *

* * In the false or corrupted religions, the two indispensable elements of Divinity and Humanity appear as if blended together by a mere mechanical process ; and it is their natural tendency to separate through a sort of subsidence on the part of the human element from the theistic one, as if from some lack of the necessary affinities. In Christianity, on the other hand, when existing in its integrity as the religion of the New Testament, the union of the two elements is complete : it partakes of the nature, not of a mechanical, but of a chemical mixture ; and its great central doctrine,—the true Humanity and true Divinity of the Adorable Saviour,—is a truth equally receivable by at once the humblest and the loftiest intellects. Poor dying children possessed of but a few simple ideas, and men of the most robust intellects, such as the Chalmerses, Fosters and Halls of the Christian Church, find themselves equally able to rest their salvation on the *man* ‘ Christ, who is over all, God blessed forever.’ Of this fundamental truth of the two natures, that condensed enunciation of the Gospel which forms the watchword of our faith, ‘ Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved,’ is a direct and palpable embodiment ; and Christianity is but a mere name without it.”

F.

ERRATUM.—The paging between 368 and 449 is 20 more than it ought to be. The reader will please make the deduction.

THE
MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 812.]

5. *But if the Reformation is the work of God, why then did it result in so many divisions; destroying the unity of the Church, contrary to Scripture?*

This question is a favorite string with fanatical Priests to harp upon. From Catholic pulpits, and through their papers, it is echoed forth, ever and anon, with an air of ridicule and triumph. Nor is it a fruitless hobby among the ignorant masses in the Catholic Church. Even to serious minds in the Protestant communion, it has often become a stumbling-block of considerable magnitude. But this question can certainly be answered satisfactorily. Just as the divisions in the Primitive Church did not grow out of the essence and principle of Christianity itself, so also those divisions occurring at the time of the Reformation, were not the natural and necessary result of its divine principle. They sprang from causes entirely foreign to its own nature and design. The spirit of the age, together with existing circumstances, rendered them unavoidable.

Luther, with his personal peculiarities, labored in Germany, Zwingli in Switzerland, and Calvin in France, where, in his own field of labor, each one became naturally a centre of attraction and an object of admiration. Although commissioned by one common Master, influenced by one Spirit, and engaged in one noble cause, alike honest and zealous, with one common object in view;—yet, in many other respects, these great men differed

widely from each other : as in temperament, disposition, talent, ways and means of discovering and communicating the truth, and consequently they differed also in views and ideas. That these personal peculiarities of the Reformers excited preferences among the people to whom they respectively ministered could not be otherwise ; and these preferences formed the basis for subsequent divisions. The Reformers acknowledged Christ as the head and centre of the Church ; therefore they were fully conscious also of the unspeakable importance of Christian unity, and endeavored, with all their might, to prevent division. "*I pray*"—says Luther—"that none may use my name, and call themselves Lutherans, but Christians. Who is Luther ? As the doctrines are not mine, so neither have I been crucified for any one. Therefore let us obliterate all party-names, and call ourselves after Christ, whose doctrines we have." The great Zwingli manifested the yearnings of his soul after Christian union, when with tearful eyes he extended the hand of brotherly love to Luther, at Marburg. Nothing was more foreign from the desire and intention of the Reformers, than to create distinctions and divisions ! But they differed naturally and honestly. And their people, respectively, could not help but form a peculiar attachment to their great benefactor. For they felt enthusiastic in the enjoyment of mental and religious freedom ; therefore, they *must* express their gratitude in tokens of devotion. As long as the Reformers labored separately, so long the existing differences were unknown, and their work went on peaceably ; but after their meeting together, they became apparent, and disagreement and opposition commenced.

It may be well to state here briefly the principle points of difference. The Reformers differed very materially in two respects ; 1, *in their ideas of the elements in the Lord's Supper*, and 2, *in their views on the doctrine of election*. Luther and Zwingli differed about the former, and Zwingli and Calvin about the latter point. The fundamental cause of this remarkable difference must be sought in their training. Luther, who had been trained "under the Law and the Prophets," having

passed through the rigid school of a monastery, felt a powerful and scrupulous attachment to the Roman Church and her doctrines. Hence his view of the Lord's Supper was, in the beginning, essentially that of the Catholic Church. For "he asserted freely, that bread and wine are really and essentially changed into the body and blood of Christ, under the consecration of the Priest." "And although he disapproved that the Catholic Church deprived her lay-members of the cup, yet he believed with her, that under each form the entire bodily Christ was present and partaken of." "*As fire penetrates every particle of iron, until both become one; so also the glorified body of Christ penetrates every particle of the consecrated elements, so that both are one.*" (Draeseke, Ueber den Confessions Unterschied, eine Predigt, 1817. Page 10.) This was Luther's original view, which he modified materially through the influence of Melancthon. But when subsequently a number of fanatical spirits arose, by whom the sacraments were undervalued, Luther returned to his former view, and opposed all who differed from him. "*I will rather drink blood with the Pope,*" he said on one occasion in reference to the Lord's Supper,—"*than drink wine with Zwingli.*"

The Swiss Reformer, on the other hand, had been raised in the atmosphere of political freedom, having breathed the pure mountain air of his native country. Hence he was constitutionally different, and, for this reason, unable to appreciate the importance of the old Church and her institutions and doctrines, as Luther did. He took the Holy Scriptures for his platform and guide, and carried on all his reformatory movements according to its principles. On the Lord's Supper Zwingli taught at first: "*Bread and wine are only representations of the body and blood of Christ; only signs of the communion; only means for our remembrance, and alone through such remembrance are they of signification.*"

Calvin was not satisfied with this; neither with Luther's literal and Romish view, nor with Zwingli's means for remembrance. He differed from both and taught: "*Bread and wine are certainly not changed, but nevertheless the body and blood*

of the Redeemer is truly partaken of by the communicants ; not bodily with the mouth, but spiritually by faith ; not by all, but by believers only ; not by means of the external symbols, but through a supernatural operation of Christ upon the pious soul." We see from this, that Luther and Zwingli, in their views of the Lord's Supper, moved in opposite directions, whilst that of Calvin constitutes a bond of union between the two.

On the second point of difference, *the doctrine of Election*, Luther occupied at first high predestinarian ground, because he was a great admirer of Augustine, whose views on this subject he had adopted. Zwingli, with his noble, generous soul, believed and taught : "*That God has designed all men without distinction to become heirs of a blissful immortality ; that no one is excluded ; that the heavens are open for every one that fears God, even pious and sincere heathen not excepted.*" This opinion he based upon the following passages of Scripture : 1 Tim. 2 : 4, John 3 : 17, James 1 : 13, Acts 10 : 35.

Calvin, who, like Paul, had been changed very suddenly from darkness to light, ("*God has conquered my soul*"—he says—"*through a sudden change,*") looked very naturally upon the total depravity and utter helplessness of man in a different light. Consequently his conception of the justice and grace of God was also far higher. Hence we hear him proclaim : "*No, by no means ! According to the eternal purpose of God, there are many, even in the Christian Church, not designed for eternal life ; but they are vessels of wrath, fitted to destruction, (Rom. 9 : 22,) and as such they cannot enjoy grace, even if they should wish it. Others are born for heaven, and such must yield to the operation of grace, even against their own will. Because God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and he hardeneth whom he will.*" (Rom. 9 : 18.)

Luther's modified view of this doctrine, "in which he was very unsettled and wavering," is this : "*Grace is extended to all men for conversion. Whoever is elected to be saved, cannot resist the operation of grace, but whoever does not belong to the elect, will resist the influence of grace, and must resist it, because he is wicked by nature.*"

In these different views of the Reformers, on the subject of the Lord's Supper and election, (not in the doctrines themselves) we have the principle ground work of all those lamentable divisions between them and their followers. And yet, deplorable as this result may seem, we cannot blame them for honestly holding and maintaining their separate opinions; especially since they considered them of vital importance to the life and conduct of a Christian, and in fact to the whole Church. There are matters of minor importance, which contributed much toward separating and keeping apart the two sister Churches of the Reformation; such as *customs* and *usages*. "The Lutherans retained much of the Papal Church, which was calculated to operate upon the senses. Their church edifices were more decorated. They celebrated more festive days. Their worship possessed greater variety. Their Liturgy contained more prescription and art, even to excess." With the Reformed people it was different. They abandoned all that appeared superfluous, and aspired after a free, sober simplicity in everything pertaining to the Church. Their zeal in this direction carried them too far in some instances, and hence they could not agree with the Lutherans, who appeared to move in an opposite direction.

But notwithstanding all these differences in theory and practice, the Reformers were one in spirit and aim. The inmost desire of each one was, to establish one united evangelical Reformed Church; a Church full of spirit and life, the pillar and foundation of truth, according to the Apostle Paul's idea. That they have failed to realize this noble design, must be attributed to the prevailing weakness and perversity of human nature. And with all its faults and imperfections, the Reformation was a grand and holy cause. Hence it prospered under the superintending care of Divine Providence, and has proved a blessing to millions of immortal souls; nay, to the whole world. Catholics may deny this. But is not the Roman Church herself largely indebted to the Reformation and the Protestant Church for her present prosperity? Have not a number of her most prominent men been born and educated

in the bosom of the Protestant Church? Are not nearly all the editors of influential Catholic periodicals and papers in the United States, apostates from the Protestant faith? How very different would the Catholic Church be from what she now is, if she had no rival in the Protestant Church, to excite her to action? Consider her condition prior to the Reformation! Look at those countries where she now holds the exclusive sway! She might indeed still boast of undisturbed peace; of universality, infallibility, uniformity, &c.; but in reality she would resemble a stagnant pool, or a stinking swamp, with a smooth surface, externally beautiful, but internally full of corruption!

The Reformation has indeed resulted in a great variety of denominations, differing in talent and ability, like the servants in the parable, Math. 25. Though distinguished by name and temporal circumstances, they all confess freely, as members of one great family, to have been commissioned by one common Master, for whose glory they live and labor. Hence there is not only great variety in the Protestant Church; but also vital and essential unity. 1.) All denominations acknowledge only one true head of the Church, namely, Christ; in this they are united. 2.) All agree that the salvation, merited through His death and resurrection and proceeding from Him as the head of the Church, is the proper and necessary life for all the members; in this they are united. 3.) All believe that the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, as the agent of divine grace, is indispensably necessary for regeneration, sanctification and eternal life; in this they are all united. 4.) All hold that faith, by which the gifts of grace are received into the heart, constitutes the living bond of union between the head of the Church and her members; in this they are united. 5.) All acknowledge that, according to Scripture, baptism in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, is the proper way by which individuals are introduced into the communion of the Church, in order to grow there in the grace and knowledge of Christ; in this they are united. 6.) All Protestants agree, that the hope of a blissful immortality, so full of comfort and strength to the Christian during his

earthly pilgrimage, has been solemnly promised by Christ to all his followers, and will surely be awarded to all that remain steadfast to the end. In all this they are united; and since these are some of the essential points in Christianity, we may safely say, that the Protestant Church, with all her external jangling and jarring about non-essential matters, is nevertheless *essentially one*.

This unity in variety is presented to us in the four gospels. Taken separately each one contains a revelation of the whole Christ, and is, therefore, universal in its character, and complete in itself. But when taken together, the four constitute properly only one gospel, in which the same Saviour is exhibited in a far higher and more complete form. So also the different Protestant denominations; taken separately, each one constitutes a churchly individuality, in which the universality of the Christian Church is more or less exhibited. But when taken together, they constitute only one Protestant Church, in which the essential characteristics of the kingdom of Christ appear in a higher and more complete form. It is to be lamented, that the essential points of unity are too much overlooked, whilst the points of difference are studied and presented with the greatest care. Here lies the root of all that reigning coldness, discord and opposition among the members of one household of Christian faith. John 13 : 35. Ephes. 4 : 1-4.

What is the German Reformed Church?—her origin—name—doctrines—worship—distinction from other denominations—spirit and life?

It has been stated already, that the Reformers, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, began their labors separately in different countries, unknown to each other. We have noticed also, that their respective people formed a peculiar attachment to their persons, adopted their views and thus received the impress of their mind. "Like priest, like people," was verified also in this case. The enemies of the Reformation, who subsequently at Spire gave to the entire body of evangelical Christians the

name *Protestants*, stigmatized them in their separate condition with the names of their respective leaders: Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists. When these distinct bodies subsequently met together and discovered the existing difference in their religious opinions and views, those names became invested with peculiar signification, and were often applied to each other with uncharitable severity, contrary to the protestations of the Reformers. The two Reformed interests, however, under Zwingli and Calvin, soon recognized each other as legitimate brethren, both standing on the platform of the Scriptures, and aiming to effect a thorough *life-reformation*, according to its precepts. And because peace was most precious to their souls, therefore they united and labored hand in hand. About matters of minor importance they agreed to disagree. Thus the Reformation formed itself into two distinct and leading interests, Lutheran and Reformed. Many hopeful and earnest attempts were made, at different times, to bring them together under one form; but all efforts in this direction failed to accomplish the desirable end. Luther honestly considered his peculiar views, (not the Sacraments and doctrines) of more importance than the unity and peace of the Church. Neither sound, overwhelming arguments, nor the most solemn entreaties, nor yet tears could move him from his obstinate position. (See D'Aubigne's History of Ref. IV. page 77-107, Germ.) Luther saw and felt, towards the close of his life, that he had gone too far in maintaining his peculiar views, and acknowledged this mistake with regret. This we learn from the following conversation with Melancthon: "Lieuer Philippe, ick moets bekenen, der sake vam auentmale is vele tho vele gedaen." "Antwarde Philippus." "Her Doctor, soe latet uns eine scriffstellen, dar de sake inne gelindert werde, dat de waerheit bliue, un de kerken weder eindrechtig werden"—"Darup Doctor Luther" "Ja lieuer Philippe, ick hebbe dat vake un offtmael gedacht, auerst soe werde de gantse leer verdacht; ich wilt dem almechtigen Gode beualen hebben: Dohet ghy oek wat nha mynem dode."—(Reformirte Kirchen-Zeitung, No. 40, Oct. 1, 1853.) Translation: "Dear Philip, I must acknowl-

edge that the subject of the Lord's Supper has been carried a great deal too far—to which Phillip answered: Doctor, then let us prepare a writing (or paper) in which the subject may appear in a milder form, that the truth may remain, and the churches may again be brought into harmony. Luther replied: Yes, dear Philip, I have thought of this much and many times, but then the whole doctrine would become suspicious. I will commit it to Almighty God. Do you also something after my death." From this we see plainly that Luther felt very uneasy about the course he had pursued. And yet the same wrong course is pursued, even now, by many of his followers, such as the old Lutherans.

Germany, under the influence of Luther, had become almost exclusively Lutheran, as far as the Reformation extended; but the people were not fully conscious of this, until the doctrinal views of the other Reformers were promulgated among them. And then it was found that a large number of the people had never been entirely satisfied with, nor adopted all the views of Luther, and with them his protestation against the use of his name, as a party name, had not been in vain. For they readily embraced the views of the other Reformers and adopted them as their own; although many Lutheran ministers misrepresented and denounced them as heretical and pernicious. They had from the beginning been *reformed* Christians in theory and practice, and that is what they desired to be considered and called. These reformed people in Germany at the time of the Reformation, constitute the original stock of the German Reformed Church, in distinction from Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists. They placed themselves upon the broad platform of Scripture and owned no party name; but acknowledged Christ as their only proper leader, according to whose precepts they cultivated a spirit of charity toward all their Christian brethren. Although they had rejected the peculiar, extreme views of Luther, and did not own his name, yet it was not their desire to be considered a separate and distinct people. This mildness in their views, however, and their manifest indifference respecting the name of Luther, was intolerable to

many of the Lutheran ministers at that time. Strong opposition arose, which increased rapidly, especially when it was found that the Reformed people in Germany agreed, in many respects, with Zwingli and Calvin. Then the sharp instruments of bitter criticism and calumny were applied diligently to the doctrinal views of these great men, in order to destroy their influence, but without success. It served only to sever the bonds of love and sympathy between those one sided Lutherans and the German Reformed people, and compelled the latter to form themselves into a distinct body. As the blind, fanatical opposition of the Papacy to all the Reformers, had providentially assisted in the establishment of the Protestant Church, so the uncharitable zeal of many Lutherans against Zwingli and Calvin contributed largely toward the formation and establishment of the Reformed Church in Germany. Through the numerous disputations, (especially the one at Marburg,) the Reformed doctrines were extensively circulated and found favor with all unprejudiced people throughout the country. Some strong Lutherans even became converts to the German Reformed cause. (See D'Aubigne, IV, 106, German Ed.) And this was very natural. For at Marburg, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and others, manifested not only a very clear, enlightened mind, great philosophical skill and a vast amount of learning; but also a tender heart and Christ-like disposition. They offered to make great sacrifices for the peace and prosperity of Zion. "Zwingli would have gone to the ends of the earth for the sake of unity." A second cause of this transition from the Lutheran to the German Reformed side is found in the fact that Luther changed his doctrinal position several times. Whilst at first he held the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation; in 1519 he appeared to move in the Zwinglian extreme. "I go to the Lord's table"—he wrote at that time—"and receive there a sign from God, that the righteousness and sufferings of Christ justify me: This is the communion of the Lord's Supper." Then again he brought out the doctrine of Consubstantiation, trying to occupy medium ground between Catholics and Zwinglians. Can any one wonder that this

created suspicion among the people, and that many abandoned the standard of Lutheranism, and embraced the doctrines of the Reformed? Now these people, in consequence of their transition, together with all others in Germany, who had been more Reformed than Lutheran, from the beginning of the Reformation, were called German Reformed, (*Deutsche Reformirte*.) Here then we have the origin of our Church. She did not grow out of the Flacian controversy, as has been intimated; but her existence as a consciously different people in the bosom of the Lutheran Church, dates back to the very commencement of the Reformation. To her further development the influence of Melancthon, with his evangelical, conciliatory spirit, contributed much. His doctrinal views were essentially those of Calvin, and his position that of a mediator between Lutherans and Zwinglians. Through him a large portion of the German Lutheran Church became prepared, contrary to his design, to fall in with the German Reformed. As soon as this became evident to the high-toned Lutherans, a persecution against him and all his peaceable friends was commenced. But their fanatical zeal against the German Reformed faith, served only to further the good cause, which they intended to injure. It filled the Melancthonian Lutherans with disgust, and aroused the German Reformed to redoubled activity. And although the bitter, controversial spirit of Flacius and his school, caused a powerful agitation in the Lutheran Church against Melancthon, and employed every possible means to destroy his influence; (imprisonment was even resorted to. Caspar Peucer, son-in-law of Melancthon, was in prison ten years for having taught Calvinism in Saxony. Many German Reformed ministers met with the same fate,) yet Melancthonian Lutheranism on the one hand, and Melancthonian Calvinism on the other, continued to develop harmoniously upon the common platform of the Augsburg Confession. But the Flacian Lutherans looked upon the progress of these two elements with envy and hatred, and determined to undermine their foundation. For this purpose they brought forth the Form of Concord, with the hard doctrine of Ubiquity, which they endeavor-

ed to force upon all the Lutherans. But the followers of Melancthon could not be induced to put themselves under this yoke of conscience. On the contrary this instrument of oppression, together with the unrighteous proceeding of its authors and advocates, drove them in large numbers into the camp of the German Reformed. An example of this we have in the city of Bremen. Ion Timan, a fanatic defender of ultra Lutheranism, prepared a pamphlet, called, "*Ferrago sententiarum in vera et Catholica doctrina de coena Domini*," in which he makes binding the doctrine of Ubiquity, or omnipresence of Christ's body, after his ascension, and calumniates and condemns Zwingli, Calvin, Melancthon and the whole Reformed Church, as "a band of heretics, a product of the devil." Then he insisted that all the other ministers of the city should subscribe their names to this pamphlet, which was also done, with the only exception of Dr. Hardenberg, a learned, peaceful and mild man, like his worthy instructor, Melancthon, who refused. The highly offended Timan began to rave against him in private and from the pulpit; representing him as an "apostate from Luther's doctrine, a sacramentarian and blasphemer." Upon this the city council, mostly friends of Timan's views, first expelled Hardenberg and Gravenstein, his only defender, from office, and soon after banished them both from the city. On their departure a large number of mourning and weeping citizens accompanied them, and their absence only increased the sympathy of the people; whilst it awakened also a feeling of indignation against the authors of this tyrannical act. In a public meeting, called to ascertain the views of every citizen on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, a member of council was expelled from office, because he tried to defend the innocent Hardenberg. This additional act of tyranny provoked a popular insurrection; in consequence of which the council was forced to reinstate the expelled officer, and to recall the banished ministers; whilst those who had been conspicuous in this despotic transaction, both council and clergy, were now in turn banished from the city by the people. The places of nineteen members of council were at once filled with

men of Melancthonian views. After this the Reformed Confession was gradually introduced into all the schools. From 1689 till 1808, the city council was composed exclusively of German Reformed members. The Dome-church, from which Dr. Hardenberg had been forced away, was not opened again during a period of seventy-seven years. Does it not seem strange, that the people, after having been under the influence of ultra Lutheran ministers for so many years, should in the end prove to be Melancthonian Reformed in feeling and views? Who could have thought that the name of Calvin, so long despised and denounced in the Lutheran pulpits of Bremen, should one day resound from those very pulpits as a name of honor and distinction! Yet this wonderful change occurred. The whole city became German Reformed, with the exception of a single congregation!

Such and similar losses should have proved lessons of wisdom to the ultra Lutheran party, to render them more prudent and cautious in their proceedings. But they continued their assaults with the utmost zeal, upon all that did not fall in with the Form of Concord, (even the Augsburg Confession was not excepted.) This bitter unrighteous warfare against the German Reformed Church rendered it necessary, that she should lay down her principles and define her position in some suitable formula; in order to silence, if possible, the tongue of slander, and thereby secure her own peace and prosperity. None felt this duty more sensibly than Frederick III, Elector of the Palatinate. As a pious devoted friend of the German Reformed Church, because she contained the proper element for his practical religious life, he desired to see her firmly established, and resolved therefore to call forth the latent power and talent of the Church in the production of a suitable formula. His noble effort was crowned with abundant success, in the formation of the Heidelberg Catechism. For in this blessed little book, the true evangelical spirit and character of our Church is manifest on every page. Christ, the divine Peacemaker, occupies the centre, training up the whole German Reformed Church to a body of peace-makers. This is the proper

mission for which God, in his wise Providence, has called our Church into existence, and we rejoice in the fact, that she has endeavored to fulfil this mission throughout her history.

It has often been said, that the German Reformed Church must be regarded as a development of Zwinglianism. But, mark it, brethren, we have not sprung from that source. Although there always have been ministers and members in our communion, who incline to the views of that efficient Reformer, yet Zwinglianism has never reigned in our midst to the exclusion of the other elements of sound Protestantism. Again, because there have been, and still are, those among us, who adopt Calvin's system; therefore our whole Church has sometimes been misrepresented as a product and embodiment of Crypto-Calvinism. But, mark it, brethren, in the German Reformed faith, the Calvinistic element that entered into our Church was modified from the beginning, by Lutheranism on the one hand, and by Zwinglianism on the other. It is the Melancthonian Calvinism, that has predominated in our midst, and which we have reason to cherish with fondness. Our Church is not the product of any single man; nor has she ever adopted any man's doctrinal views exclusively. Her original body was Lutheran-Reformed, into which Zwingli afterwards breathed his generous soul, and Calvin and Melancthon their heaven-born spirit. Thus all the elements of the Reformation have been received into her bosom, whilst she has steadily rejected its unfortunate extremes.

HER NAME.

Considering what has been stated above in regard to the nature and position of our Church, it is scarcely necessary to give any reason why she was called *German Reformed*. She too might have called herself after one of the Reformers, or some other eminent divine, like the Lutheran Church; or she might have taken a name from some prominent doctrine, or custom, or practice; but her consciousness of the imperfections of men and their doctrinal views was too strong. She had learned by experience that none of the Reformers, by himself,

was able to comprehend the whole truth pertaining to the Church of Christ, much less to present it in a permanent form. It was evident to her, that these great men, like the Apostles of our Lord, constituted only counterparts of each other; therefore she considered it unwise to assume the name and embrace the doctrinal views of any one of them for her standard. Having abandoned the idolatry of Saint-worship in the old Papal Church, and knowing from experience how very common and dangerous it is to "boast in man," she was fully awake to the solemn warning of the Apostle Paul, (1 Cor. 3,) and hence could not be induced to adopt a fanciful name. The present name of our Church is scriptural, historical and natural. Church is scriptural, Reformed is historical, and German is natural, designating the place of her nativity. It is the old apostolical Church, reformed in Germany, or the German Reformed Church!

HER DOCTRINES.

The doctrines of our Church are clearly defined and exhibited in her venerable symbol, the Heidelberg Catechism. Here we find them carefully arranged according to the plan of salvation in Scripture, and every doctrine is supported by a number of proof-texts, which, like so many finger-boards, point the searching traveler into the temple of God's holy word. No idle speculations; no polemic rivalry; no offensive reference is found in its pages, except for such as will take offence at truth. All is positive instruction in divine wisdom. In every sentence breathes the Spirit of God, and in every doctrine is manifest a pure motive and earnest desire to lead sinners to Christ and to heaven. The very first question and answer, O how comprehensive, and how unspeakably important! Whoever has fully understood its contents and realized in his soul the value thereof, is in possession of a treasure worth more than all the riches and honors and pleasures this world can offer. Christ appears there at once in his lovely, mediatorial character, as the Lamb of God slain for sinners, and as the purchaser and righteous owner of fallen mankind. The enquiring sinner, on

the other hand, corrupt and helpless by nature, is directly pointed to this mediator as the only sure hope of his salvation.

The doctrines of our Church are divided into three parts. The first part treats of the fall and misery of man ; his depravity and utter helplessness, and of his absolute dependence upon the grace of God for salvation. The second part sets forth this "salvation through Christ by faith," representing also the necessary means of grace through which this faith, and salvation by it, can alone be obtained. The third part treats of thankfulness, as the natural and indispensable fruit of a living Christian faith. This beautiful arrangement is of great practical use, as it presents to us the natural course of every sinner's salvation. First he must be convinced of and *feel* his sins and misery, that he may desire help ; then he must come to the Saviour who alone can rescue him, and after the burden of guilt has been removed and his soul realizes the Father's good pleasure through the Son, he must manifest his gratitude for such gracious deliverance. This order is presented to us by the Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans.

The doctrines of our Church are not the product of any single Reformer, neither Luther's nor Zwingli's nor Calvin's, although the different elements in which these great men respectively moved, entered into her constitution from the beginning. She received none to the exclusion of the rest, nor did she adopt anything that seemed not fully to agree with Scripture. As she had been born in the element of genuine practical Christianity, so she continued to live and move in it, and hence her doctrines must be practical also. And because the German Reformed Church combined the different elements of the Reformation in a modified form, therefore her doctrines suited Zwinglians as well as Calvinists, and called forth the admiration of the entire Reformed Church in different countries. Yea, it is a well known fact, that even the Lutheran Church, to a great extent, both in the old and new world, have long since acknowledged the more scriptural character of our doctrines ; for they have adopted them as their own on all important subjects, and have thus virtually become German

Reformed, although many of her ministers go still about proclaiming, "We are the children of Luther!" But on account of their liberal character, our doctrines have also often been falsely interpreted and grossly misrepresented. With little trouble some have been able to discover ultra Zwinglianism in great abundance, whilst others found Crypto-Calvinism from beginning to end. What feelings and object must have been instrumental in bringing about such wonderful discoveries, it is unnecessary to conjecture. So much is certain, however, that in reality neither one of those extremes is found in our system. Every doctrine grows forth spontaneously from the living consciousness of a purified Christianity, and is supported from all sides by imperishable proof-texts in the word of God. This is overwhelming evidence that the German Reformed Church is rooted in the Holy Scriptures and regards them as her only ultimate rule of faith and practice. Church and Scripture are unitedly represented and perpetuated in our doctrines; but not the mere views and ideas of any single man. Yet we are held up ever and anon to public gaze as heretics; especially by fanatical "Old Lutherans," who insist upon the purity of *their* doctrine, to the exclusion of all others, without respect to consequences; like the Jew Shylock insisted upon his right to a pound of flesh. By diligent practice they have acquired wonderful skill in distorting and misrepresenting our doctrines, and to pass wholesale condemnation upon the entire Reformed Church. It would be difficult to find any Pope so full of presumption and arrogance, as some of the famous heralds of this most uncharitable pseudo-Lutheran sect. Instead of Christian love and liberality, they instruct their people in the exercise of prejudice and exclusiveness, which is the mother of hatred and strife. As soon as a warm hearted German Reformed gets among them, he begins to feel immediately that he is surrounded by a set of incongenial spirits, whose strange look and cold breath make him feel chilly and uncomfortable. But why be astonished at their improper conduct toward us, when enmity and denunciations are a common practice among themselves. Whoever has read their papers, must have ob-

served, that a host of "Rotten-Geister" have been sent from Buffalo down to Missouri, and from there back again to Buffalo. Whether the love of Christ moves them to the exercise of such brotherly love, or the Spirit of the Gospel, we will leave the kind reader to decide.

That we have Zwinglianism and Calvinism, as well as Lutheranism in our system of doctrines, no German Reformed will pretend to deny; on the contrary, we glory in the fact, not because it is the product of the Reformers, but because it is real Christian truth. The Apostles' Creed, which occupies a prominent and central position in our Catechism, was held sacred by Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Modern theologians may call it "a human invention" and "a relic of Popery;" as long as the German Reformed Church remains faithful to her venerable symbol, so long will she also hold on to the Apostles' Creed; for if *this* be stricken from our Catechism, all the other doctrines must at once sink into obscurity, because the light has been withdrawn. We cherish the Creed not only on account of its age, or because it is called apostolic, but because it contains the essential truths taught by our Lord and his Apostles. It is a compendium of the entire Revelation of the triune God!

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper is the principal one on which our orthodoxy has been questioned, and here we have been accused of error and heresy from two sides. As these accusations are repeated from time to time, we deem it of the utmost importance that every member of the German Reformed Church should know them, and make himself fully acquainted also with our doctrine. To aid in this we will here give a brief statement, 1, of the accusations, and 2, of what our Church really teaches.

1. We are accused of a figurative and rationalistic explanation of the words with which the Saviour instituted this sacrament; it is heralded and rumored abroad that we change them into an empty "it signifies," and thus destroy their real meaning and efficacy.

2. It has been a common accusation against us, that we

consider the Lord's Supper to be nothing more than a memorial, and that the elements are regarded by us as naked signs, or phantoms, significant only for our remembrance. Now we will readily admit that among the strict followers of Zwingli, of whom there have always been some in our denomination, such grave mistakes may have been committed; but we consider it most unjust to bring such charges against our whole Church. The term "it signifies," which originated not with Zwingli, but with the Church of Zurich, has been officially abandoned by the same Church ever since the year 1549, and the German Reformed Church, as a body, never used it. Nor has she ever held the Lord's Supper to be a mere memorial, or considered the elements as naked signs. But that these charges could be urged with remarkable propriety against a large portion of the very denomination from which they proceed, needs no proof.

3. We are accused of teaching that at the Lord's table the communicant does not enjoy the presence of Christ unless he first elevates himself in spirit to fetch him down from heaven; and that we consider the Lord's Supper nothing more than an external badge, by which a Christian is to be known; that therefore our doctrine teaches a mere representation or symbol of Christ.

4. From the same quarter we are charged with teaching that "the soul of the communicant must first come to Christ, before the Lord in the fulness of his divine grace comes to him," and that thus the communicant's act of faith only, which causes Christ to be present, constitutes the Lord's Supper a sacrament. Furthermore it is asserted, that we do not give the proper value to this sacrament, considering the other means of equal importance, and that, therefore, our celebration of the Lord's Supper affords less comfort to the weak in faith than that in the Lutheran Church.

We consider it entirely unnecessary to refute these and many other accusations that are brought against us. It is sufficient to point to our doctrine and to the general experience of our people. This two-fold testimony to the contrary is

worth more than our individual vindication would be. Indeed our doctrine of the Lord's Supper needs no vindication ; a simple statement of it ought to silence all objections. And what does the German Reformed Church teach on this most important subject ? According to the letter and spirit of the Heidelberg Catechism she teaches :

1. That invisible treasures of grace are connected with the visible elements, and in the exercise of a living faith she humbles herself before the " great mystery " in child-like simplicity, and believes that in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are partaken of ; so surely as the elements are received ; not, however, with the mouth, but in a spiritual, supernatural and heavenly manner.

2. That in the Lord's Supper, and by means of it, the living Christ offers himself truly to all believers, and that their souls are nourished by him unto life eternal.

3. In the Lord's Supper our Church solemnly proclaims the Saviour's death as the only ground of her salvation ; she celebrates it as a covenant-memorial, in which the believer is assured of the forgiveness of his sins, and has sealed to him the inheritance of the saints in glory, and obtains new strength from on high for further sanctification.

4. Our Church regards the Lord's Supper as a perpetual bond of love and unity, and for this reason she considers the celebration of it indispensably necessary for all Church members. At the Lord's table all ranks and distinctions vanish ; rich and poor, high and low, learned and unlearned, all stand on a common platform as needy, and must recognize each other as brethren in Christ. It is a thanksgiving-festival for the Saviour's dying love, at which the believers consecrate themselves anew to God and receive nourishment for their inner, spiritual man.

5. In her celebration of this sacrament our Church has always observed the institution of Christ completely, unaltered in word and sign, and in the *breaking of bread* she maintains the original order of the Primitive Church. She does not make the efficacy of the sacrament dependent upon the char-

acter of the dispenser ;—but holds that all unworthy persons, such as draw near without sorrow for their sins, without a living faith in Christ, and without the sincere purpose of leading holy lives, eat and drink condemnation to themselves. Therefore she insists upon the absolute necessity of a thorough self-examination previous to the communion.

6. The German Reformed Church rejects the doctrine of “the presence of Christ’s body and blood *in and under* the bread and wine;” but teaches “a real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the *transaction* of the Supper, so that with bread and wine the Lord is present for all communicants, and is really enjoyed by all believers.” “The question, how it is possible that Christ can be present for all, and offer himself really to believers, since he has ascended to heaven, the German Reformed Church does not attempt to explain by setting up the doctrine of his bodily omnipresence—*communicatio idiomatum* ;—but she suffers a mystery to remain a mystery still, and teaches that Christ, although in heaven, is nevertheless present in the Lord’s Supper, in a manner that is incomprehensible and inexplicable.” But although our Church holds and teaches that Christ offers himself to every communicant present; yet she cannot believe what has been asserted by some, that every one, even a decided unbeliever partakes of the Lord’s body and blood. Hence we consider it great presumption, when any particular denomination or sect arrogates to itself the exclusive possession of the only pure doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, and then makes the efficacy of the sacrament dependent upon this, as is commonly done by Old Lutherans. That the Lord, as the true bread of heaven, feeds the longing soul in and through the sacrament, is a fact upon which the German Reformed Church lays great stress. She teaches also emphatically that the symbols do not bring the Saviour to us; but that Christ feeds our souls with himself through the Holy Spirit, who is the only mediator between temporal and eternal, or earthly and heavenly things. (1 Cor. 12: 1.) Hence she does not make the sacramental blessings independent of those which proceed from the Holy Spirit, as if

the one could be enjoyed without the other. With her the word of God, the sacraments, the influence of the Holy Spirit and the Christian Church, are all divine means of grace, given and instituted by Christ for the salvation of sinners. As such they must go together and can never be separated, as if a part of them could accomplish the end for which the Lord has instituted them all. Searching the Scriptures and seeking the influence of the Holy Spirit is necessary and praiseworthy ; but this by itself will never make a complete and genuine Christian. And on the other hand, to have faith in the Christian Church and in the holy sacraments, is necessary and commendable ; but also this by itself will never constitute a true follower of Christ. Yet this dependence upon a part of the means of grace is practiced in the Christian world to a lamentable extent. Among Roman Catholics the entire salvation is made to depend upon their faith in the Church and her ordinances ; and hence by far too little account is made of the word of God, and of the *particular* influence of the Holy Spirit. This is practically demonstrated in her members. On the other hand, many Protestants appear to consider the reading of the Scripture and the influence of the Holy Spirit all-sufficient for salvation ; therefore they make too little account of the sacraments *in their proper sense*, and the exercise of faith in the Church is considered almost superfluous. This is one of the essential and fundamental differences between Catholics and Protestants, and it is evident that there is room here for correction on both sides. The German Reformed Church has endeavored from the start to combine the means of grace, and to give due importance to each of them, according to Scripture. In her Catechism, Quest. 65, she teaches that "the Holy Ghost works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the Gospel, and confirms it by the use of the sacraments." But the preaching of the Gospel, and the use of the sacraments are inseparably connected with the Christian Church ; for without it they could not even exist. Being conscious of this fact the German Reformed people exercise faith in the living Church of our Lord as a divinely instituted means of grace. How it delights their

souls to sing: "I love thy kingdom Lord, the house of thine abode," &c.

May we not hope that this brief statement of our doctrine of the Lord's Supper will silence at least some objections, and assist also to confirm our dear people in the faith of their sainted forefathers? No doubt many of our brethren have heard Lutheran ministers make the assertion, that a member of the German Reformed Church has to lose nothing by going over to them, whilst a member of their Church loses much by coming to us. This we consider an utterly mistaken notion; for whoever will study carefully the scriptural purity and soundness of our glorious doctrine of the Lord's Supper, will soon be led to the conclusion, that the contrary is the fact. Let no one be deceived by such boasting assertions, nor by any cries of danger; for we stand on firm ground.

Another serious charge is brought against us, in reference to this subject, which we cannot well pass by without some notice. Holding on with firm determination to the faith of our forefathers, as we find it in the Heidelberg Catechism, and in various other symbolical productions of our Church, we are gravely charged with a Romanizing tendency. This accusation is the fruit, no doubt, of those extremely low views, prevalent among some Protestant denominations; whose "master minds" even proclaim loudly that "they celebrate the Lord's Supper in remembrance of an absent friend." Such views our Church could never adopt without losing her historical identity, and in fact her whole character. But then the German Reformed doctrine of the sacraments is as different from that of Rome as day is from night, and no sensible, honest man, conscious of this real and essential difference, should be guilty of uttering such an accusation. For let us examine the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, and see how the German Reformed Church agrees with it.

1. The Romish Church teaches a continual "unbloody sacrifice" of Christ in the Mass. Our doctrine rejects this in toto.

2. She teaches transubstantiation, or a transformation of the elements into the body and blood of Christ, by the conse-

cration of the priest. Our Church rejects this in toto.

3. She teaches the communion under one form, depriving the laity of the cup, (*communio sub una.*) We consider this as contrary to Scripture and reason.

4. She teaches a celebration of the sacrament without the participation or activity of the congregation, which is called the quiet mass, (*missa solitaria.*) Our Church holds that the Lord's Supper has been instituted because there was a congregation to partake of it, and that without this participation the Sacrament must lose its character as a means of grace. Hence we can never agree with such doctrine.

5. She teaches Mass adoration, worshipping the consecrated wafer. We consider this idolatrous and reject it in toto!

6. In her Mass for the dead she teaches that the Lord's Supper is useful for bodily evils,—and that the elements remain the body and blood of Christ also beyond the participation, without being used. All this we reject as unscriptural and absurd.

7. She teaches that the consecrated wafer must be carried about as a show, and that the partaking of the Lord's Supper is meritorious without faith, (*ex opere operato.*) We reject this as a pernicious invention, and a direct contradiction of divine truth.

8. Lastly, she teaches the use of a dead language, and makes auricular confession binding. This also we reject as a dangerous error.

Now I ask in the name of truth, where is there the least shadow of reason to charge our Church with Romanism. Brethren in the German Reformed faith! study the doctrine of your Church in its Scriptural purity and soundness, and its essential difference from that of Rome; then you will certainly feel at ease in your beloved Zion; for she is the Lord's abode, and in his presence there is no danger!

Cincinnati, Ohio.

H. R.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. II.—THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

AN EXPOSITION OF JOHN 6 : 68.

“THE words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are life.”

Thus spake the Saviour. They are words which will be regarded as truly precious by all who are qualified, by an earnest habit of thought and piety, to penetrate and understand them. In reading over the inspired pages of divine revelation, which contain the same infinite variety as we behold in nature, it is not unfrequent that we meet with passages of a peculiarly emphatic character, like the present. Whenever we do so, we ought to pause, and give ourselves time for serious reflection and meditation. These are words that fell directly from the Saviour's lips, trembling with his divinity. What passage can be said to carry with it a more solemn emphasis : “The words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are life.” What, at the same time, could be more perfect in its connection, and complete in itself.

Christ had been teaching the people the nature of eternal life under the figure of bread : that this life, so strongly demanded by our fallen nature, was contained in, and inseparably connected with, his person ; that the prophecy contained in the manna which was given to the children of Israel, in a miraculous way, in the wilderness, constituting a marked evidence of God's merciful concern, in sustaining their natural lives, was completely met and fulfilled in the person of Christ, as the bread of life. He says himself definitely, “I am the bread of life.” And more emphatic still, “I am *that* bread of life ;” namely, “everlasting life,” which is received by faith in his person. After making, in this way, his own person the fountain of spiritual and everlasting life, he then proceeds to

insist upon the necessity, on the part of men, to eat that bread in order to participate really in that life. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed," &c. No language certainly could be employed which would implicate in a more real way the humanity of Christ, and none make its participation on our part, under some real form, more essential to everlasting life. But the people losing sight, for the time being, of the divinity and consequent almighty power of Him who uttered these words, were disposed to murmur at him, and say, "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? how is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven? and how can this *man* give us his flesh to eat?" In this view, they regarded the whole representation as *an hard saying*, and asked, *who can hear it?*

From this it is plain, that their unbelief in regard to the doctrine of Christ, as to the possibility and necessity of their participating in his real humanity, as an essential condition of everlasting life, originated in an unbelief of the divinity of his person. It was this latter that created the former. If they had seen and felt the presence of divinity as vitally connected with the human side of his person, they would, doubtless, have been prepared, depending upon his unerring wisdom to teach, and infinite power to condition the human nature of which he spake, to have believed implicitly all that he had said, however high it might have towered above their finite comprehension. Nay, more: the very circumstance that the thing taught, lay beyond the grasp of their reason, would have served as an additional confirmation of their faith, in the very thing in regard to which they disbelieved because of their infidelity as to his divinity. They seemed to be in possession of no deeply penetrating consciousness that *Christ* had actually come in the *flesh*, and that in his person, as the *incarnate* Son of God, a divine-human fountain was now opened, competent in all respects to meet and remedy the diseased condition of our na-

ture. They regarded him rather in the light of a mere man, like one of their own number, and hence could not receive a doctrine in reference to his nature as human which could not hold in reference to their own nature under the same form.

It is worthy, therefore, of definite remark here, that, whilst the people to whom Christ was addressing himself upon this occasion, understood him as teaching the necessity of a participation in his humanity, their own belief in its possibility did not refer to the subject *per se*, but as it stood connected with a mere man.

When Jesus perceived the exercises of their minds in regard to this matter, he said to them, "Doth this offend you?" He refers again to his divinity as the ground of his representation: "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before;" and then condescends to aid their weak faith by the explanation: "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing; *The words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are life.*"

We are not, of course, at liberty to suppose for one moment, that any of the constituent parts of the representation made previous to the announcement of these last words, may be excluded from them altogether. As an *explanation*, their design is not to *take out* of the previous representation any of its prominent points, but to render them intelligible, to bring them, if possible, more fully within the range of the understanding, assisted by faith. If the effect of the explanation should be to ignore any prominent position taken in the representation, it would indicate a vacillating uncertainty in the teachings of Christ that could not fail to induce doubt as to his divinity. We know of no such changing of position in him who was a Teacher sent from God, and who spake as man never spake.

The absence of capacity on the part of the people, arising from their wicked unbelief as to the divinity of his person, to receive the representation he had made, could not certainly constitute a sufficient inducement for him to accommodate himself to them in the explanation in such a way as to change

substantially any position formerly assumed. To accommodate does not mean to obliterate or destroy ; and we fail to read of any instance, in which any want of moral ability on the part of the people, has ever induced Christ so to modify any scheme or doctrine, as to destroy any of its primary and essential features ; especially when, in his own person which was now at hand, and in the very doctrine in relation to this person which he was now preaching, all that grace was to be found, the absence of which constituted the negative cause of their incapacity. Rather are we constrained to believe that the words last quoted—constituting the basis of discussion—although different in some respects from those used before, which, as explanatory, it is necessary they should be, still embody in a real and vital way, every point and aspect of the subject as presented before, in the use of a different phraseology. If this be true in regard to points in the representation that might be regarded as minor, or less essential, then it must certainly be true in relation to the *humanity* of Christ, which is, in fact, the great burthen of the whole chapter.

Regarding then all the prominent points in the representation as contained really in the explanation, the only question for human investigation that remains is, the precise meaning which the explanation gives to these points. This, definitely, is the question.

We regard these words of explanation as referring, in the first place, to the *Person* of Christ, as the bread of life ; and, in the second place, as referring, indirectly it may be, to his *ordinances*, in which that person, in substance the same as when upon the earth, but spiritualized and glorified, is always at hand, to meet and satisfy, in a real way, the demand for spiritual life in our nature.

It might seem that these propositions would, in themselves, carry such a degree of self-evidencing power as to their truthfulness, that would induce all, who have come to any degree of inward sympathy with divine things, to embrace and rest upon them at once. But, unfortunately for the precious interests of true faith, this may not be expected. Although the Chris-

tian mind at the present is generally satisfied in regard to the divinity of Christ, the primary difficulty in the Jewish mind, yet, such is the degree to which it is tainted, in every direction, with the various systems of rationalism, closing the door upon the whole region of Christianity which is seen and occupied only by faith, as utterly to disqualify us, as it would seem, for any such calm letting of ourselves down into the embrace of a life which lies beyond the discernment of reason as such, however strongly its own divine nature might draw, and our own deeper instincts urge. Discarding the ground on which the Jewish mind rested and sought to justify its unbelief as to the doctrine of a real participation in Christ's humanity, (i. e. their infidelity as touching his divinity,) do we not, for the most part, with them, practically regard the same thing as monstrous and absurd !

I. We have said that these words of explanation refer to the doctrine of Christ's person, as the principle of eternal life. "I am that bread of life." What, now, do we understand by the person of Christ, under this form ? It is not too much to say here, that the merit of the whole subject lies definitely in this inquiry. Our views of every other subject within the range of the Christian faith, will take their character or complexion from the view we take of the person of Christ ; for that person is evidently the conscious centre of the entire system of Christianity—imparting to it all the force and vitality which it is found to carry with it.

The point is readily conceded by all orthodox Churches, that Christ possessed, definitely, two natures—divine and human—that the "Word"—which was the divine—"became flesh," which was the human ; that these two natures, in the incarnation, became so united as to form but *one* personality, or "I." Not, indeed, that the two natures, thus flowing together, amalgamated in the form of confused blending of the properties that were peculiar to each, but in such a form as to produce a most complete unity of personality, while the peculiar properties of each are allowed to carry with them relatively their own distinct force. The person or personality of Christ,

then, is the flowing together, in a real way, of the divine and human natures which he possessed, so as to constitute a unity, the elements in which are neither wholly divine, nor yet entirely human, but both. The pronoun "I," is the exponent of this unity, and must hence always imply the real presence of both natures. This is the force of the term "I" in this connection—"I am that bread of life." If it were possible to divide the person of Christ into two distinct and separate parts, (which can hardly be allowed even in thought) the question would be, which of these parts thus separated, does he designate by the pronoun I—his human or his divine nature? Could he be a Saviour of men in either character, separated wholly from all connection with the other? Evidently he could not. Hence being divine he became human, that, in this double character, he might be "Immanuel"—God with us. On this account we have always disliked the terms which some, in their unenlightened zeal to compliment Christ, are in the habit of applying to him—such as "divine Saviour," &c. Such a habit of mind indicates the utter absence of all practical sense of the only form in which he is the Saviour in deed and in truth. No form of speech is to be regarded as complimentary to Christ, as a Saviour, but rather as degrading, which virtually ignores the human side of his nature, which, in conjunction with the divine, is essential to constitute him such. If he thought it not beneath the dignity of his nature as divine, to take upon himself the human, and incorporate it into vital union with the divine, for the very purpose of becoming a Saviour, it should certainly not be the effort of those who are saved by him, to rend those two asunder, and thus destroy his saving power.

But, although this be, in fact, the form of vital union of the human and divine natures in the person of Christ, which constitutes him the Saviour of men, it is, nevertheless, contended by many, that a separate office, under certain circumstances, is given to these natures respectively, in the Scriptures. For the basis of this distinction, we are directed to those passages of the word of God, where Christ is spoken of as the "Son of

God," on the one hand, and as the "Son of man," on the other. It may be a sufficient answer to this, to say, that in all cases where such phraseology is made use of, the distinction is more formal than real; and that the general reason why even the appearance of such a distinction is made at all, lay in the necessity, on the part of the inspired writers, to accommodate themselves as far as possible, to the capacities of the human mind. In those cases, however, where Christ is spoken of in his official capacity, as the Saviour, such a distinction is never even intimated in the most distant form. He is always regarded in the integrity of his person, as uniting the two in one, in a real and vital way: the "Son of God" and the "Son of man" become one Saviour—Immanuel, God with us.

This union of the two natures, constituting the person of Christ, holds in the form of the Theanthropic Life, i. e., a life resulting from the union of the divine and human natures in his person, which contains the legitimate elements of both under the most real and vital form. "I am that bread of life." Now this life, although it contains the real elements of his humanity, as well as his divinity, is not by any means, on that account, an object for the senses, but for the faith, of men. It exists in the person of Christ now just as really as in the days of his flesh; for his union with our human nature, in the sense already explained, was not effected merely for the purpose of enabling him to accomplish a saving act upon the cross, but of carrying forward the redemption in a real way within us, by a continued impartation of himself to us, until, being filled with his nature, we shall be borne, by its own innate and heavenward tendency, to himself at the right hand of God.

It is to be deeply lamented that the resurrection and ascension of Christ, should seem to make it necessary in the faith of many, that his humanity, as such, can, in no real way, be looked upon as present in the world. In the generic form of that humanity, as now explained, his resurrection and ascension imply no such necessity; but rather, in the clearest way conceivable, constitute the condition only of its presence under a deeper and more vital form.

Being then, by the nature of his person, a real Divine-Human Saviour now, as much so as he was in the days of his flesh, the question is, under what form is this true ?

1. We answer, in the first place, and say under the form of *Spirit*. "The words that I speak unto you, *they are Spirit*." We have already said, that the Jews understood the Saviour in his discourse, as referring to his humanity. In this they certainly understood him correctly. Their only fault, in this respect, was, that they regarded him as referring to his human nature under too coarse and gross a form—as literal flesh, blood, &c. This understanding, or rather, misunderstanding, he designed to correct by the use of the term "*Spirit*." We certainly may discover a polemic opposition in this term, to the *carnal* apprehension of his person. While the humanity which is assumed in the incarnation, is ever most vitally connected with it so as to be part and parcel of its true nature. yet it is never to be regarded in a gross, materialistic sense. In the case of a mere man, as they regarded him, this perhaps, was the highest form in which "*flesh*," as such, could be viewed, at least by them. But now, connecting with the power of the godhead which resided permanently in his person, and which stood in vital union with his humanity, rendering the whole divinely transparent, it was not to be apprehended in that low, coarse sense, but as elevated, and spiritualized. The flesh of Christ, as begotten by the Holy Ghost, and as rising generically into, and uniting with, his divine life, becomes itself a *πνευματικόν* ; so that whilst all its attributes, holding only in time and space, are left behind, its inward power comprehending all that is real and necessary as the germ of an actual humanity, remains permanently and forever linked with his person. Were the human nature of Christ not thus taken up into the divine by the power of the Holy Ghost, and penetrated and spiritualized, it would indeed profit nothing, as, in that case, we should lack the evidence of a proper and necessary union of it with the divine ; for the most satisfactory proof of the vital union of the two, lies in the fact, which we here discover, that the one is *conditioned* by the other, and yet not in

such a way as to destroy any essential and necessary quality that may attach to either. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth" the human—raises it into its proper sphere as human; it does not destroy or ignore it, but infuses it with its own proper vitality as human, and not as spirit.

There is then a deeper sense to be attached to the discourse of Christ, in its reference to his humanity, than that caught up by his hearers upon this occasion: and this undercurrent of thought and doctrine is not confined to his teaching in this instance merely, but underlies, as we have reason to believe, all the discourses that fell from his lips. Whilst this fact is generally conceded, the tendency seems to be equally general, to seize hold of the inward sense as purely spiritual, or visionary, (for it amounts to just that in the end) and array it against the outward as carnal. Why may not the inward, by the power of the Holy Ghost, contain all the reality of the outward? This view admits of no contrariety or contradiction, and prepares the way for a complete reconciliation—the inward is the outward really in all respects in which this last appeals to the senses, only under a deeper and more powerful form. It is in this way that our faith is assisted in the higher and mysterious realities of our holy religion. "The letter" (that is, the literal or gross sense) "killeth, but the Spirit," (i. e., the higher or more spiritual sense) "maketh alive." The humanity in the person of Christ then, holds in the form of the Spirit, as opposed to the carnal, or gross view of flesh.

2. This human nature, is said still further, to exist in the person of Christ under the form of *life*. We may not regard this term as containing the same thought and nothing more, that was contained in the other. There is a shade of difference. It is an advance upon the former. The term "Spirit" or "Spiritual," which the Saviour applied to the doctrine which the Jews had understood in its "carnal" sense, seemed to be the very utmost limits of two extremes, capable of no real connection. We have not explained it thus, because this is not the true sense in fact; but would it not appear so to the mind he was now addressing? Occupying, as they did, the

carnal side of the extreme, how natural would it be for them to seize the Saviour's intimation and fly to the opposite; and, under the form of "Spirit," exclude the idea of humanity altogether? Hence the propriety of introducing a middle term which may fix and hold the human nature in its proper place, and make it real, notwithstanding it is taken up into the sphere of the spiritual. For this purpose the term "life" is used as explanatory of the term Spirit; and the term is well selected. "The words that I speak unto you, they are life." The Spirit is conditioned by the Life.

This term is applicable, properly, only to the union of the two natures in the person of Christ. It is the word definitely in which they come to their proper union, and become suffused with active power respectively to accomplish in a joint way, the great work of human salvation. By the term life, he would have them to understand that in the constitution of his person, as the Saviour of man, his humanity forms a necessary factor, not merely under the form of Spirit, that is, of Spirit in such a sense as to exclude its reality, and thus leave a mere Gnostic show or an unsubstantial picture, but as a *real life*, or *life-fact*; as if he had said, "Because I say that the humanity, forming part of my person, does not exist in the gross form of flesh, as you understand me to mean, do not, therefore, say that it does not exist there at all, save as a picture, a fancy, an abstraction. By avoiding one extreme, do not run into another; for both are equally dangerous."

The fact that we have an everliving Divine-Human Saviour is every where taught in the New Testament. "We have not an high priest who is passed into the heavens that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; for he was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

There is a universal tendency in the human mind to look upon that which is spiritual as *opposed* radically to that which is human. It seems to see no relation between them—no inward and real adaptation for each other—no common ground on which they can meet and unite in a vital and free way. This is Gnosticism—Rationalism. It leaves no room for a real, vital

union of the human to the person of Christ—it exists only in appearance; or if the union was real, it was constrained, and continued only through the short period of his earthly life, and was then glorified into an abstraction.

The tendency thus to think and feel is the result of the divorce of these two factors of existence in our own persons by the power of sin. "It was not so from the beginning." This divorce in our persons constituted the very destruction in which we lay as helpless sinners, and from which we were calling to be delivered. In Christ was our help, because it was in him that the human and the divine again met inwardly and vitally; and thus the way became opened really for their meeting again in our persons. Thus the *body*, as well as the soul, is made the subject of his salvation. How, we may ask, were this possible in any real way, if there were no capacity in the body for the spiritual and divine? But now we see that the very body, by the power of Christ's divine-human life, is made thus to possess a germ of spiritual life which will finally raise it from the grave of decay, and bring it forth in the glory of the resurrection body, without the destruction of any one constituent element of its nature as human. "Because I live, ye shall live also."

The conclusion then of the whole matter, as touching the person of Christ, is, that it comprehends the divine and human natures in the form of the most real though spiritual life—the only life competent to raise the world from the death of sin to the life of holiness; that He, constituting as he does, by his incarnation, the real centre of the world under all its forms, has most fully opened the way for a real communication between heaven and earth; so that in his person—world embracing as it is, the power is comprehended, by which the whole creation, groaning and travailing in pain from centre to circumference, as well as the human which groans within itself, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of its whole being, body and soul, may be raised from the dreadful death of sin, and brought back to the life of God. This, and nothing short of this, is the significance of the person of Christ as the principle of real, spiritual and eternal life.

But, heavenly and delightful as all this is, were we compelled to stop here, our highest hopes would still be disappointed. Something more is needed than merely to *behold* by the *mind* all fulness treasured up in the person of Christ, in all respects adapted to our spiritual necessities. A royal feast, bountiful in all its provisions, may indeed greatly gratify the eye, but this would not satisfy our hunger. It must be brought near to us in a more real way. The provisions must be taken *into us*, not in the way of thought or fancy, but really. Then they become nourishment—impart strength and animation, and enable us to accomplish the purposes of life. Why should we regard the provisions in the person of Christ in a less real light? and why should the necessity of a real appropriation of them to our persons, be looked upon as less essential and important? Is not our Christian life as real as our natural? And who will say that its demand for a real participation in the merits of Christ, under a divine-human form, is not equally imperative? “Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.” Is all this a mere picture? Does it imply nothing more than the mere outward contemplation of the merits of Christ? This were indeed turning the whole sublime scheme of redemption into a figment or fancy. The outward, legal scheme, which mechanically sets the merits of the second Adam over against the demerits of the first, thus freeing us in the eye of the law, might indeed be satisfied with such a view. But it certainly is not easy to see why the system of Universalism should not occupy the same ground? Surely it has a right to the same hope. If the merits, divine and human, contained in the person of the Redeemer, in a form wholly separated and distinct from the human subject, can avail to the salvation of one individual, then it can, and by necessity will, avail in like manner for all. Here the doctrine of universal salvation is consistent; for there is no room for distraction, but on the ground of an arbitrary decree, and much less for limitation, seeing that the merits of Christ are infinite.

These systems might answer if our disease as sinners lay wholly in a thought or law out of, and beyond us. But this is

not the condition of our nature. Whilst it is true that the divine law, as a power standing beyond and over us, has been violated and broken, and must be rendered honorable in this outward way, by the merits of the Redeemer, we feel that our own nature demands an *application* of the same merits. We are sick at heart. We are corrupt and depraved in the very constitution of our being. We are diseased in *nature* as well as in the eye of the law; and how can the satisfaction of the law, as something beyond us, and having no vital connection with us, remedy the disease which has become constitutional, affecting our whole being? Will the mere contemplation of the merits of Christ remedy this constitutional disorder? Then would contemplation be the Saviour, and not Christ. Can the Holy Spirit do it, while the merits of Christ's person remain out of and beyond us? Then the Holy Spirit, as a divine power separate from Christ, would be the Saviour, and not Christ, in and by the Spirit. Can the First Person in the Blessed Trinity accomplish it in the same outward way? Who but feels the folly of all such questions! Christ *alone* is the incarnate Saviour, neither is there salvation in *any* other. And if the salvation is to be real in our case and not a mere fancy, it is plain that we must participate, in a real way, in those elements definitely which constitute him the Saviour. These we have seen to be his *Life*, embodying in a true way the divine and human natures. "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son, hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life." 1 John 5: 11, 12. "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth *in me, and I in him.*" It is needless, as it would indeed be an endless task, to multiply passages of Scripture upon the real participation of the Saviour's life, in order to accomplish, in a personal and practical way, the end of his incarnation—human salvation.

The only question is, how, or by what means, can this participation be secured? Can it be done by faith in his person abstractly considered? The Scriptures, in individual instances, might perhaps create and nourish a conviction of this kind.

But when we come to an apprehension of the grand scheme which God has devised—a scheme which starts in the person of Christ—comes to an actual, tangible existence in the world, and is ever vitally connected with his person, and which reaches in an actual way the persons of his people, we at once feel that faith in Christ, as the Saviour, involves confidence to the same degree in the scheme itself. The one is the proper measure of the other. Now this general scheme is the Church, starting in his person, and declared to be “his Body—the fullness of him that filleth all in all.” This Church contains ordinances or sacraments, divinely instituted for the purpose of bringing this *Theanthropic* Life of the Redeemer into real contact with our nature.

II. This brings us to the second general thought of our subject, viz: That the words under discussion refer to the sacraments, in which the person of Christ, as now described, is always at hand to meet and satisfy, in a real way, the demand for spiritual life in our nature. These sacraments are Holy Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

It is a matter of controversy with some, we are aware, as to whether the sacraments are at all referred to in this chapter. We have very little disposition, and still less ability, to enter largely into the debate; especially have we no thought of pleading for any formal basis for baptism. We may state, however, that the ground which is generally taken against its reference to the Supper, is the *improbability* that our Lord would speak of it *before* its institution. This is the main, and indeed, the only ground. This was the view particularly of Origen, who held it, doubtless, because of his belief that the benefits of the death of Christ, received *directly* by faith in his name, were the primary things referred to; although, strange to discover, Christ had not spoken one word of his death. After Origen, Basil the Great maintained the same view, and for the same reason. But the great majority of the early Christians seem to have been of one mind in the firm belief that this 6th chapter of John did clearly refer to the sacrament of the Supper. Chrysostom, who was followed by Cyril, Theophy-

lact, and others, and afterwards by the scholastics generally, all, to a man, stand firmly in the conviction that it refers primarily to the Eucharist, and that the mention of it before its institution, was to be regarded as a prediction on the part of Christ, designed to prepare the way for the full benefits it involved. The universal belief of the early Church, as we may say, being therefore decidedly in favor of its reference to the Supper, we have no hesitation whatever, in the absence of all Scripture prohibition, to fall in fully with the same. We do this the more readily as we know the general design of the gospel of St. John was to illustrate the prominent doctrines which he perceived to be the characteristic features of the Christian faith. These doctrines were chiefly three; first, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity; second, the doctrine of the Church; and third, the doctrine of the Holy Sacraments. To this free sympathy with the early Church in this particular, we are led in the second place, because of our belief, that the divine-human merits of Christ's life are not received immediately and directly from his person by faith in an abstract way, but mediately, through the Church, and especially by the sacraments, which were instituted definitely for this purpose.

We regard this chapter rather as containing the idea of *Sacrament*, and as embodying for our faith the true *power* and *significance* of Sacrament, than as furnishing a formal ground for it. In this view, although the 3d chapter and 5th verse, is the place where Holy Baptism is formally and with evident design referred to, the potential force and significance of it, may, nevertheless, be viewed as vitally incorporated with the sacrament of the Supper as here brought to view. This would seem to be implied in the force of the words: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have *no life* in you." Baptism is the sacrament in which Christian life is properly said to take its rise in the subject, and yet, in the order of nature and of time, it precedes that of the Supper. Perhaps this may be accounted for in part, from the fact, that, in the early ages of Christianity, the two sacraments were very closely connected in time, even in the case of children who were admitted to both.

Regarding, then, these sacraments as the things designated, next to the person of the Redeemer, we are called upon to examine their significance in the light of the explanation given by our Saviour, as this explanation stands connected with the previous representation of the whole chapter: "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Of course we are bound, in all fairness of reason, and urged by what we conceive to be the promptings of a true faith, to regard them as the bearers of the Divine-Human Life of the Redeemer in just as real a way as we have seen his life itself to be real, as connected with his person. We cannot, indeed, escape from this faith, if we regard the Church and Sacraments, on the one hand, as the only divinely constituted channels of his grace, and on the other, recognize the necessity of a real contact of that grace with our persons, for the general purpose which the gospel contemplates. It will not do, as we have already seen, that this Divine-Human Life, in which alone salvation is comprehended, should be real in the person of Christ as separated from all vital connection with our persons. This were indeed for hungry, starving men to *look* upon a rich and royal banquet, only that the sense of their starving condition might become deeper and more dreadful by the contrast. The spiritual demand of our nature is real—the remedy in the person of the adorable Redeemer is real, and the means connecting that remedy with our disease must be just as real. We can recognize no room for fancy or picture in a matter pregnant with the momentous importance peculiar to this subject. He must have a strangely contorted heart, and a deeply jaundiced eye, who can feel and see nothing more in this whole representation, than a mere feasting upon the merits of Christ by means of what passes for pious feeling and devout meditation. No view certainly can satisfy the explanation, unless we make the explanation to ignore virtually the positions assumed in the previous representation, but that which recognizes in the sacraments the real Divine-Human life of Christ, which in this real way, we receive into us as the "Bread" or principle of our life.

To say that the mere water in the case of Baptism, and the mere bread and wine in the case of the Supper, involved, of themselves, and by the force of their own nature, the real Life of Christ as now explained, would be to speak great folly. But when infinite wisdom selects these emblems, and when infinite power ordains and sets them apart, and through his servants, specially consecrates them, as the bearers of the Divine-Human Life of Christ to the persons of believers, who is he to set in judgment upon that wisdom, or for one moment to limit that power! Baptism and the Supper have been thus selected and ordained, and consecrated, and it is one of the boldest acts of unbelief and rabid infidelity to deny their grace. They are God's special creatures, and true faith is always prepared to see in them God's special grace.

The same unbelieving objection might have been urged by the man impotent from his mother's womb, against the waters of Bethesda, which were reported to contain healing efficacy. What could these waters in themselves contain of curative power, beyond other ordinary waters? But God's angel, in certain seasons, entered and troubled these waters, and therefore they became powerful as a remedial agent. Can you see *how*, precisely, or explain the mystery? This same objection was indeed urged by the leprous Syrian, when directed by divine authority to "go and wash in Jordan, that his flesh might come again to him, and that he might be clean." In the wickedness of his unbelief he replies: "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them and be clean?" And yet, as the sequel discloses, nothing but a full surrender to, and a living faith in God's plan as such, accomplished the end sought. This is just as absolutely and unbendingly true now as it was then. His Bethesda and Jordan now are the Sacraments, borne in the divine stream of the Church, starting simultaneously in his sacred person as the God-man, Immanuel.

But what do they involve respectively?

1. Baptism is the primary sacrament. By it the person is *initiated* into the Church—planted into God's vineyard, and

made thus a plant of God's own planting. By it, his relation to the corrupt, Adamic life, is broken, and he becomes ingrafted into the Divine-Human Life of the second Adam, inducing thus the possibility of a positively holy character. The term *initiation* refers, not simply to the Church in its outward organization, but to the Church in its inward life and power, as the *real Body of Christ*. This is the real spiritual power to which Baptism gives its subjects a living connection. It makes them members organically—members of his Body. In its own nature it can mean nothing less, and thus much Scripture abundantly confirms. We are represented as *being buried with Christ* in Baptism; that is, not only deadened in a real way to sin, but removed out of its sphere, and placed beyond its reigning power and control. *We are raised with him*, in the same way, to a new and more elevated sphere of existence. "Who-soever of you that are baptized have put on Christ." "According to his mercy he *saved us* in the *washing of regeneration*." And referring to the circumstance of Noah's temporal salvation by the flood, we hear the Scriptures say, "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth now save us, (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." But we cease our quotations; it is enough to say, that such and similar passages are scattered all through the New Testament, in all which, Baptism is represented clearly as implying the *substance* of the various types and shadows by which it was pre-figured in the Old Testament; the one is complementing to the other.

Now, whether we regard the Divine-Human Life of Christ, as planted by holy baptism into the person of the subject, or the subject as planted into this Life, in either case, the contact of Christ's humanity, as well as divinity, with his person, is most real and vital. He does participate really in his human nature, raised by the Spirit, beyond the carnal and gross conception of it, and does, in consequence, possess spiritual real life. As a plant, planted in God's own way, into a Divine-Human soil, he is in a condition to grow up into the image of

Christ, if the necessary conditions are at hand. In this respect there is a perfect analogy between the child baptized and the young and tender plant. Although the plant may be properly planted, and into the very best soil, adapted perfectly in every respect to its nature, yet, if the conditions of light, warmth and moisture are not at hand, death will be the inevitable result. The conditions in the case of the baptized child, which God has supplied in his moral government, are just as indispensable, if life is to be maintained.

The family, in its nature and constitution, is designed as the first of these conditions. The very idea of baptism in the case of the child, implies the existence of piety on the part of the parents. They are constituted, in a sense that goes far beyond the merely figurative, the priest and priestess at the altar of the little home over which they are placed. The child exists in them—forms part of their nature, and they can bear it to the altar in prayer and supplication, in just the same way in which they carry themselves thither. The family is divine in its constitution, and adapted to the spiritual as well as the natural wants of the child. It is a vital part of the Church, and implies not only the presence of obligations arising in the Church, but also the presence of special spiritual grace, whereby it is possible to discharge these obligations in a proper and becoming manner. As baptism, in its practical operations, is granted, to a very considerable extent, upon the ground of the obligations which parents or sponsors assume at the time the act is performed, it is not an unreasonable conclusion, that the practical discharge of these obligations will be the measure of benefit experienced by the child. Did parents feel the deep inward significance of baptism on the one hand, and the importance of a faithful discharge of their obligations on the other, in order to give to it its inward meaning and due practical application in the case of the child, they could neither be as indifferent to the baptism of their children, nor as careless in regard to their vows as they are. But it is not my purpose now to refer in lengthy detail to the various duties which parents, by their vows, are under obligations to discharge to their children, in

the family. They are known already far better than discharged. I shall only endeavor to excite the faith of Christian parents, if possible, in the great spiritual benefit which the institution, as such, contains for their children, and the real way in which it is imparted, and leave the force of their solemn vows, and the love they bear to their children, urge them on actively in the way *that* faith may lead them.

The Sabbath school, too, is no ordinary help in giving the baptism of our children its proper practical significance. It is a legitimate expression of Church piety, when, by the Church as such, its power for good is applied diligently to the unfolding of the life in the children, implanted by baptism. But how often, as in the case of indifferent families, is the whole spiritual interest of the child in this respect, placed into the hands of hirelings, who have no natural sympathy either with the Church, school, or spiritual nature of the child, which it is the object to draw out and develop. This habit is as infidel in the Church as it is unnatural in the family; and never, (we speak confidently) will the Church, through the Sabbath school, accomplish the end here proposed, until this habit is broke. The royalty of Christianity consists in each one's attending to his own duties, and permits not one to wear the crown and fold his hands in royal ease, whilst the part involving duty is shifted off upon others. The Sabbath school, to carry in it the life and power of the Church, need not necessarily be held in the church building, but must have the active piety of its members, evinced by the practical discharge of *their* duties in way of teaching, &c.

The catechetical class is next in order both as to nature and time. Unless this be the result in the end, the design of the school is frustrated, and our labors are in vain. And what reason have we to expect this to be the issue, unless the school is so organized as to make the whole cause tend to this as the highest interest it comprehends? Unfortunately for the Sabbath school in this country, it has very little sense of any higher interest than that which is comprehended in the bare familiarizing of the child with the Scriptures in an outward and me-

chanical way ; and after this is accomplished, it is dismissed to the world to become more the child of sin than it was originally. It has no pervading appreciation at all, as it would seem, of the baptismal *life* of the child, which looks to the Church, through confirmation, as the only element in which it can live and expand. This is the grand defect—a defect which spreads through the whole Sabbath school of America, blighting, like the deadly Simoon, the loveliest flowers planted by baptism, by the river of God. Oh when will the interests of God's heritage, the affection we bear for the dear little ones whom God has given us, in connection with the earnest and deep sense of baptismal vows, arouse us to the tremendous interest which is here at stake ! When shall we regard the Church as containing the highest end to be reached in our militant Christianity ? And when shall we be so drawn to it as to a common centre, that all our efforts shall be regarded as failures, unless they result in fixing ourselves and children more deeply and permanently in the Divine-Human life of the Church—the “Body of Christ ?”

This is the course of Christian training which the Bible plainly lays down : “Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.” Led upon this course, through the door of confirmation, into the Church—the communion of saints, the child is safe, perfectly safe, because it has complied fully with God's plan ; and now, agreeably to his promise, he will guard it from every harm and lead it constantly beside the still waters and the rich pastures of his grace, making it grow and expand, and ever tend forward towards the fulness of a perfect Christian character in Christ Jesus.

2. But in what form will he now find the grace particularly which is here so fully promised ? In the *Lord's Supper*. This is the sacrament which is more especially referred to in this chapter. It is an eating of the flesh and a drinking of the blood of Christ, under the form of spirit and life. That it involves the humanity of Christ under a real form, there cannot remain the least shadow of doubt. It is humanity, however,

penetrated by divinity, by the power of the Holy Ghost, and is hence made an object, not of oral manducation, but of faith in Christ through the sacrament of his flesh and blood. This is spiritual real food, typified by the manna, and accomplishes the same purpose in regard to the Christian or baptismal life, as *that* did in the natural life of the body. How otherwise could it be *Spirit and life*?

This does not mean the literal or corporeal presence of Christ's humanity no more than the germ, comprehending the *power* of the actual, contains the actual. The *spiritual real* presence is not by any means the *real actual* presence. The difference, I apprehend, is the difference and distance, at the same time, between the Protestant and Roman Churches. The distance is great enough, God knows, to keep us travelling towards each other for centuries yet to come, without coming so near as to afford opportunity for a very loving embrace. There is no inward reason at all why the one should, at any point, become the other. Transubstantiation, as commonly held, is an absurdity, contradicting reason, and destructive to faith. The same may be said generally of consubstantiation, one of the pet theories of the great Reformer, Luther. This last does not absorb and annihilate the natural properties of the emblems, bread and wine, as the other does, but it does make the *actual* humanity of Christ so penetrate these, as to render faith, in their reception, entirely nugatory and unnecessary as a condition. The merits of Christ go with the emblems in all cases of their reception. This, too, is extreme ground, which the Reformed Church has never occupied. Her steady adherence has ever been to the doctrine of the spiritual real presence, as brought out specially by Calvin. It is the medium between the extreme of Zwingli on the one hand, who regarded the whole transaction in the light of a mere outward memento, and that of Luther, just mentioned, on the other. It ever contends for the spiritual real presence, that is, the presence of Christ under the form of a Divine-Human life—thus retaining in the Church in a real way, Christ as a Saviour, to the end of time. This is the doctrine of our symbol so plainly drawn out, that he that runs may read.

Notwithstanding the difference between this view and the common view of transubstantiation in the Roman Church is so necessary and great, yet, as a Church; we have been charged over and over again with Romanizing tendencies just with reference to this very doctrine. Often times have these charges emanated from individuals who ought to have known better. Nor can we excuse them upon the ground of ignorance; for this is not the ground in the most of instances. We have been denying, explaining and correcting even for years, and yet the same charges fifty times demolished, are hatched up from their nonentity again, and again hurled with the same pious? zeal as before, until we have actually become so used to this kind of treatment that we are beginning to think we were born for it. We cannot but regard them, for the most part, as slanderous; nor can we help but look upon those who lend themselves, tool-like, to the nefarious business of report making, as wholly destitute of that charity "which thinketh no evil, but rejoiceth in the truth."

These things, in their proper connection—starting with the person of Christ—continued really and truly in the Church—and opening themselves to real contact from generation to generation in the sacraments, in the way of real Human-Divine life, constitute the grand Divine Plan, for saving the world. If this be so, then it follows that our confidence in the plan shall hold in precise proportion to our faith in the person of Christ itself. We cannot separate the two: the first is the means to the last; and the individual who imagines he has faith in Christ as separated from his plan of salvation, gives the lie to his fancy in that very fact. Every one who has a true, living faith in Christ will at the same time be willing to cast himself wholly upon Christ's plan; nor will he have any confidence in any other scheme that might be devised by human ingenuity. It must in the end come to this—either God's plan alone, or none at all; and this is just the same thing as the salvation of God, or no salvation at all.

A want of faith in God's plan of saving man has, heretofore, led to the adoption of other systems of human origin. Hap-

pily a re-action has widely spread all over the land, and we are beginning to feel once more the warm encirclings of a proper Church-life closing in around us. It is to be hoped that we are all sufficiently tired supping at the empty cistern that can hold no water, and that we are willing, with thankful hearts, to return in the full confidence of our spirits, to the Church—the Body of Christ, the fountain of divine life for the world.

These—imperfectly portrayed, I know—yet these are some of the glorious peculiarities of the Bible, and of the Reformed Church, and this briefly is the determination to which we are coming more and more intelligently every day. If these singly, or combined, be heresy, our enemies being judges, then with Paul we are ready to confess, “that after the way which they call heresy, so worship we the God of our fathers.”

Much, indeed, has been written, and still more spoken, of a harshly denunciatory character, against the German Reformed Church in consequence of her honest adherence to these and similar views. How all this can be reconciled with the doctrine of *private judgment*, which these speakers and writers hold as one of the most precious interests of their faith, we are at a sad loss to understand. To an ordinary mind it would certainly seem, that the right, in the case of any one class of men, to enter the Bible and interpret its teachings according to the tastes and bias that may be peculiar to them, would imply a concession of the same privilege, (if such it may be called,) to all other classes. Why then should the Reformed Church, seeking earnestly to maintain the views in which she had her origin—whether on the ground of private judgment separately, or *private judgment* standing freely in the *universal* judgment of the Church, it does not matter here,—be denounced in the rabid and unchristian style so common and even fashionable in many newspaper prints, reviews, &c. The jewel of consistency has certainly been very much marred. The fact is remarkable, which observant minds cannot but have noticed, that those very Bodies, in which the *most* account is made of private interpretation, are the strongest in their denunciation against those who, in differing from them, *seem* to stand upon

the same right. But this, after all, is the legitimate and only illustration which the principle is capable of giving. Selfishness, arrogance and pride are its natural fruits. Each mind singly, it makes the measure of the whole truth; how can it consistently admit the same measure in the case of other minds that may differ in the least degree from them? It leaves no room for unity, and still less, if possible, for a peaceful and harmonious diversity. Charity, which is the bond of perfectness, it can never understand.

1.) This whole subject should lead to a correction of our grovelling views of the Church of Christ. It is not a mere outward organization, but a divine-human life-power, originating in the Person of Christ, with an inward, historical connection with the world, containing the very help we need and must have, as sinners.

That the presence of such grand spiritual realities in the Church require faith and a great deal of subordination on the part of the individual, to the power of a deeper and more comprehensive life than his own, there can be no doubt; and there can be just as little doubt that, in this age of rationalism, empiricism and individual wilfulness under other forms, many will be found unable to cast themselves freely into the grand comprehending Christian mystery; and, becoming offended with what they conceive to be carnal, because they have no faith to apprehend it as raised into the sphere of the real and spiritual, they will pass off into the open arms of infidelity and the world. This was the result of Christ's teaching and explanation, in regard to this very subject, in this chapter. "From that time many of *his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.*" The same result in the present age, for the same reason, is no less an evidence that the doctrine is God's, and therefore marvellous to the eyes of unbelief. "They get out from us, thereby to show that they are not of us." Occasions of this kind, therefore, instead of causing our faith to waver in regard to these things, should only serve to establish and confirm that faith in their divine truthfulness.

2.) It should also lead us to see the utter absurdity of the

opinion entertained by many even in this day of intelligence, that a real and acceptable Christian character can be secured beyond the pale of the Church, as well as in it. If so, the whole grand superstructure of the Church, is only a grand imposition! The wisest and best men that ever lived were demented and the veriest fools! The Bible is a fable! and all real hope of heaven a dream.

As well might we expect our grain to germinate in our granaries, and our flowers, nursed tenderly perhaps in the hot-house, to grow out of the rock! The earth is their womb; air, light, heat, moisture, are their conditions.

Thus the Church. In her we are born spiritually in Baptism—and fed in the Supper—and clothed jointly in the garments of the Saviour's righteousness: and thus we are carried forward gradually, by the progressive and expanding power of Christ's life, until we shall reach finally the "stature of the fulness of the perfect man in him."

As I speak on the ground of God's testimony, sealed by a Saviour's blood, I must be believed when I say, it is no vain thing to confess Christ before men, by connecting with his Church. It is his own institution, divinely appointed for divine ends. It is inseparably connected with the Church triumphant in heaven, and is the only door that opens to it. "He that climbeth up any other way, the same is a thief and a robber."

All need and want salvation; and for it are all willing to strive. If the fact then be once incorporated into the faith of men that it is inseparably connected with Zion, then will they flock unto her as doves unto their windows; Zion will arise and shine; her daughters will fill her courts with music; her sons will clap their hands for joy, and her fathers, like good old Simeon, will say, "Now Lord let thy servants depart in peace, for our eyes have seen thy salvation." Then will Zion be gladly hailed as the Lamb's Bride, clothed in her beautiful garments, hanging tenderly upon the arm of her Beloved, and with tearful anxiety, awaiting the day when her anguish shall all be o'er and her bliss consummated in heaven. This is the re-

vival that we need as an entire American Protestant Church. This only can save us from the abnormal and wild tendencies of the age, and uplift a standard that, amid the wide-spreading commotions of the times, both in the Church and State, shall serve as does the light-house to the tempest-tossed mariner upon the deep, to guide both to the calm and peaceful moorings of spiritual and eternal truth.

Hagerstown, Md.

D. G.

ART. III.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

III. MODERN ATHENS AND THE MONUMENTS ON THE AKROPOLIS.

Departure from Malta—Hermit of Cape Malea—The Peiræus in 1834—Removal of the Capital to Athens—Greek Widow and Turkish Ambassador—Biography of Colonel Fabricius—Audience with King Otho—Excursion into northern Greece—Professorship at the Military College—Monuments of Athens—The Theseum—Its history and description—Polychrome ornaments—Sculptures—Ancient Market Place—Ascent to the Castle—The Akropolis—Equestrian Statues—Temple of Victory—Periklean Portals—Interesting Inscriptions—Gothic Tower—Ancient Temples on the Akropolis—Worship of Pallas Athene—The Parthenon—Its Cell—Hypæthral temples—Sculptures and Polychrome decorations—Phidias—Canova—Thorvaldsen—Colossal Ivory Statue of Athene—History of the Parthenon—Its destruction by the Venetians—Its spoliation by the Robber-lord—Its restoration by King Otho—The Erechtheion—Its sculptures and history—The Karyated Virgins—Lord Byron—General Ghouras—Fete of King Otho—Illumination of the temples and moon light scenery on the Akropolis.

At the time when young King Otho, on board the British frigate *Madagascar* arrived in Greece in 1833,* there did not yet

* See our article, "Modern Greece," in "Mercersburg Quarterly Review" for July, 1854, page 487.

exist any regular communication between that country and the western ports of Europe. Steam navigation on the Mediterranean was at that period still confined to some few British vessels plying between Malta and the coasts of France and Italy; the newly established government in Greece, therefore, engaged four or five swift sailing Hydriote brigs, as royal packets, to facilitate a more regular correspondence with Marseilles, Leghorn, Malta and Trieste.

Having spent the summer months of 1834 on a most delightful, but fatiguing pedestrian tour through Calabria and Sicily, during which we ascended Mount Etna and beheld the terrors of its twenty craters, and roaring eruptions, we returned to Messina in order to embark for Greece on one of those royal packets. But the suspicious hostility of the Neapolitan government, under the show of severe quarantine regulations, closed the Sicilian ports against the new Hellenic flag; and we were thus obliged, after many difficulties on account of passports and baggage, to sail to Malta in an Austrian schooner. In that beautiful island we were politely received by the Greek consul, Mr. Michel, who gave us a free passage to Nauplion in the Hydriote packet *Miltiades*, a fine looking brig of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Georgios Zacharis, who had taken a distinguished part in the naval war with Turkey. Toward sun-set, December 5th, the anchors were weighed and we stood out for sea. A brisk *libeccio*, or south-west wind swelled the sails and carried us in two days through the Cretan sea toward the high and frowning promontories of the Peloponnesos.

At sun-rise, on the 8th, that inhospitable, iron-bound coast lay before us; the distant mountain tops, covered with snow, appeared through the clouds. Neither towns nor villages, cultivation or verdure relieved the monotonous gray and russet colors of the rocks, piled up in chaotic disorder—only here and there on the highest peaks appeared some ruinous tower of the wild Mainots, looking down upon the breakers, foaming and chafing some thousand feet below. We doubled cape Taenaron, now called Matapan,* and crossing the deep Lakonian gulf, bore

* No doubt a corruption for *Metopon* or fore-head, the promontory presenting a bluff front against the sea.

away toward night-fall beneath the still more precipitous cape Malea, the southernmost promontory of Europe, of whose dangerous rocks the ancient mariners were so afraid, that it was a common saying among them: That whoever had to pass the Malea might bid eternal adieu to his family and friends. Nay, some relics of this superstitious dread exist among the Greeks even at the present day: for instead of continuing to tack around the projecting head-land, the helmsman of our brig, the young Dimitri Zacharis, directed the course of the vessel right against the steep rocky shore, from which the gigantic mountain arose precipitously to a height of several thousand feet above the sea. At a signal given, the sails were furled; the ship laid to, and to our utter astonishment the shout on board was responded to on shore, where a twinkling light appeared at a great distance, on the surface of the water, in a grotto at the base of the cliff, in so wild and inhospitable a region, that we would only have supposed it the refuge of cormorants and sea-gulls. We were, therefore, in expectation of some scene from the Corsair of Lord Byron, when the old Captain pointing to the distant taper on the coast, said: "Signiors, do you see that light yonder of the venerable old Hermit, who for forty years has blessed my ship and protected it from shipwreck and disasters. Every Greck vessel that doubles cape Malea sends on shore a basket with bread and fruits and some gourds of wine to warm the heart of the pious old Kaloyer." We felt the most lively desire to visit the hermit, but unfortunately the boat had already started, and when it returned after an hour's absence, we learned from Captain Dimitri, that the hermit lived many years in total seclusion from the world in the natural cavities of the mountain opening upon the sea. He had built an altar on the coast, which during night served as a beacon fire to the ships while doubling the stormy cape. Our Hydriote mariners having offered their present of provisions then knelt down before the rudely built altar, on which a lamp was burning beneath an image of the Holy Virgin, the *Panaghia*: there they chanted their Kyrie Eleison, received the blessing of the re-

cluse, and thus sure of divine protection, returned joyfully to their ship.

When we, ten years later, in 1844, a second time passed the promontory on our return to Denmark, no light appeared beneath the dreary mountain. It had been extinct for a year or two; the old hermit may probably have died in his solitary retreat.* The wind being contrary we tacked up under Crete and it was not until the seventh day after our departure from Malta that we entered the beautiful Saronic gulf, between the Peloponnesos and Attika and anchored smoothly in the celebrated port of the Peiræus. This large and safe harbor, which for centuries had presented nothing but ruins and desolation, was now full of movement and life. Several British, French and Austrian men-of-war were at anchor in the middle of the port, and quite a number of Greek brigs and *caïques*, or small coasting vessels were discharging their cargoes of timber and provisions for the new capital. Rows of white houses and a bazar of stores and magazines had recently been built along the shore, now covered with goods, which on camels and mules were transported through the swamps to Athens. Some companies of German troops had just arrived from Trieste and a detachment of handsome Greek Lancers, mounted on fiery Thessalian horses, were awaiting a transport of money from Nauplion.

Without stopping to investigate the numerous and highly interesting walls, towers and other antiquities of the Athenian port, we immediately took horses and galloped off through the plain for Athens, situated at a distance of twenty five stadia or five miles from the coast and distinctly visible by the glittering temple ruins of the Akropolis. The passage, however, was difficult on account of the swamps. The river Kephissos, descending from Mount Pentelikon through the plain north of the city, had overflowed its banks and inundated the lower re-

* The only mention of this curious apparition we have found in books of eastern travels, is the affected and truly French description of the Hermit and his Grotto, by the late M. Bory de Saint-Vincent, who saw him in July, 1829. See *Expedition Scientifique de Moree*, tome II, page 418, Edition in 8 vo.

gion toward the sea coast. Our horses plunged to the saddle girths and the wily mules threw off their baggage, which we at last, though wet and soiled, got safely deposited in the olive grove. In an hour and a half we arrived at the height of the western ridge of the Museion, from which the bustling city below, the elegant Temple of Theseus, the Areopagos, the Akropolis and high distant Mount Hymettos, all at once burst upon our sight. Athens appeared in the depth as one immense pile of ruins, from out of which arose here and there some unroofed churches, desolated mosques and broken minarets. At the first outbreak of the war of independence in 1821, the Greeks in their fury had burnt and destroyed all the Mohammedan sarais, bazars, baths and other public and private buildings; nay, they had even devastated the orange and fig plantations, and all those cool and shady retreats of Turkish indolence, so beautifully described by Lord Byron. In revenge the Turks on their return after the destruction of Missolonghi in 1827, with savage joy laid waste the city of the Greeks and stabled their horses in the beautiful Byzantine churches, eighty of which still adorned Christian Athens.

Descending the hill and forcing our way over the ruinous walls, we entered by the Peiræus gate and pressing forward to the market place, which seemed the only part of the modern town that had risen from its ashes, we met with crowds of people from all parts of the kingdom in their gaudy and picturesque costumes, who had assembled to salute their young King. There were the Albanian mountaineers; the tall and fierce looking *Arnauts* or *Skypetars*—in their white kilts and shaggy capotes; the more pacific Islanders in their Turkish turbans, wide trowsers and silken kaftans; and the half drupk, red-nosed Bavarians in their tight sky blue uniforms and glittering helmets—all were trafficking, smoking and drinking, or talking and shouting at the same time in their various dialects. Military music resounded through the narrow streets, and King Otho with his staff at the head of his Greek battalions marched proudly through the city from a review in the plain of the ancient academy of Plato.

A bustling activity prevailed throughout the town, and hundreds of Maltese and Zantiote workmen were clearing the thoroughfares from the rubbish and erecting temporary barracks for the soldiery and wooden houses for the numerous guests, whom every vessel brought from different parts of Greece and Turkey to the new capital.

This general confusion in which we found the city of Thebes in December, 1834, was occasioned by the sudden and unexpected removal of King Otho from Nauplion, before the necessary preparations had been made to receive him.

Among the three regents of the kingdom, who, during the minority of the King, had the absolute power in their hands, disputes and cabals had arisen about the new system of government, which was to be decided upon.* The question was now started: What city should be selected as the capital and residence of the court and departments of State?

The most economical advice was certainly that of Chevalier de Maurer, who proposed to remain at Nauplion, where government was placed in a central position, in the strongest fortress and the best built city of the kingdom, and possessed of all the necessary buildings for the public service.

Count Armandsparg, on the contrary, insisted on the removal to Athens, the glorious capital of science and arts in ancient Hellas, while the great mass of the Greek nation preferred the Isthmos of Korinth as the most proper site for a new capital, because it was situated on a salubrious eminence, commanding both the Korinthian and Saronic gulfs, and had a fertile territory, which belonged to the State: while at Athens, on the contrary, government would be obliged to buy every span of ground to raise the public buildings.

The question was yet undecided, when Chevalier de Maurer was recalled to Germany, and Count Armandsparg now proclaimed Athens the future Metropolis of Greece. Designs and plans for the re-building of the city were then laid down by the chief architects, Schaubert and Hansen and approved of by

* See our article on "Modern Greece," in the preceding number of the "Mercersburg Quarterly Review," page 442.

King Otho, who like his royal father, Lewis of Bavaria, took great interest in architecture.

But before the artists could arrive in Athens with their new plans and the royal order, the old Athenian citizens had already returned from their retreats in Salamis and Ægina, and begun to rebuild their ruinous dwellings in the old Turkish style, without paying any regard to the royal regulations, or placing any faith in the promise of future indemnification for the house-lots and gardens, they were to surrender for the use of the State.

In the midst of these conflicting interests the favorite architect of King Lewis of Bavaria, the Chevalier de Klenze, made his appearance in Greece with another scheme, overthrowing those of the Greek architects, although the latter, by profound studies on the spot, had worked out the only plan, which, if faithfully executed, would have reserved all the ground of the *ancient city of Athens*, around the Akropolis, for future excavations, and placed the *modern Capital* at a greater distance, on the north and east of the ruins. Contradictory orders were thus sent to Athens, and while Mr. Schaubert returned to Naulion to make his protest at the seat of government, the Greeks, indifferent to all other considerations, save those of their own present profit, with great rapidity, continued to rebuild their stores and wooden shanties. In this manner many old streets remain to this day clustered together on the northern slope of the Akropolis, in a close and unhealthy situation, alike frustrating the hopes of the antiquarian and the architect!

By this unexpected removal of the court and administration to Athens, in December 1834, many curious accidents and mistakes happened, and the difficulty of obtaining lodgings became extreme, while the only Italian hotel of Signor Cazali, and all private dwelling houses were crowded with the foreign ambassadors, the household officers, the military, and the secretaries of the different departments of State. Yet none of all these worthies fared worse than the Turkish ambassador. No Greek would receive so detested a character. The only house left and which had been assigned to the Turk and his suite by the Greek

government, was owned and occupied by a widow, whose husband had fallen in the war, and who resolutely refused to let the *Keratas*, or horned fool, as she termed his crescented highness, so much as cross her threshold. With true Turkish stoicism the Mohammedan sat quietly down on the marble stairs, exclaiming, *Allah Kerim—ish Allah!* God is great—God's will be done,—and continued to smoke his pipe, while the exasperated descendant of Xanthippe poured forth from the house-top volleys of the most refined Athenian billingsgate! The gendarmes now advanced to break open the door and dislodge the owner. They found the Greek lady seated on her carpet, in the centre of her parlor and refusing to rise. With a polite bow to her ladyship each of the four soldiers took up a corner of the carpet, and thus conveyed her bodily out of the house and deposited her in the middle of the muddy street, where she continued scolding both Turks and Bavarians, until her relations came and took her along with them!

This was one of the many curious incidents, which at that time formed the topic of conversation at Athens. But in the course of six months a great change took place in the city and in a year or two, regular streets were laid out, the ruinous Byzantine churches repaired and opened for divine service; tribunals, schools, hospitals, barracks, and a vast number of elegant buildings erected, and the foundations laid for the royal palace and the university of regenerated Greece.

Athens has now a population of some thirty thousand inhabitants and a garrison of five thousand troops. Though it cannot be compared to the splendid cities of the United States, springing up as if by magic everywhere on the coasts and rivers of this magnificent continent—Athens, however, has peculiar charms of its own which all the wealth and industry of New York, Boston and Philadelphia cannot create. The climate of Attika is the finest in the world, and the situation of Athens on the slope of her Akropolis, looking down on the sea, and the gorgeous panorama of distant mountains may vie in picturesque beauty and grandeur with the celebrated sites of Naples and Constantinople, while its gigantic monuments from remote

antiquity soaring majestically above the modern dwellings unite all that is tasteful, elegant and perfect in the best period of ancient art, and the bright recollections of her wonderful history secure her the first rank as the universal metropolis of intellectual culture and political liberty.

Yet though the great crowd of foreigners, who during the winter of 1835 flocked to Athens, suffered the greatest hardships from want of lodgings and the exorbitant prices of the hotels, we Danes were received with open arms by our distinguished countrymen, the royal architect Christian Hansen, Dr. Lewis Ross and Major Christoph Fabricius, commander of the fortress of Nauplion,* who gave us a hearty welcome beneath their hospitable roofs.

Our investigations of the monuments of ancient Athens now began with incredible ardor. On a lovely, warm and sunny afternoon in January, I accompanied Major Fabricius and his lady to the Akropolis to review the temple ruins and enjoy the magnificent panorama of land and sea in the golden blaze of an

* The active and adventurous life of this brave Philhellene presents a series of the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. Christoph Fabricius, the son of a physician from Plöen in Holstein, full of enthusiasm for the cause of Grecian independence, left with many other young students the University of Kiel and embarked in Marseilles for Greece 1823. He entered the corps of Philhellenes as a volunteer and distinguished himself not only by chivalrous bravery in every battle with the Turks, but by his modest behavior, his temperance and moral fortitude throughout all the hardships and sufferings of that bloody and protracted war. While hundreds of warlike youths, Germans, Danes, French and English perished either on the battle fields of Zeituni, Peta, Arta, the Peiræus and Chios, or were cut off by diseases and intemperance, Fabricius was among the few, who like the Generals Church and Pisa, the colonels Finlay, Reineck and Andreossi and the commodore Bromy obtained their rank and well earned laurels in the reorganized army and navy on the accession of King Otho I, in 1833. In a brilliant cavalry combat on the plain of Tripolitza, Fabricius at the head of a squadron of Greek lancers had charged and cut to pieces several battalions of Arab regulars of the army of Ibrahim Pasha and was promoted to the rank of captain on the battle field in 1825.

With his light battalion this able leader surrounded and destroyed in a desperate skirmish the Thessalian robber-bands on Mount Othrys in 1834, (see "*Mercersburg Quarterly Review*" for April, 1854,) and as commander of the important Palamidi, the castle of Nauplion, his vigilance and integrity insured the safety of the young King and his Bavarian government. Yet during the virulent contest between Count Armanseperg and Chevalier de Maurer about the system of administration and the presidency of the Council, Major Fabricius unfortunately took the part of the latter, and on the defeat of that able statesman and his removal from Greece, the Danish Philhel-

Athenian sun-set. While we were wandering beneath the lofty columns of the Parthenon in pleasant conversation on remote antiquity and on the not less stirring events of the late war of independence, in which the Major, under the command of Colonel Fabvier, had so gallantly defended the Akropolis against the Turkish army of Reshied-Pasha, two Bavarian officers joined our party. It proved to be the young monarch accompanied by an adjutant. On my being presented to King Otho as a Danish traveler, who for literary purposes was visiting the Levant, his majesty in the frankest manner and without reserve displayed the inquisitive curiosity in architecture and archæology of his royal father, King Lewis of Bavaria, and I thus found a pleasant opportunity of communicating the result of my favorite studies to the sovereign of resuscitated Hellas in the very sanctuary of her choicest master works of art. A few days later I undertook an excursion into northern Greece in company with my friend Fabricius de Tengenagel, who had just arrived from Denmark. After a most interesting but fatiguing journey on horse-back through Bœotia, Phocis and Doris to the frontier of Thessaly, during which we were often exposed to danger from the mountain Klefts, and obliged to return by sea to Chalkis in Eubœa, we came back to Athens in the beginning of spring. Arriving late in the evening, hungry

lene had to encounter the perfidious hostility to the Count and his Bavarian adherents. A Bavarian Colonel was called to the command of the fortress ; and Fabricius sent to Athens to serve as Major under the thick skulled Bavarian Colonel Giössman in one of the battalions of infantry. Nay, he was afterwards removed to Chalkis, where, oppressed with debts, he lingered in obscurity until the revolution of September, 1843. The staunch Northman, though surrounded by treacherous officers and seeing his troops with their bayouls pointed at his breast, would not abandon the cause of his liege lord. Surrendering his sword he went as prisoner of war to Athens, where, with the consent of King Otho, he swore allegiance to the Constitutional Government. But this chivalrous behavior of Fabricius, Tzavellas, and Genaios Kolokotronis incited the strongest animosity and fear of the victorious party of Kaleris and the Constitutionalists. In October they excited the Pallikars and mob at Athens, against these faithful and brave officers. Kolokotronis and Tzavellas fought their way to the Peiræus sword in hand ; Fabricius escaped likewise in the coach of the Austrian ambassador, and succeeded after many dangers to join his wife and child in Smyrna. Thence he, like the other Danes in Grecian service, was honorably recalled by King Christian VI, in 1844, and placed as Colonel of Cavalry in the Danish army. Nay, the monarch to shew him his particular favor sent him as extraordinary envoy to the court of King

and fatigued, I went to the Italian hotel of Signor Cazali, where I met quite a number of Bavarian officers at their supper. As usual the conversation went high against the capacity and integrity of the Greek officials in the provinces and the character and manners of that nation in general. Yet from actual observation I had found the condition of the people and the country far better than I had expected, and I therefore refuted the Bavarians as well with regard to single facts or characters as to their erroneous criticism of the Greek nation in general. Some of the King's adjutants were present, who seemed pleased with my defensive arguments, and great was my astonishment next morning when I received a letter from Count Hunoldstein, in which he stated that the King desired to see me at a private audience in the afternoon. King Otho asked me some questions on my travels in the provinces and expressed a wish that I would prolong my stay in Greece and enter the service, and indeed a few months later I was ordered by General Lesuire, the minister of the war-department, to go to the island of Ægina and report myself to Colonel Reineck, President of the Military College of the Evelpides to which I had been attached as Professor of History and Modern Languages. Thus I became at once established in the land of my predilection.

On the arrival of the Regency at Athens the care of the antiquities of the Akropolis had been awarded to the distinguish-

Otho, with the ratification of a treaty of commerce between Denmark and Greece and the great cross of the Order of Danebrog for King Otho and other distinctions for his Councillors and Generals. Thus the triumph of Colonel Fabricius was complete by his appearance as the military envoy of a foreign King in Athens, from which he had been so unjustly exiled by revolutionary party spirit and Grecian ingratitude. On his return to Denmark, however, he found his position more difficult than ever; the hatred between Danes and Holsteiners and the miserable contest about the nationality of Schleswig already approached their height. We have ourselves often witnessed the disdainful manner in which the Danish officers treated the Greek Philhellene, the Holsteiner, who by favor of the King bore their uniform. On the death of King Christian VIII, in 1848, and the outbreak of the rebellion in Holstein, Colonel Fabricius, stung to the quick by the hostility of his colleagues in Copenhagen, left the city and returned to his native duchy, but he did not draw his sword against his King, and lives now in obscure but unmerited exile in Hamburg, where he in the bosom of domestic happiness, at the side of an admirable wife (a Countess de Rosen) and a lovely daughter, contemplates the inconstancy of fortune, and perhaps writes his memoirs of the most romantic and successful national struggle of our century.

ed Archæologist and Historian, Dr. Lewis Ross from Holstein, as General Conservator of the Akropolis, and the Architects, Edward Schaubert and Christian Hansen, while a sum of twelve thousand drachms was assigned for the excavations, which were continued for several years with great success.

The first monument of antiquity presenting itself to the traveler, on his approach from the coast, is the beautiful temple of Theseus—the *Theseum*. It is situated on a sloping hill on the north west and commands a magnificent view of the city and the Akropolis. This temple is the best preserved monument in Athens, having not only all its columns, its cell, but even the delicate sculptures of its friezes, and the roof, which during the middle ages, had been vaulted over, when the temple was dedicated as a Christian church to Saint George.

It is built of the purest, white Pentelic marble in the severe old Doric style, with a single peristyle, of thirteen columns in the flanks and six in each of the fronts. The elevation of the temple from the pavement to the apex of the pediment is only thirty-three feet, while that of the Parthenon is sixty-five feet, and that of the immense temple of the Olympian Jove, is eighty-five feet. Its solid, yet elegant form is admirable, and the loveliness of its coloring is such that from the rich mellow hues, which the marble has assumed in the course of centuries, it looks as if it had been quarried, not from a bed of rocky mountains, but from the golden light of an Athenian sun-set.

The history of this temple is very interesting. It was built in the glorious days of the Athenian republic, in the first year of the seventy-eight Olympiad, B. C. 468, twenty-two years after the victory over the Persians at Marathon.

A tradition was current at the time, that Theseus had been seen fighting at the head of the Athenian columns against the Persians on that celebrated field, and when the oracle of Apollo at Delphi commanded the Athenians to search for the earthly relics of their Founder, who had perished an exile on the island of Skyros in the Ægean, Kimon, the valiant son of Miltiades, was sent off with the fleet to chastise the wild pirates of

Skynos and take possession of their island. The expedition was successful; and when Kimon discovered an ancient sepulchre, containing arms and human remains, supposed to be those of the Attic hero, he carried them in triumph to Athens and instituted a religious festival in honor of Theseus. The splendid temple was then built on that hill, where Theseus, according to ancient tradition, in a bloody battle had vanquished the warlike Amazons from Pontus, who were attacking Athens and had made peace with their queen Antiope. An asylum or sacred enclosure was united with the temple, where slaves, who had been ill-treated by their masters, sought refuge, and Plutarch says: that the Athenians held the Theseum in as high a repute as the Parthenon on the Akropolis itself.

Theseus was the most celebrated hero of Attika, but he did not enjoy for himself alone the undivided honors of his sanctuary. He generously admitted Hercules, (Herakles,) the faithful friend and companion of his earthly toils to a share of his posthumous glory.

On the eastern facade of the temple all the metopes are occupied with the labors of Hercules, while eight others on the sides present deeds of Theseus himself.

To these sculptures we may refer the beautiful passage in the tragedy, *Hercules furens* of Euripides, in which Theseus offers a refuge to his banished and despairing companion, Herakles: "Leave Thebes—come to Athens and share my wealth; my kingdom shall henceforth be sacred to thee and bear thy name while living; but when thou art descended to the shades below, then I shall celebrate thy virtues with sacrifices, and splendid sculptures shall in Athens forever proclaim thy noble deeds."

Two groups of the most perfect beauty, in bold relief adorn the frieze of the *pronaos* and *posticum*, or the two porticoes of the temple and represent well known exploits of the Attic hero. On the western facade of the cell his victory over the *Centauræ*—the fabulous horsemen, or *manhors* of Thessaly—and on the east the defeat and death of Eurystheus, the tyrant of Mykenæ, in the presence of the Olympian gods.

Eurystheus, the usurper of the royal inheritance of Hercules, had entered Attika at the head of an army and demanded the surrender of the fugitive children of Hercules, the Herakleidæ, who had found a refuge in Marathon with the hospitable Athenians. Theseus refused the demand and in a battle near Pallene in the plain of Athens, vanquished the haughty invader, who was pursued and slain on the Skironian rocks near Megara, where his sepulchre was shown to Pausanias in after times.

We mention this interpretation of the celebrated frieze, because it is new and correct, yet differing from those of all earlier antiquarians.* It, at the same time, proves a highly remarkable historical fact. Kimon, the son of Miltiades, as the leader of the conservative party in Athens, desiring the consolidation of the Solonian constitution, was the builder of this temple. His political maxim was: Peace and alliance with Sparta and the Dorians, and eternal war with the Barbarians.

By thus uniting the worship and veneration of the hero and founder of the Athenian State, with that of Hercules, the great ancestor of the Spartan kings, the Herakleidæ, he intended to secure the union and alliance of the Ionian and Dorian confederacies. In this wise plan he succeeded at the time; but the ambitious Perikles, denouncing him to the people as a flatterer, and friend of the Lakonians, as—a *Philolakon*—his exile from Athens, and the victory of the popular party soon kindled destructive civil feuds in Greece—the first Peloponnesian war.

We must here mention an important discovery made during the latter years at the temple of Theseus and in general at the Doric temples from the Periklean era, which may appear very startling at first, but which is now placed beyond any doubt by the ablest architects in Greece. It is the fact, that the ancient Greeks in the most palmy days of their art *painted* their stat-

* It is that of Henry Ulrichs, Professor of Latin Language and Literature at the University of Athens. This distinguished teacher died on the 10th of October, 1843, during the revolutionary movements at the capital. See his interesting dissertation on the temple of Theseus; *Spiegazione de' monumenti sul Pronaos del Theseum. Roma 1841.*

uary and their temples; and that they heightened the effect of their architecture by *painted ornaments* and by decorations of bronze and gilding.

The celebrated British architects, Stuart and Rivett, remarked in 1751 some indication of colors and delicate painted ornaments in different parts of the western portico of the Parthenon, but they did not pay any particular attention to them. The first discovery was made in Sicily, where the metopes and part of the entablature of the Doric Temple at Selinus were found painted with a bright *minium* or red-lead color.

Numerous dissertations were afterwards written on which attempt to prove, that in a period *anterior* to Phidias, the Doric temples in Hellas were covered with a coating of bright and dazzling colors; but that on the temples on the Akropolis, painting was only employed to give relief to the sculptures and to adorn the less prominent members of architecture. The most ancient specimen of a *completely* painted temple is that of Minerva on the Island of Ægina. There the cell was of a bright minium; the pediments were blue, the mouldings of the entablature green and yellow; and the two groups of statues from its pediments, at the present day forming the choicest treasure of the Museum at Munich in Bavaria, were all incrustated with brilliant colors.*

The temple of Theseus still shows upon the whole external surface well preserved remains of a coating of color. We discovered the brightest red, an azure blue, green, vermilion and slight traces of gilding. The high reliefs of the pediments are painted and a sitting figure in the eastern frieze has its drapery incrustated with a beautiful rose-tint; while the ground of the frieze was blue. Stuart already remarked the star in the coffers of the ceilings; we found the stars gilt on an azure ground. All the mouldings and small fascia were ornamented in the most elegant style with flowers and arabesques.

The whole external wall of the cell was blue on the flanks,

* See our Monography of the Island of Ægina in "Mercersburg Quarterly Review," Vol. V, 1853, page 386, et seq.

and red on the eastern and western front, according to the opinion of Chevalier de Schaubert.

Some architects pretend even that the marble columns of the peristyle were painted and that the golden hues with which they are endued were produced by paint. Chemical experiments were made by Professor Landerer of the University at Athens, but no certain result obtained, and we therefore believe that the columns were *not painted*, and that the colonades, by the glittering whiteness of the marble, contributed to heighten the picturesque effect of the richly painted cell and pedements of the temple itself.

On the other hand it now appears certain that the ancient Athenian artists sometimes substituted *painted figures* on their temples for sculptured groups in high relief. This was the case on the temple of Theseus, where part of the metopes, representing the deeds of Theseus, were painted. Among the many sculptured sepulchral monuments found in the Nekropolis or burial grounds at the Peiræus, several marble columns are *painted* with the figures of the mourning family taking leave of the deceased.

The hill of the Theseum, now forms an entire museum where numerous statues, sarcophagi, and other antiquities, are placed in in picturesque variety within and around the ancient sanctuary. It was here that a most beautiful and touching scene took place on the 10th of December, 1834, when King Otho on his arrival at Athens, on the marble steps of the ancient temple of the first founder of his kingdom, was welcomed by the Bishop of Attica, the venerable Neophytas, the clergy and an immense concourse of joyful Greeks, who hailed the young monarch as the harbinger of peace and happiness to their distracted and desolated native land.

Instead of descending to the monuments of the lower city, which we shall describe in a subsequent article, we must at present invite the attention of our readers to the Castle-Hill, and exclaim with Lukian, "Come let us mount the glittering Akropolis that we may take a grand and extensive view of this magnificent city." For such indeed was Athens in the time of the Syrian philosopher, toward the close of the second Christian era.

We descend through the valley west of the Theseion and the Areopagos or Hill of Mars, which in the times of Perikles formed the ancient *Agora* or market place—the centre of the political activity and movement of the Athenian democracy. We then turn toward the east and ascend the slope of the now demolished Turkish cemetery, where heaps of white turbaned columns still are lying around, to the tower or outward gate of the fortress, the only entrance of which being to this day as in antiquity, on the western side of the rock. This front of the Akropolis was formerly embellished by a number of temples and sanctuaries, in a grand and picturesque style, surrounding the market place at the base of the Areopagos.

Here Pausanias, in his time, admired the temple of Mars, the colossal statues of the tyrant-killers, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the temples of Venus and Æsculapios, and immediately below the precipice, and the sepulchre of King Ægæus, the fond old father, who on the rock was awaiting the happy return of his beloved Theseus from Crete—and on discovering his ship with *black* sails, advancing from cape Sunion, precipitated himself from the rock and perished.

Akropolis, signifies city on a hill, or castle. In the early times, when the Pelasgian inhabitants of Attika began to settle down into towns, the sea and adjacent coasts were rendered insecure by pirates. To obviate these dangers, the first settlers built their cities on steep eminences, at a distance from the sea shore; they fortified the more accessible parts, and placed the sanctuaries of their gods on the most commanding site. In the plain below, before the gates of their stronghold, was the general place of resort, where the traffic with their neighbors went on. From a market place soon a flourishing city sprung up, and, as the inhabitants increased in numbers and wealth, the lower town, called Katopolis, was inclosed by a second more extensive wall, and thus the ancient settlement on the hill, in opposition to the more recent one in the plain, was called the Akropolis.

Athens, like Rome and Constantinople, is situated on and between seven hills, which slope off towards the fertile plain

below. Kekrops, the founder of the earliest perhaps Egyptian settlement, did not choose the most elevated hill on the east, the Lykabettos—because it terminates in a peak—but he selected the rock on the south, which presented the most extensive level on its summit, and the most precipitous walls on its flanks. It forms an immense rectangular limestone block, rising abruptly for more than 400 feet above the plain, in the form of a coffin or larnax, as the Greeks call it. The rock is 1,000 paces in length from northwest to southeast, and half that distance in breadth. Being precipitous on three sides, the only access is on the west, where we plainly distinguish the ancient Hellenic fortifications—the Pelasgian wall—from the more modern bastions and towers, which still defend the entrance.

In the primitive ages of the Kekrops and Theseus, the Akropolis was the capital of the Athenian people.

Peisistratos, and his son Hippias, the tyrant, made it the fortress and stronghold of despotic power; but afterwards, in the brightest days of the Athenian democracy, the Akropolis became the sanctuary of the gods and heroes—the sacred inclosure, the treasury of the nation, and the museum of its proudest master-peices of art. It was the heart of Athens, as Athens herself was the heart of all Hellas; and it was with grateful feelings of acknowledgment to the young monarch who ascended the throne of Greece, that the modern Hellenes hailed the royal decree, which ordered all the military array and all the implements of war to be removed, and the Akropolis again to be reinstated in its old prerogative, as the Sacred Museum of the Greek nation.

But in what miserable condition was this interesting spot, when the Turks left it in April, 1838! The whole interior platform presented one mass of ruins, from which arose the shattered columns of the temples, an awful burial ground of the hundreds of Christians and Moslems, who had perished during the sieges; even the cisterns were then filled with putrid corpses, and for several years afterwards the Greek widows continued to disinter, at different places, the skeletons of their fallen husbands or sons.

Yet a renewed life and movement soon began—the whole interior platform was cleared of the ruinous Mosques, Seraglios and other modern buildings, and when the Greek director of the excavations, Signor Pittakis in 1837, began to demolish the four tiers of Turkish batteries, fronting the western ascent, many precious ancient sculptures, inscriptions, and solid structures re-appeared from among the rubbish.*

In front, the splendid gateway of Perikles—the celebrated *Propylæa*, with all their columns still standing. On the north, the flanking pavilion, the ancient Picture Gallery, or *Pinakothekē*; on the south, the elegant and beautiful Ionic temple of the wingless Goddess of Victory, and, on the ascent, the pedestal of the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Agrippa, the Roman General and friend of Augustus, were all cleared of the masonry and restored to day-light.

The broad, sloping carriage-road, which ascended the rock in front of the *Propylæa*, was laid open, and it was still found paved with large marble slabs, having grooves for the safer footing of the horses.

Only one high tower, built by the French Dukes of Athens, in the beginning of the 13th century, was left standing, because

* The excavations during the years 1834–36, were conducted by Doctor Lewis Ross as *General Conservator of Antiquities*. Yet the learned antiquarian who stood in correspondence with the most distinguished Savans and artists of Germany, confined his activity only to the environs of the Parthenon, where the soil in some places was dug away to the depth of twenty-five feet. Several curious antiquities from the earlier temple, the *Hekatompedon*, were found, and a number of inscriptions copied and published in Germany; but the Doctor having, in 1835, gained an easy victory over the ministry of war and triumphantly driven the military with arms and baggage from the sanctuary of Pallas Athene, soon began to consider this conquest as his own. He forgot the latter part of his title and commanding the Invalid-guard of the Akropolis like a *general*—he shut the gates against the Greek citizens, the travelers and even the Architects—and kept the mysteries of the sanctuary to himself and his German correspondents, August Boeckh in Berlin and Professor Gerhardt in Rome. This proud bearing gave great displeasure to the Greeks, who though they do not understand much about the works of their ancestors, are yet fond of making a show of their gods and heroes in the most high sounding language, and when in 1836 a curious dispute occurred between Dr. Ross and his assistant, the Under Conservator, Mr. Pittakis, an Athenian antiquary, (married to a sister of Lord Byron's *Fair Maid of Athens*.) the storm broke loose against the Doctor. Pittakis perceiving that so many inscriptions were published in Germany, supposed that this was a lucrative affair, and like a true Yankee, he wanted to partake in the profits. He, therefore, put himself in direct correspondence with the enthusiastic Hellenists of Germany

its height and huge dimensions produces the most picturesque effect, as it rises in bold relief against the azure sky, and forms a remarkable feature in the scenery.

The Ionic temple of Nike Apteros, or of the wingless Goddess of Victory, with its four slender columns in each front, has been rebuilt with its cell and architrave; but, most unhappily, it was found impossible to replace the entire frieze with its beautiful sculptures, because four slabs with bas-reliefs had earlier been transported to London by Lord Elgin, the plunderer of the Akropolis. Many magnificent sculptures were, however found, representing the battle of Marathon, on which we can distinguish the Persian horsemen in their loose, flowing garments and high tiaras, from the heavy armed Athenian foot soldiers, or Hoplitæ, with shields and helmets.

The magnificent portico of the Propylæa forms a front of six Doric columns of white Pentelic marble, with a projecting pavilion or wing on each side, north and south, which have three Doric columns placed *in antis*, or as the Greeks say, *σὺν ἀντιπύλαις*, indicating that the columns were flanked by two pillasters.

The northern wing contained, as we have mentioned, the Picture Gallery or Pinakothekē. Pausanias mentions a number of highly celebrated pictures, which were still preserved in

and sent them copies of Attic inscriptions. Being well paid, the crafty Athenian in order to make more money, cut the inscriptions to pieces and sent one part to Berlin and another to Rome. This produced the greatest controversy among the Savans; the most ridiculous guesses, doubts and suppositions were started—until at last Professor August Boeckh in Berlin, discovered the fraud and made a just complaint to Dr. Ross. What a crime! thus to deceive the learned world, and lead the Philologists on a wrong track! Yet the Greeks laughed heartily at the money making Pittakis—the contest became most virulent, the Athenian journals were filled with the attack and defence, and Count Armansperg, the High Chancellor, during the absence of King Otho, in order to flatter the Greeks at a time when his administration was verging to a close, placed Dr. Ross as professor of Archæology at the newly established Othonian University, and O! wonder, entrusted the Akropolis and its hidden treasures to the pilfering Mr. Pittakis. The latter, to regain his reputation, immediately threw open the Akropolis to the public, and placing several hundred workmen at the excavations, within less than three months cleared the avenues of the Turkish batteries, laid open the magnificent Propylæa and discovered there the temple of Victory, numerous sculptures, interesting inscriptions—and astonished Athens hailed with joy and pride the glorious deeds of her native Antiquary.

his day; such as the youthful Achilles among the virgins of Skyros, and Ulysses meeting the princess Nausikaa and her hand-maidens at the fountain, painted by Polygnotos.

The opposite southern Pavilion was supposed to have formed the guard house for the garrison of the Akropolis, which thus placed on the flank of an assaulting enemy would attack his right side unprotected by the shield. During the late excavations, this interesting fact was ascertained beyond a doubt, several curious inscriptions having been disinterred on the base of the outer wall, containing the names of officers and soldiers who served as *Akrophylakes* or Guardians of the Akropolis. Yet further discoveries could not be made here, as the entire southern pavilion of the Propylæa is built up in the high square tower of the Crusaders, which as we said, has still been left standing, while destruction has fallen on all the Byzantine, Venetian and Othonian accessories of the Castle.

We now enter into the Propylæa, which are divided into two large halls or galleries by a double row of Ionian columns, leaving in the middle a passage for the cars and horsemen of the great Panathenaic Procession.

The opposite or eastern front, facing the interior of the Castle, is formed by a Doric Colonnade of six columns, similar to that facing the ascent on the west. This skilful union of the Doric and Ionic order of architecture is of a happy invention, of the most beautiful effect, and has always been the admiration and study of the architects.

Mnesikles, the Athenian, was the great artist whom Perikles entrusted with a work, which has formed a splendid period in the annals of art. It was begun in the year 487 B. C., and was finished in five years. From the time of its erection all communication between the city below and the castle, took place through these marble halls, of which the central one, between the two Ionic colonnades, was only opened to processions and on solemn occasions. This interesting fact has been proved by the late excavations in the south-western corner of the Akropolis, behind the Gothic tower, which prove that an oblique wall of great strength, and other buildings closed up the whole

space between the southern wing of the Propylæa and the Castle wall.

The construction of the Propylæa commemorates the most happy and brilliant period of Athenian history. They were, according to the universal opinion of antiquity, regarded as the proudest ornament of Athens, while the Panathenaic procession, so beautifully represented on the frieze of the Parthenon, was deemed the most solemn festival of the nation. Therefore Aristophanes says, that the fond Athenian mothers held out to their warlike sons the distant glorious day when they, among the armed youths (*Epheboi*), by their valor and excellent conduct, should be found worthy to guide their festal chariot through THIS Gate-way into the Sanctuary of Pallas Athene.

Hate and envy—*Misos kai Phthonos*—these strong feelings, so deeply rooted in the hearts of the ancient Greeks and their modern descendents—excited the other tribes of Hellas against Athens. Thebes, at the close of the unhappy Peloponnesian war—demanded the destruction of the Propylæa and the humiliation of Athens—but proud and wary Sparta, fearing her new Theban ally, refused, and when, some years afterwards, Epaminondas, the great Theban general, the Washington of antiquity, in Æolian the Assembly, desired to rouse the Boeotian League, he exclaimed, “O! ye warriors of Thebes, you must uproot the Propylæa of the Athenian Akropolis and plant them here on the castle of Cadmus.”

Lucius Cornelius Sylla himself, the cold and cruel Roman, in his victorious career, after deluging the Athenian city with blood, stopped here in admiration of Hellenic genius and pronounced the celebrated words:

“Let pardon be granted to the Athenians on account of the glorious works of their great ancestors;” and the sacred precincts of the Akropolis were saved and stand here before us at the present day.

They now form the great national museum where, among numberless marble fragments of statuary and bas-reliefs, we find a precious collection of several hundred inscriptions, many of which are of the highest importance for the illustration of the history of Athens. Such, for instance,

is the register with the names of the 800 cities of the Ægean, the Hellespont, and Asia Minor, which, during the brilliant supremacy of Athens, paid their yearly tribute in the treasury, of the Parthenon, for the prosecution of the Persian war.

Through the gateway we now enter upon the broad platform of the Akropolis. Of all the ancient monuments which occupied the interior, according to the interesting and minute description of Pausanias, only two have survived the storms of time—the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, which latter consisted of the Temples of Minerva Polias and of Neptune, united in one.

On entering the castle in 1884, we found the whole space between the Propylæa and the Parthenon filled up with narrow lanes, crumbling Turkish houses and broken minarets, above which arose the majestic columns of the most perfect building of classic antiquity. The entire ground of the platform has now been cleared of the modern ruins and rubbish and one hundred and fifty paces forward will bring us in front of the western façade of the Parthenon.

Other temples of remote antiquity, such as, for instance, that of Apollo Pythius at Delphoi, and that of Diana at Ephesos in Ionia, were larger or more magnificent, but they have vanished from the face of the earth, and the Parthenon now remains as the most renowned structure in Hellas, as the triumph of the most exquisite architecture, the pride and glory of the Athenians, and, as it were, the true centre of their nationality, which after the storms of twenty-three centuries—after the destructive wars of the Middle Ages, the shells of Count Morosini the Venetian and the sacrilegious robberies of Lord Elgin, the Scott—still presents its beautiful colonnades on the hallowed rock, as the most noble, the most elegant and most exalting testimony of all that human will and union, that human energy and genius ever were able to create—and surely there is not a traveler who would approach such a monument without the sincerest admiration and the most intense delight.

[To be continued.]

ART. IV.—LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.**FORMULA FOR CONFIRMATION.**

[The import of the Rite. } Confirmation is that rite by which such as have been baptized in their infancy, do personally and publicly ratify and assume the duties of their covenant relation to God in Christ, and accordingly have confirmed unto them the blessings guaranteed in their baptism, and are solemnly admitted to the full privileges of Church fellowship;

[Qualifications for confirmation. } Before admitting applicants to this rite, care shall be taken by the minister and elders of the congregation, that they be duly instructed beforehand, in the doctrines and duties of religion, as set forth in the standards of the Church, evidences whereof shall be given by a brief public examination, to be held on the Sabbath next preceding the administration of the Lord's Supper, or in case this is not convenient, immediately before the service, held preparatory to the observance of the Holy Sacrament.

On the day appointed for the confirmation, the persons to be confirmed, being plainly and decently attired, shall occupy the seats next before the altar or pulpit; and the minister, after the regular devotions are concluded, and the delivery of a short, appropriate sermon, taking his place at the altar or table in front of the pulpit, shall address the congregation as follows:]

ADDRESS TO THE CONGREGATION.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all."

Beloved in the Lord: These young persons who now appear before you, present themselves as fellow-heirs with us of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. In their infancy they were incorporated with Christ and His Church by Holy Baptism. They have been reared amid the privileges of the Gospel, and subject to its sacred influences. They have been also specially instructed by us in the knowledge of Divine truth, and the duties of Christian piety. The grace thus bestowed upon them they trust has not been enjoyed in vain, but has led them by the way of repentance towards God, to hearty faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. They desire, therefore, to be admitted to par-

ticipation with us in the Holy Supper and other privileges of full membership in the Christian Church, in order that they may thus be united in closer and firmer fellowship with their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And to give evidence of their repentance and faith, and also of their sincere purpose henceforth to live unto Him who died for them; and further to assure you of their determination by the grace of God to continue steadfast in the faith against all temptations unto death, they here present themselves publicly before God and this congregation, to make their solemn profession and vow. And as our Lord Jesus Christ calls and commands all who feel their infirmities, and the heavy burden of their sins, to come unto Him for rest; and hath also instituted His Holy Supper for the special comfort and confirmation of such in their faith and love; it becomes us to welcome all who penitently and believingly seek the rich blessings of Divine grace, extended unto them through His holy Church.

We affectionately beseech you, therefore, that whilst you witness this solemn transaction with gratitude and joy, and extend the hand of brotherly love towards these our dear young brethren and sisters in the Lord, you may also fervently pray for the more abundant outpouring of the grace of God upon them, that they may be sustained and comforted in this holy profession of their faith and solemn consecration of themselves to the love and obedience of God their Saviour.

[After this address the catechumens, as they are severally called by name, shall come forth, and standing in front of the altar, be addressed as follows:]

My Dear young Friends:—You have this day presented yourselves at the altar of the Lord for the purpose of renewing your holy Baptismal covenant, of personally assuming its obligations and duties, and of receiving at our hands the solemn confirmation of the inestimable blessings and privileges vouchsafed in that covenant. Henceforth the sacred vows, under which your parents and sponsors rested on your behalf, and to the righteousness and binding authority of which you hereby give your voluntary assent, must be borne and redeemed

by yourselves. By the public profession you this day make, you acknowledge before this witnessing congregation, and in the sight of God, your guilt and condemnation as sinners ; you avow your sincere repentance of all your iniquities ; and you declare your hearty faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only and allsufficient Saviour of sinners. In the name of the Holy Triune God, and of His holy Church, we welcome you to this solemn consecration of yourselves to the service of the Lord your Redeemer. And whilst we praise the Lord that the grace bestowed upon you in your baptism has not been cast away through unbelief ; we would fervently pray that the confirmation thereof, which you now so devoutly seek, may be divinely sealed unto your final redemption.

Let us pray :

Most merciful, covenant-keeping God, we heartily thank and praise Thee, that Thou hast called us all to the knowledge of Thyself and of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord ; and especially that Thou hast permitted these Thy sons and daughters to be reared in the Christian Church, and admitted by Holy Baptism into the communion of the same. They now appear in Thy most holy presence in order to renew their baptismal covenant with Thee, to make confession of their faith, and to be admitted to the full privileges of Christian fellowship. O Lord, remember, we beseech Thee, Thy covenant of mercy unto them, help them by Thy Holy Spirit to witness a sincere profession before the Church and the world ; accept of their humble and hearty consecration of themselves unto Thee ; ratify in heaven what we shall now do in Thy name upon earth ; and evermore comfort and assist them by Thy divine grace, that they may prove faithful unto death, and then pass over from the enjoyment of the privileges of the Church on earth, which are at best but " shadows of good things to come," to the full fruition of their substance in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Then the minister, addressing the catechumens, shall call upon them to answer, in a distinct voice, the following questions, and audibly to repeat with him the articles of the Creed.]

And now, beloved young friends, that you may give public testimony of your faith in Jesus Christ and His gospel, and of your sincere resolution to live in all things according to its requirements, I call upon you truly and distinctly to answer the following questions :

1. Do you heartily renounce the devil and all his works and ways, and all wordly vanities and wickedness ?

Answer. I do utterly renounce them.

2. Do you sincerely believe and accept all the doctrines of our Holy Religion, as they are set forth in the articles of our undoubted Christian faith, and in the standards of this Christian Church ?

Answer. I do believe them with all my heart.

Minister. In further testimony of this your faith, repeat these articles with me, sincerely saying :

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, &c.

3. Finally, do you hereby solemnly devote yourself, body and soul, to the obedience of Christ and His Church, according to the word of God, and promise diligently to use the means divinely appointed in the Church, for growth in faith, and knowledge, and piety, and to persevere in so doing against all temptations, until by the grace of God you reach a blessed end, faithfully holding to all that you have here professed ?

Answer. God helping I do thus vow and promise.

[The minister shall then call upon them to kneel down, and laying his hand upon the head of each one shall say :]

Upon this solemn profession of your faith, I herewith confirm unto you the grace and promises of the gospel, and receive you into full communion with the Church of Jesus Christ. May God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, grant unto you His grace, defend and protect you against all sin, strengthen you in all piety, and having wholly sanctified you, bring you finally to His heavenly kingdom, for the sake of the merits of our only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

[Instead of the above benediction, the minister may use at pleasure either of the Apostolic benedictions, or some other appropriate Scripture, such as, "The God of all grace, who hath called us unto His

eternal glory by Jesus Christ, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you, and keep you, through faith unto everlasting life," &c., &c.

This being done, they shall rise from their knees, and the minister, with one or two of the elders, passing around shall extend to each the right hand of Christian fellowship, the minister saying:]

Having thus received the profession of your faith, and heard your solemn vows, we, the minister and elders of this congregation, herewith, in the name and by the authority of Christ and His Church, extend unto you the right hand of Christian fellowship, embrace you as brethren and sisters of our holy communion, and welcome you to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Christian Church. May the God of all grace and consolation perfect you in every good word and work, make you a blessing and ornament to this congregation, and bring you at last to the general assembly of the firstborn in heaven. Amen.

[The persons confirmed shall now be directed to resume their seats, after which the minister shall briefly address the congregation as follows:]

Beloved in the Lord, having now witnessed and participated in the solemn rite, by which these young brethren and sisters have been admitted into our holy communion, you have been reminded of your own covenant relation to God. Receive them, therefore, into your more intimate Christian fellowship, as fellow-guests at the table of the Lord, and as fellow-heirs with you of eternal life. Resolve with renewed zeal, faithfully to labor for the promotion of your own and their salvation. You have heard their vows and promises. Be solemnly reminded of those by which you are pledged to love and serve the Lord and one another. Especially remember, that as you have received them into your communion by the right hand of Christian fellowship, you are solemnly bound to care and pray for their welfare, as common members with you of the mystical body of Christ. And as this is not a matter of human power and skill, it may well become us to call once more unitedly upon God for the assistance of His Holy Spirit, that He may bring to a gracious and glorious consummation the good work begun in our souls.

Let us pray.

[The minister may here offer a voluntary prayer, concluding with the Lord's prayer. After this the congregation shall sing an appropriate psalm or hymn, and then be dismissed with the Benediction.]

OF THE HOLY SUPPER OF OUR LORD.

[The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in each congregation at least four times annually. And it is also recommended that the earlier custom of celebrating it upon the Festival Sabbaths, Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, (when this occurs upon a Sabbath,) be generally observed.

The nature and object of this Holy Sacrament clothe it with peculiar solemnity. It is meet therefore that all who desire to participate in it, should earnestly prepare themselves for so doing, according to the admonition of the holy apostle Paul. Whenever, therefore, it is resolved to administer the Lord's Supper in a congregation, the officiating minister shall give due public notice thereof, so that the members may be warned in time, and afforded full opportunity of removing any hindrances that may be lying in their way, and of seeking by repentance, faith, and reformation, that fitness of heart and life which this sacred ordinance requires.

And the better to aid in securing this, a special preparatory service shall be held in the church, on the day preceding the communion, which all communicants shall be exhorted to attend; and none who, without good reason, neglect this service should be permitted to unite in the Holy Supper on the following day. The order of worship for this occasion shall be the same as usual, the sermon, however, being suited directly to the object of the service. Instead of the prayer after the sermon, a part of an appropriate hymn shall be sung, at the close of which, the minister having taken his place before the altar or communion table, shall address the communicants as follows:]

FORMULA FOR THE PREPARATORY SERVICE.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all."

Beloved in the Lord: Through the great mercy of God our heavenly Father, we are brought to the eve of another Holy Communion season. We expect on the morrow once more to surround the table of the Lord, and celebrate together the Sacrament of His atoning Body and Blood. We have again heard the invitation, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden," and desire to embrace it. But as none can do so worthily or comfortably, unless they are truly at peace with God, through repentance for their sins, and sincere faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, it well becomes us honestly to search our

hearts, and ascertain in the light of God's word, and by the help of the Holy Spirit, whether we are indeed in this state of grace. For we may rest assured, that although we may suffer ourselves to be deceived, God cannot be mocked, and that such self-deception, whilst it deprives us of present peace, must minister to our future and eternal shame and misery.

The word of God admonishes us more especially to examine ourselves with reference to the following three points, to which accordingly we entreat you to give prayerful heed :

In the first place. We are admonished to consider, whether we are duly sensible of our guilt and misery as sinners, and whether we are heartily humble and contrite on account of our many and grievous transgressions. For unless we are thus abased in our own eyes, and made ashamed of our own righteousness, we cannot hunger and thirst after the grace and mercy, represented and offered in the Holy Supper, unto all penitent believers. And lest our deceitful hearts should mislead us in this matter, we are exhorted to compare our lives with the law of God, especially as set forth in its true spirit and substance in the summary thereof given by our blessed Saviour, viz : "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength ; and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Weighed in this balance who is not found wanting ? These commandments we have never fulfilled ; but on the contrary we have violated them continually in thought, word, and deed, by sinning against God and our neighbor, and are, therefore, justly liable to the righteous wrath of God, and to eternal death as the merited reward of our transgressions, and have severally need to cry out, "God be merciful unto me a sinner."

In the next place. We are required to examine ourselves and see whether we embrace with believing hearts all the benefits and blessings offered in the gospel to truly contrite souls, and sincerely accept of the plan of salvation which God has thus freely provided for us. True faith requires us assuredly to believe, that as the justice of God will not suffer sin to go unpunished, the eternal Son of God was sent into the world,

so that taking upon Himself a real human body and soul, He might bear for us in the same, the full punishment of our sins, and the wrath of God which we had merited. Furthermore, we must believe the certain promise of the Gospel, that the satisfaction which Jesus made for sin by His perfect atonement, is assuredly granted unto every one who in true repentance and faith accepts thereof; and especially that each one of us, by thus embracing Christ and His merits, receives the full forgiveness of all his sins, and is covered with and possesses, the complete righteousness of Jesus Christ, notwithstanding our personal unworthiness and the many infirmities that may still cleave unto us.

And as the holy sacrament of the Supper has been instituted by our Lord Jesus himself, in order thereby to nourish and strengthen our faith, by a certain visible assurance, that His sacred body and blood were offered a sacrifice for our sins, as truly as we eat of the broken bread and drink of the poured out wine,—we must also believingly regard the bread and wine of the Holy Supper, as the certain signs and seals, by which He pledges unto His sincere people His undoubted presence, and communicates His comforting and sanctifying grace. Thus in the outward material elements, must we discern by our faith, the Lord's body, as spiritually present, until He come.

The third part of the duty before us consists in sincerely searching our souls, to know whether it is our earnest desire and purpose, to prove the sincerity of our repentance and faith, not merely by a public profession thereof, but by an actual renunciation of all sin for the rest of our lives, and by a steady perseverance in all holiness and piety. For if our sorrow for past sins be godly sorrow, we have died in it unto sin and the world, and if our faith in Christ be that which is the gift of God, we have been made alive in it unto Christ. How then can they be truly dead unto sin, delight any longer therein? And how can they who are truly raised up in Christ unto newness of life, refuse to show forth their gratitude for what He has suffered and done for their redemption, by denying themselves, taking up their cross daily, and following Him?

As many of you, therefore, my beloved brethren and sisters, as have thus examined themselves, and find in your hearts such repentance, faith, and sincere resolutions of amendment of life, arise in your places, and having answered the questions which I shall propose, unite with me in sincere public confession and prayer before the Lord.

[Here the communicants shall rise up in their several seats, and in a distinct voice answer the following questions which the minister shall propound :]

In the first place, do you sincerely and penitently confess, with me, before the face of God, your many sins and abhor yourselves on account of them ; and casting away all self-righteousness, do you hunger and thirst after the righteousness and grace of Jesus Christ, as freely offered in the Gospel ? If you do, then answer—*I do repent ; God be merciful unto me a sinner.*

In the next place, do you believe that Jesus Christ is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, and are you heartily confident, that for His sake God grants unto you the full forgiveness of all your sins, and imparts unto you the benefits of His perfect righteousness ; and also that in the Holy Supper of which you desire to partake, this grace and mercy are freely set forth and sealed unto you and all believers ?

Answer—*I do so believe ; Lord help mine unbelief.*

Finally : do you herewith more and more renounce all sin, all envy, pride, malice, and bitterness, all profanity, sinful words and works, gluttony, drunkenness, lasciviousness, and covetousness, with all other iniquities, solemnly promising nevermore to give place to the same, nor to commit them ; and do you also sincerely engage to walk in newness of life, and to become daily more diligent in the use of all the appointed means of grace, that you may more and more abound in the fruits of righteousness, to the praise and glory of God your Saviour ?

Answer.—*I do thus purpose and promise ; Lord uphold my goings that my footsteps slip not.*

Let us pray.

Most Holy God, our Creator, Redeemer, and Comforter, we

poor and wretched sinners do humbly confess before Thee, that we have in manifold ways grievously sinned against Thee, with numerous and gross outward offences committed by word and act. And still more have we offended Thee with inward sins, by our natural blindness, unbelief, doubts, despondency, impatience with Thy dealings and the errors of our fellow-men, with pride, covetousness, envy, lust, hatred, malice, and other sinful affections, as thou Lord well knowest, and we cannot too deeply deplore. But most gracious God, we repent of these things, and truly abhor ourselves on account of them; and casting ourselves humbly and penitently at Thy feet, we heartily beseech Thee to have mercy upon us, and forgive us for the sake of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ. And grant us, with the pardon of our past iniquities, grace henceforth to eschew all evil, and diligently to run in the way of righteousness, according to the command and example of our blessed Lord and Master. And we beseech Thee also graciously to assist us in our renewed approach to the table of Thy dear Son, that we may draw near with truly hungry and thirsty souls, and receiving in true faith the blessings offered unto us in His name in the Holy Sacrament of His body and blood, may we be comforted and nourished unto eternal life in Him—in whose name we furthermore address Thee—

Our Father who art in heaven, &c. Amen.

[After this prayer the minister shall pronounce the following absolution and benediction:]

Hearken now unto the comforting assurance of the grace of God, promised in the gospel unto all that believe:

Thus saith our Lord Jesus Christ—God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish but have everlasting life.

Unto as many of you, therefore, beloved in the Lord, as abhor yourselves and your sins, and believe that you are fully pardoned through the merits of Jesus Christ, and resolve daily more to abstain therefrom and to serve the Lord in true holiness and righteousness, I declare, according to the command of Christ, that you are released in heaven from all your sins,

(as He hath promised in the Gospel,) through the perfect satisfaction of the most holy passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. And now may the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God, your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, who will also do it. Amen.

[Should any anxious or distressed person desire to be specially counselled and comforted by the minister, an opportunity should be afforded after the congregation has been dismissed.]

**FORMULA FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY SUPPER OF
OUR LORD.**

[In the ordinary services of those days on which the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated, the minister should study brevity, and endeavor mainly to direct them, especially the sermon, to the subsequent service of the Holy Communion.

The bread and wine provided for the occasion shall be furnished with decent plate and vessels, covered with a pure white napkin and placed, by the elders, upon the table or altar in front of the pulpit; the table being also covered with a pure white cloth.

Immediately after the sermon a few verses shall be sung, during the singing of which the minister shall descend from the pulpit, devoutly take his place before the table, remove the napkin from the elements, and when the congregation has concluded singing, address the communicants in a solemn manner, as follows :]

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ: Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath said, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." And again: "If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink. * * * My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." Remembering therefore how great our sins and miseries are, let us come unto our blessed Redeemer as He offers Himself unto us in this Holy Supper, with broken and contrite hearts, truly humbling ourselves before the Lord on account of our sins, and sincerely repenting of them and renouncing them. And con-

sidering how full and free is the mercy and salvation to us in this Holy Sacrament, and offered, that all who accept thereof in true repentance and faith, are heartily assured, that we shall here find abundant grace, according to the cheering invitation and promise of our most adorable Redeemer.

And that we may thus worthily wait upon the Lord, and renew our strength in this Holy Supper, let us with believing hearts, humbly and fervently implore His divine help—saying :

Almighty and most merciful God, we give Thee our hearty thanks, that of Thy great forbearance, we are spared to meet once more in Thine holy Temple, for the purpose of celebrating the Supper of Thy beloved Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We praise Thee for the special proofs and pledges of Thine infinite mercy and compassion towards us miserable sinners, furnished unto us in the Holy Sacraments, and particularly in this Holy Communion to which we are now again invited to come.

And now, O most merciful Father, that this compassion and grace may not prove unavailing through our impenitency and unbelief, we fervently beseech Thee to work in our hearts, by Thine Holy Spirit, that godly sorrow for our many and great sins, which needeth not to be repented of. Make us more fully to know the number of our transgressions, and the greatness of our guilt, so that our hearts may be broken and our spirits may be contrite on account of them. May we see and feel that the guilt of our sins is so grievous, that nothing less than the sufferings and death of Thy dear Son could atone for it ; that our iniquities are so defiling, that the blood of Christ alone could cleanse our souls therefrom ; and that the wounds and bruises they have inflicted upon our whole nature are so deep and deadly, that none but Jesus, the good Physician, could restore us to health and life again. May we thus be enabled to realize our extreme wretchedness so as to despair of finding any help in ourselves, or any other mere creatures, and to feel constrained to cast ourselves wholly upon Thy Divine compassion in Jesus Christ.

Help us also, Most Holy Father, heartily to believe in Thy promises of mercy to penitent and contrite sinners. Beholding the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, as He is hereby sacramentally set forth and offered unto us, may we be confidently assured, that not only unto others, but unto us also, are freely granted remission of sin, everlasting righteousness and salvation, for the sake of the merits of Thy dear Son. O Lord, we do believe, help Thou our unbelief, and we will give Thee all the praise of our salvation forever. Amen.

Attend now, dearly beloved, to the gospel of the institution of this Holy Supper by our Lord Jesus Christ, as recorded by St. Matthew :

“And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples and said, take, eat, this is my body. And He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.”

Hear also what the Holy Ghost saith, by the mouth of the apostle Paul :

“The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ ? For we, being many, are one bread and one body, because we are all partakers of that one bread.”

That we may now celebrate the Supper of the Lord to our comfort, let us consider to what end it is here declared to have been instituted, viz:—to aid us in the commemoration of our Saviour’s sufferings and death, and to promote our union with Him, and our fellowship with each other. “This do in remembrance of me.” We are to remember Him, in the first place, by certainly believing in our hearts, that our Lord Jesus Christ was sent into the world by the Father, according to the promise made in the beginning unto the patriarchs ; that He took upon Himself our flesh and blood ; that He endured for us the wrath of God, under which we must eternally have perished, from His incarnation until the end of His life on earth,

and rendered complete obedience unto the divine law, fulfilling all righteousness for us. But especially are we to remember and believe that all this was done, when under the burden of our sins, and the wrath of God, He sweat great drops as it were of blood in the garden; when He was bound that we might be set at liberty; when he endured unutterable reproach, that we might never be put to shame; when He was condemned to death that we might be acquitted at the judgment seat of God; and above all when He permitted His sacred body to be nailed to the cross, that He might fasten thereon the indictment of our sins, and so took upon Himself our condemnation, that He might replenish us with His saving grace, abasing Himself into the deepest reproach and hellish anguish of body and soul on the cross, when He cried out with a loud voice, "My God! My God! Why hast Thou forsaken me!" All this we are here to remember and believe that He suffered, in order that we might find acceptance with God, and never be forsaken; and that He thus sealed the New and everlasting Testament, the covenant of grace and reconciliation, with the shedding of His blood, and finally with His death, when he said, "It is finishsd."

That we now might firmly believe, that we have part in this salvation, our Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which He was betrayed took bread,* and when He had given thanks He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, take, and eat, this is my body which is offered for you; do this in remembrance of me.

In like manner also, after Supper, He took the cup,† and blessed it, and gave it unto them, saying: "Drink ye all of it, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, shed for you and

* Here let the minister take up the plate containing the bread—and as he utters the words—"brake it"—break in two one of the pieces, relaying them upon the plate and placing his hand upon the whole of the bread.

† Here let the minister take the cup or chalice, containing the wine, in his left hand, laying his right hand also upon it, until the sentence is finished.

for many, for the forgiveness of sins; this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." That is, as oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall be reminded and assured, as by a certain memorial and pledge, of my hearty love and faithfulness to you, who must have perished with everlasting death, had I not given my body to die for you upon the cross, and shed my blood, to feed and nourish your hungry and thirsty souls with this same crucified body and shed blood, as certainly as you all see this bread broken, and this cup handed unto you, and you are permitted to eat and drink thereof in remembrance of me.

In this Holy Supper, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ fixes our faith and confidence upon His perfect sacrifice, once offered upon the cross, as upon the only foundation and basis of our salvation, having Himself become the true meat and drink of eternal life to our hungry and thirsty souls.

But by thus eating the crucified body, and drinking the shed blood of Christ, as they are sacramentally offered unto us in this Holy Supper, we not only embrace with a believing heart all the sufferings and death of Christ our Saviour, and thereby obtain the pardon of our sins and a pledge of eternal life. In addition to this, we hereby also become more and more united to the sacred body of our adorable Redeemer, by the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us; so that we, though Christ is in heaven, and we on earth, are notwithstanding "flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bone." For by His death He hath procured for us the quickening Spirit, that we, through the same Spirit, dwelling in Christ as the head, and in us as His members, may have true fellowship with Him, and be made partakers of all His benefits, of righteousness, eternal life, and heavenly glory.

And finally, another design of this holy Supper is, that by the same Spirit, we may all be more closely knit together, as members of one body, in true brotherly love; as the holy apostle Paul saith: "For as it is one bread, so we, being many are one body, forasmuch as we are all partakers of one bread." For as the bread broken, of which we eat, is made out of many

grains, and as the wine, of which we drink, is prepared of many berries; so also shall we all, being incorporated with Christ by true faith, be one body through brotherly love, for the sake of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath first loved us, and commanded us to imitate His example by also loving one another.

And hereunto may the Almighty and most merciful God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ help us by His Holy Spirit. Amen.

Let us pray.

Most merciful God and Father, we humbly beseech Thee, that in this Holy Supper, in which we believingly commemorate the bitter death of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and thus renewedly present unto Thee the all-sufficient sacrifice which He perfected for our sins upon the cross, Thou wouldst so operate upon our hearts by Thy Holy Spirit, that we also may surrender ourselves, continually more and more, as living sacrifices, unto Thy Son Jesus Christ. Grant also that our heavy laden and contrite hearts may be nourished and quickened with His true body and blood, yea with Him as true God and man, the only heavenly bread, by the power of the Holy Ghost. And thus may we no more live in sin, but may He live in us, and we in Him, and so become real partakers of the blessings of the eternal covenant of grace, and feel confidently assured, that Thou art and wilt be our reconciled Father forever, no more imputing unto us our sins, but owning us graciously, loving us freely, and providing for us abundantly all things needful for body and soul, as Thy dear children, and heirs with Him of everlasting life.

Help us also to show forth our gratitude for this Thine unspeakable love, by cheerfully bearing our cross, denying ourselves, confessing our Saviour, and in all our trials and temptations looking with confidence for the triumphant coming of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven, when He will make our mortal bodies like unto His own glorious body, and receive us with Himself into eternal life. Amen.

Our Father who art in heaven, &c.

Confirm us also, most gracious Lord and Saviour, by this Thy Holy Supper, in our holy Christian faith, of which we now make hearty confession before Thee—saying—

I believe in God, &c. Amen.

And now, beloved in the Lord, that we may be fed with the true heavenly bread, Jesus Christ, let our hearts be lifted up in faith unto heaven, where Jesus our Christ sitteth, at the right hand of His heavenly Father, not doubting that our souls shall be fed with His body and blood, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, as certainly as we receive the sacred bread and wine in remembrance of Him.

Ho ! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, come ye buy wine and milk without money and without price.

For God commendeth His love to us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.

And He is the propitiation for our sins. Wherefore the Spirit and the Bride say, come ! And let him that heareth, say, come ! And whosoever will, let him come ! and drink of the water of life freely.

And may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all. Amen !

[The congregation shall now sing an appropriate sacramental hymn or psalm, during the singing of the second or third verse of which, the communicants shall devoutly assemble in sufficient numbers to fill the space around the table, when the singing shall cease until the table has been served and dismissed. Then during the singing of another verse, the table shall be filled a second time, and thus until all have communed.]

In administering the elements the minister shall first take in his hand some of the bread, and breaking a convenient portion, present it unto each communicant, saying :]

The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ.

[Then taking the cup, he shall in like manner present it unto each one, saying :]

The cup of blessing which we bless, is the communion of the blood of Christ.

[It is also left optional with the minister to use, instead of the above words of St. Paul, those employed by our Lord Himself in the insti-

tution of the Supper, occasionally adding, with discretion, some other appropriate Scripture passages—such as the following :]

“ God so loved the world,” &c. “ It is a faithful saying and worthy,” &c.

“ Behold the Lamb of God,” &c. “ Greater love hath no man,” &c.

“ Christ died the Just for the unjust,” &c.

“ The blood that speaketh better things than Abel’s,” &c.

[The administration of the communion being completed, the minister shall address the communicants, who shall rise up in their places, as follows :]

Beloved in the Lord, inasmuch as the Lord hath now fed our souls at His holy table, let us praise His name with united thanksgiving, each one saying heartily :

Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits : Who forgiveth all thine iniquities ; who healeth all thy diseases ; who redeemeth thy life from destruction ; who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender-mercies. The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy. He will not always chide : neither will He keep His anger forever. He hath not dealt with us after our sins ; nor rewarded us according to our iniquities. For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is His mercy toward them that fear Him. As far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our transgressions from us. As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that love Him. Who hath not spared His own Son, but hath delivered Him up for us all : wherefore should he not with Him also freely give us all things. Wherefore God sheweth His love towards us, in that while we were sinners Christ died for us. Much more then being justified by His blood, shall we be saved from wrath, through Him. For if, whilst we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God by the death of His Son : much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by His life. Wherefore my lips and heart shall shew forth His praise, from henceforth forevermore. Amen.

Let us pray.

Most Holy Triune God—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Creator, Redeemer and our present Comforter—accept of our humble and hearty thanksgiving for all the inestimable benefits which we have this day again received at the Holy Supper of our most gracious Saviour. We came hungry, and Thou gavest us meat. We came thirsty, and Thou gavest us drink. We came naked, and Thou, our compassionate Lord, has clothed us with the garments of Thine own dearly purchased righteousness. We came as prisoners, and Thou didst release us, breaking our bonds with Thine own bleeding hands. We came as outcasts, and Thou didst take us in, opening Thine own wounded side, that we might enter by faith, and find a safe and peaceful home in Thy loving heart. What shall we render unto Thee, O most gracious God our Saviour, for Thine unspeakable love to us? We have taken the cup of salvation, and made our vows unto Thee. Help us, O Lord, to redeem those solemn vows. Behold we are Thine, for Thou hast dearly ransomed us. Enable us henceforth to live unto Thee, and show forth Thy praise by constant and cheerful obedience to Thy holy will. May we not only remember Thee, and Thine atoning sacrifice, here at Thy table, but ever carry about with us the dying of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the sanctifying power of Thy most efficacious life, may also appear in us, constraining us, for Thy sake, to crucify the flesh, with its impure affections and deadly lusts, and to offer ourselves up continually, as living sacrifices of love and obedience unto Thee, so that when Thou, who art our life, shall appear, we also may appear with Thee, and be gathered to share with all Thy ransomed saints, the glory which Thou hadst with the Father from everlasting. Amen.

[The congregation shall then sing a few verses of a thanksgiving psalm or hymn, and be dismissed with the Mosaic or Apostolic benediction.]

ART. V.—CHRISTIAN CULTUS : ITS NATURE, HISTORY, AND RELATIONS,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

THE word CULTUS is not yet fully and fairly English ; owing, perhaps, to the fact that the Christian interest which is covered by its meaning has not yet engaged the attention of our English Theology with that earnestness and scientific precision which ever seeks to give fixedness to floating conceptions by forcing them to an incarnation in words. Moreover, as we shall see, those divisions of the Church in which the English language prevails, have either never accepted, or gradually abandoned, the interest which calls for such a term. In this remark the Church of England must be excepted. In it there is professedly much zeal in this direction ; yet writers upon the subject in that communion, have been satisfied with the words *Worship*, *Church-Service*. These terms, however, are inadequate, inasmuch as they exhibit only one side of Cultus, and that the human :—they exhibit only what Christians do to God, and not what God does to them. Whatever may be the theory held, the free and natural use of such terminology, and the long continued acquiescence in its use, betrays the existence of a practical heresy or defection, to which we will return at the proper place.

Cultus is a word at home in the German language, and the representative of a Christian interest which has been regarded as high, solemn, and central, from the Reformation until now ; and it has, since the recovering process from Rationalism and Sectism manifested itself with power and promise in the Reformation confessions, been fallen back upon with new confidence and hope. It is felt more and more that neither our rational nor our emotional nature can be trusted as leaders of

the momentous interests of our spirits :—the first will run us out into the pure negative, by denying all but itself ; and the second by expending its unsubstantial contents. We need more than a going to God ; we need also a coming of God to us. We need more than Service, rationally, and Worship, emotionally ; we need that which comes to us from God—which will underlie, and sanctify, and direct both our rational and emotional being—we need supernatural visitations, indwellings and surroundings, such as God has brought to us, into us, and around us, by the Incarnation of Christ, by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and by the heavenly powers which are brought around us in the Church. All that we receive, have, and can do, with our life at home in such a bosom of new-creating and nourishing powers and influences is comprehended in *Christian Cultus*.

Cultus, as including all that is done for us by Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the bosom of the Church, takes a wide range. Indeed the supernatural, which thus comes to surround us in the Church, in our present existence, in order to take up us in all our earthly relations and dependencies, must unite itself with the natural in such a way as to make it its own initiatory medium and means—the natural, (and with it we who live in its affinities,) is taken up into the supernatural—the earthly becomes heavenly—the profane is consecrated—the natural becomes sacramental.

To enlarge and illustrate this thought we may remark that *Cultus* first of all includes and sanctifies *TIME*. The seventh day completes the cycle—joins the last again to the first, the end to the beginning—it is the first as well as the last, so that all time begins and ends holy. It is not only the rest of the body but of the spirit—not only the rest of man, but of God. “God rested !” God then rests. The greatness, the holiness, the quietude and peace of the infinite dawns in the finite on the Sabbath. God, in Christ, by the Holy Ghost, through the Church, rests, and seeks rest in the spirits of men ; and the spirit which is thus brought to reign in the hearts of those in whom God rests, sanctifies all the days and works of the week.

Thus time, the finite and natural, is brought into consecrated relations to the infinite and eternal. This Sabbath is the earnest of that which is to come—that which is natural, earthly, and only in part, will complete itself, and us with itself, in that which is supernatural, heavenly, and complete. Thus it is easy to see how important an element holy time is in Christian Cultus.

Not only is time—sacred seasons—brought under sacred contribution by Cultus, but also *space*—sacred places. As the infinite and supernatural must touch the finite and natural in points of time, so they must also in points of space. This constitutes sacred places—sacred by those divine transactions where God meets man—and sacred in the associations of fear and hope which such a meeting inspires. As the Sabbath brings God into time, so the sanctuary brings God into space. “The Lord *is* in his holy temple !”

Farther, God who enters the outward and material world through time and space, enters our humanity through man—at first through THE Man, Christ; and since, through men. God communicates with men, through men. Hence there are included in Cultus offices, functions and influences of *sacred persons*. Beginning with God in Christ—the God-Man, we have Christ over and in the Apostles—these over the succession of the ordained and authorized with sacred functions—these over the whole body of saints whom they nurture from Christ and in him—then these over each other and the unregenerate world, by virtue of the office of universal priesthood. Thus every saint in the Church sees before him, above him, and around him sacred persons, grading from THE man down to himself, and including himself—for he is a sacred person, endowed with priestly functions, which he may use in his own behalf!—to whom he is to look with reverence, and from whom, as media between himself and God, he is to receive gracious communications towards the Cultus of his divine and heavenly life.

So far we have seen that Cultus brings under contribution the *mighty three*, which though powerfully active, seem to lie

in great, grand, sublime quietude around us—viz : time, space and the new humanity in Christ. Yet with still more minute detail, and with still more wonderful adaptation, does Cultus consecrate our surroundings, making the natural the medium of the supernatural. This is done by *sacred things*—by which our faith, through the faculties of our spirits, and the senses of our bodies, hold communion with the supernatural, becoming sanctified by the communion. Here we have the elements of the two sacraments—the sanctifying water, the nourishing bread, and the quickening wine—elements which in their very nature adumbrate their real sacramental power. This—namely their natural adaptation to the natural life—shows their fitness to be media between the natural and supernatural. Thus in the very deepest and most living point of communion between our natural life and matter, has the divine order constituted the mysterious sacramental contact through which the supernatural is unfolded in us. The natural washing, the natural eating and drinking while they remain natural, are nevertheless also supernatural and sacramental. Here is the preached word ; which though it asks the mediation of our natural powers, is still a living, creative, and supernatural word to faith. Here are prayers, supplications, intercessions, thanks, and songs of praise. Here, too, are promises and threatenings, acquittals and condemnations, bindings and loosings, rewards given or promised, and salutary penalties applied—which is the beginning and prophesy of that judgment final and to be feared—all of which enters as a sanitive element into Christian Cultus.

In these observations we have designed, by illustrating the range which Cultus takes, to afford the reader a free definition of the sense which we design the word shall bear in this article. It will be felt also, we think, how inadequate to cover such a meaning, are the words Worship, Church-Service.

This bosom of powers and influences, which the Church presents as the Cultus of saints for heaven, though in the deepest sense one, is nevertheless active in three departments or directions—Pedagogically, Sacerdotally and Regally. If we con-

temple man in his natural condition, as he appears to our view either outside of the Church in Christian lands, or—which gives a fairer representation—as he exists in heathenism, we shall find three corresponding WANTS clearly expressed.

We find, First, ignorance—ignorance especially of God and the relations which man had once, does now, or ought to sustain to him. This want of knowledge was not only always felt among the heathen, but it expressed its desire after satisfaction in the rise of professed prophets or teachers—in pretended revelations derived from gods, from spirits, good and evil, from hidden powers of nature, through sorcery, magic, sooth-saying, and divers pretended modes of communication with hidden wisdom, by movements of planets, clouds, and birds, by living oracles intoxicated by the smoke of burning herbs, and by mysterious signs in the entrails of animals slain for sacrifice. In this way did the heathen seek knowledge, not only on one point, but in regard to all that can possibly concern the hopes and fears of the hidden past, the wide and perplexing present, and the awfully mysterious future! The earnestness of spirit, which seeks thus diligently and variously after some satisfying knowledge, declares very plainly its deep need and want of it. Hence we find that in all the religions of pagans the want of knowledge is largely expressed. The pedagogic function is needed.

We find, Secondly, fear, dread—dread arising from a deep sense of guilt. There is the consciousness that men once sustained a right, peaceful, and happy relation to the Great Supreme—that that relation does not now exist—but that it may be again restored—restored by the intervention of priestly functions and the virtue of sacrifices. All pagan ideas of religion, all pagan Cultus, has its altar, and centres in it; has its sacrifices and its priesthood, and feels that only through these is heaven propitious. The sacerdotal function is needed.

We find, Thirdly, a want of that discipline which acknowledges authority and submits to law. An examination of any, and of all pagan systems, will show how largely the fear of penalties, and the hope of rewards enter into their ideas of religion—will show also to what an astonishing extent they are

willing to submit to disciplinary and penitential requirements. Any pain or infliction of body is cheerfully endured for the health of the soul—any self-denial is endured, or any sacrifice is made, either to earn future rewards, or to discipline the spirit for their enjoyment. The Regal function is needed.

Such, then, are the wants which untutored nature expresses, and such are the attempts of a Cultus suggested by that nature to meet those wants. This brings us to a fundamental principle—it is this : A true Cultus, which is that in the Christian Church, must meet the wants which are expressed by unsanctified and unenlightened humanity outside of the Church. The sighs of humanity do not lie, but are a true, though unconscious, prophecy of what is needed ; and what is needed the true religion must supply. This Pagan Cultus, which deep wants blindly constructed out of *its own resources*, adumbrates the true Cultus which Christianity has constructed out of *resources from heaven*.

We need now only turn to Judaism to see the truth of this remark verified and illustrated. These three prevailing elements or functions, are at once seen to constitute the fundamentals of the Jewish Cultus. We see it in their laws, which are Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. In their sacred functionaries, Prophets, Priests, and Kings. We see it in the worship of the tabernacle. There the people were taught the law, statutes, and ordinances ; thither sacrifices were brought and offered to God ; there too justice and judgments were dispensed as from the Lord. The entire Old Testament now bears upon its face, and carries in its substance, these three elements of its Cultus—the Law, judicial, the Prophets, educational, and the Psalms, sacrificial or devotional. Thus Judaism takes up the longing wants of Paganism, and furnishes in its Cultus, the earnest and promise of their fulfillment.

The fulfillment of what Judaism foreshadowed, came in the fulness of time by Christ. In Him was fulfilled all that was foreseen “in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.” He came in these three offices. He was a PROPHET anointed by the Holy Ghost, a teacher sent from God, one

who spake as having authority, as never man spake, and His words which He spake were spirit and life. He was a **PRIEST**, not by call, like Aaron; not by succession, like Levi; "not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life"—a Priest from after the order of Melchizedek. He was a **KING**, not in the carnal sense understood and hoped by the Jews, but a King in His own kingdom, which came not by observation, which though *in* this world was not *of* this world, and which, in the Church and in the hearts of saints, by the power of the Holy Ghost, should endure through all time on earth, and through all eternity in Heaven.

These offices, and their functions, our Saviour intended should continue in the Church, which is His own body, and consequently the tabernacle of his continued presence, power, and grace in the world. This is evident from the words of their commission given them just before His ascension into heaven. "All *power* is given unto me in heaven and *in earth*. Go ye therefore and teach all *nations*"—the authority to teach nations involves and implies that their power to teach was higher than the nations—"baptizing them"—dispensing sacramental power—"in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; *teaching* them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." He then adds, that in the exercise of all these functions his continued presence, and its accompanying power, shall be their warrant: "And lo, *I* am with you always, even unto the end of the world. **AMEN.**"

It is not necessary, nor have we time in this part of our article, which contemplates only general historical principles, to pass through the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles in detail, in order to exhibit the fact that the ordained and commissioned of Christ exercised these functions—Educational, Sacerdotal or Sacramental, and Regal. Any number of confirmations in detail will at once suggest themselves to the reader. Neither need we enter into details to show the perpetuation of these functions through the whole subsequent history of the Church. It is sufficient to remark that Church History is made up of these three, Doctrine, Liturgy, Government.

The Reformation saved and perpetuated these three fundamental elements of Cultus, only aiming at delivering them, as we shall hereafter more fully see, from distortions, and attempting to restore them to proper harmony and unity of power. The Reformation took with it Word, Sacraments and Liturgies, and ecclesiastical government and discipline. The Prophetic office they continued in the use of publishing and preaching the word of God to the old, and in the use of catechisms among the young. The Priestly office was continued in the administration of sacraments, and use of liturgical worship. The Kingly office was carried forward in synods, consistories, and in the exercise, in a proper way and in the proper sphere, of ministerial power and authority, held by virtue of the office received by ordination. The sacred books of the Reformation Churches are these three—symbols of doctrine—liturgies of sacramental forms, prayers and hymns—and books of discipline. The very construction of churches has owned the power of these ideas ; and sanctuaries have shaped themselves for the convenient and appropriate exercise of the functions of this Cultus—Pulpit, Altar, and Elders' seat. These remain to this day in those churches where the power and conception of the true Cultus have not vanished before another spirit and another way. The excellent Catechism of the German Reformed Church, uttering its steady and unceasing confession through troubled ages, amid the proud dictations of carnal reason, and the lawless imaginings of emotional caprice, still holds up the glorious trinity in unity of the true Reformation Cultus—Doctrine and Duty : Sacraments and Service : Law and the Keys.

Thus have we reached the true substance and nature of Cultus—it gives to man Prophet, Priest, and King, and affords him, for the perfection of the spiritual nature, the advantage of their functions. We must now proceed to a second principle. It is this : These three functions are not merely to be exercised over man, or before man, or to man ; but they are to be exercised in man, by man, and through man. He is not merely to be arbitrarily confronted with them, but to be

freely apprehended by them. He is not to be merely passive and receptive, but active and officiating. It is not purely what God does to man, but includes also what man, in the bosom of divine powers, does to God. It is not only Sacramental, which conveys powers from God to men, but also Sacrificial, by which powers waked by this sacramental, reach forth from man to God. The living union of the Sacramental and Sacrificial constitutes the true Cultus. As a plant in the soil, or a living being in the womb, in their development, is not only acted upon but active, so in the saint, in the bosom of the Church Cultus, these two factors reciprocate.

This needs no farther illustration, except to refer the mind of the reader to the fact that in the history of all religions, the false as well as the true, there have ever been not only approaches, and dispensations of the Divine to the human, but a living return also of the human to the Divine—in all religions there is, in some form and degree, the Sacramental and the Sacrificial. The Reformation preserved this union in its true conception, and in its true inward and outward harmony; and it will be seen, in the proper place, that it continues in power in the Cultus of the German Reformed Church.

Having now reached these two fundamental principles in regard to the true Cultus—namely, that it is constituted of the three Prophetic, Priestly, and Kingly functions; and that in each of these separately, and in all of them unitedly, the two factors, the Divine and human, the Sacramental and Sacrificial are united, and reciprocate their activities, we proceed now to try, by these principles, different forms of Christian Cultus, as it has existed, or does now exist, in the Christian Church in general, and in the German Reformed branch of the Church in particular.

We turn our attention first of all to the Cultus as it was found existing in the Roman Catholic Church by the Reformation. Tried by the above principles, it will be found that the Pre-Reformation Cultus was defective in several important points.

1. It practically ignored, or at least left very much out

of sight one of these functions—namely, the Prophetic. It cannot be denied that the holy oracles grew comparatively silent previous to the Reformation ! The Scriptures were shut up in unknown tongues. They were brought forward but little, and then not directly, in the public instructions of the Church. The pulpit was literally set to one side in the Church, and was not permanent, but movable. When it spake, it was mostly concerning the ceremonials, and not from the oracles of God. It proclaimed works to be done in bitterness, instead of good news to be heard with joy. The Mass, assuming itself to offer the great sacrifice ever anew, it became naturally unimportant to proclaim by the pulpit the one Sacrifice of Christ, offered once for all. The number of Sacraments was increased from two to seven. While the pulpit—an prophetic office—lost its meaning, the Priestly and Kingly became unduly prominent. The Prophet ceased to preach repentance, but so much the more did the Kingly office command penance ; and as the Prophet grew silent the Priest grew arrogant, and the King arbitrary, until the first reigned in superstition, and the second with tyranny.

In the early Church the altar stood open and free, so that the whole congregation could view it ; but later, when the Lord's Supper began to be viewed as an offering, it was separated from the view of the people by lattice work and curtains ; and with this withdrawal of the altar the sacrificial side of the Sacrament passed out of sight.

In the early Church also, the Prophetic office stood prominent. This is evident from the early establishment of catechetical schools, as those, for instance, in Alexandria, A. D. 180 ; and the importance which was attached to the work of the catechists, of which there were large numbers. This office, however, gradually passed into great neglect ;* and only

* It cannot be denied, that the greatest ignorance prevailed among the priests, and that they were entirely unfit to attend to the educational interests of Christianity. " Even Gregory the Great already says, that in Constantinople there was not one who understood Latin, and he himself acknowledges, that he had not learned Greek. In France it had already previous to the time of Charlemagne become law, that only for the consideration of a certain spe-

at the Council of Trent, when the success which attended the catechetical zeal of the Reformation was seen, was a return to the use of these means determined upon by the Roman Church. (See Cat. of Council of Trent, Trans. by Buckley, p. 4.)

When the commission: "Go *teach* them to observe all things which I have commanded you," was forgotten, it was the same to Cultus, as the blotting out of the sun would be to the natural world. True Cultus must be educational—must shed light, or all that is left will be but the fantastic play of blind and monstrous powers.

2. The Pre-Reformation Cultus reversed the *order* of these fundamental functions. Instead of Prophet, Priest and, King—it was King, Priest, and Prophet. The Roman Catholic Cultus culminates in power—in absolute, central authority. Over all, over Prophet, and Priest, over Altar and Sacrifice, is the authority of the papal chair. This power in the Church, through the priesthood, reigns supreme over all beneath it, and goes so far even as to offer Christ himself upon her altars! Government ought of course to have place in Cultus, and a prominent one too; but the mistake here is in the *order*—the governing is a result—the end and not the beginning—and ought to stand last in order. The promise is older than the law, in the Old Testament. Christ preached before he sacrificed, and before He established his direct rules. The first power he exercised was through the prophetic office—then he became a priest, offering himself; and only after his resurrection did he formally claim all power in heaven and in earth. To be brought to the altar without previous instruction is superstitious—to make us feel arbitrary power without instruction, is slavery. The first duty is, "Feed the flock;" and it

cified sum of money could a spiritual office be obtained; and in Spain it was customary for soldiers, when they were weary of military service, to purchase by the money thus earned a sacred office, so that they might spend their old age in convenient idleness. Charlemagne was the first one who brought things so far again, that *ordination* had to be preceded by an *examination*, and then the first question put to the candidate, was, whether he could *read*! Could he read, sing, and had he committed to memory the Paternoster and the Creed, he could count upon a good appointment."—*Alt on Cultus*, p. 804.

is distinctly added, "Neither as being lords over God's heritage."

3. The Cultus of which we speak did not preserve the living union, the harmony and mutual proportion of the Sacramental and Sacrificial. Sacraments and ceremonials were increased. The priests and their functions became too prominent. The ceremonies began to be rather displays before the people, than services with the people. The priest, instead of his face, began now to turn his back to the people. In this Cultus the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper can be celebrated without communicants;* when there are communicants, they need not partake of the cup; and the substantial bread becomes an insignificant wafer. Instead of the real light of truth, there is only the symbolical display of it in lighted candles—instead of the living word actually communicated, that it may burn in the heart, there are only tapers before the eye. This Cultus does not lay hold properly upon their subjective powers, to cultivate and unfold them—to give exercise to their faith, animation to their hope, and life to their love—to give expression to their gratitude and devotion. It does not sufficiently recognize the part to be taken by the Holy Ghost in the worshipper—it does not practically recognize the priesthood of the saints.—As our physical and intellectual powers can never be unfolded by merely looking on, without an actual use of them, so a Cultus which makes us, to a great extent,

* The holy Synod of Trent "commends these masses in which the priest alone communicates sacramentally"—says that these are to be "considered as truly common"—and we are assured that therein "the people communicate spiritually." (*See Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. London, 1851, p. 144.*) All this makes it a mere display before the people—they are spectators, not communicants. When it is said that they "commune spiritually," it is virtually to ignore its sacramental character. Just so the Quaker has the Sacraments "spiritually." See also page 146, where the anathema is pronounced on those "who say, that it avails him only who receiveth," or who say that those masses are unlawful "in which the priest alone communicates sacramentally." Hence, too, we are told, that "not only for the sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of the faithful who are alive, but also for those who are departed in Christ, and who are not as yet fully purified, is it rightly offered." Ibid 148. All this shows how the Sacramental is separated from its living and necessary connection with the Sacrificial in this Cultus.

only spectators, cannot unfold duly our spiritual powers. Like a pebble in the soil, and not like a seed, is a spirit in the midst of such Cultus.

The service being in a tongue not familiar to the people, also aids in confining it to the Sacramental side; and even tho' the people may respond from translations, yet does this double process interfere with the living oneness of the Sacramental and Sacrificial in the Cultus. The word comes *to* them, not *into* them, becoming there a creative power, the life of which shall respond in glad unction to its source. In short, this Cultus, in all its wide range, does not realize the deep fact: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us!" The powers of Cultus do not become subjective—it does not bring Christ into us—the Sacramental does not complete itself in the Sacrificial.

4. The Pre-Reformation, in the Roman Church, had too much for the senses. These were so severely, and so extensively exercised that the Sacramental in the Cultus did not reach the deeper man. The eye, the ear, and other senses were so well entertained, and made so quickly to pass from one thing to another, that the senses did not even really communicate to the inner life their own impressions. It is said that an artist was once employed to paint the Last Supper. "He labored to make the figure and countenance of our Saviour the one prominent object in his painting, and having put, on a table in the foreground, some chased cups, the workmanship of which was exceedingly beautiful, when his friends came to view the picture every one exclaimed: 'What beautiful cups!'" The artist now saw his mistake. A similar defect, we are inclined to believe, exists in the Cultus of which we speak. There are too many things so prominent to the senses, as very much hide to the worshipper's faith Him whom we see not, yet desire to love.

Cultus must not only influence and move the senses, but chiefly the will, the faith, the understanding, the affections. Any powers that unduly overawe, confuse, or excite our sensual nature—we use the word sensual in a good sense—hinders

the soul from being reached and permanently impressed, just as too loud a sound deafens, and too bright a light blinds. It is on this principle that the extreme objectivity of the Roman Church in one direction, and the extreme subjectivity of fanatical sects in the other, really meet; and we have, as Bishop Lavington* so plainly shows, the same kind of error at both poles. To say all which pertains to this defect in the Cultus under consideration, in one word, it loses sight of that great law in the life of grace: "We walk by faith and not by sight!" As in the natural world it is not powers and operations that are tangible to the senses, but such as are not, that evolve and perfect life, even so it is in the sphere of spiritual life. We look not at the things which are seen, with eyes of flesh, but at the things which are not seen, by eyes of faith.

5. One more defect which belongs to this Cultus is, that owing to the defects already pointed out, it becomes in reality a work. The part which the laity take in this Cultus is not sacrificial but servile—not worship but work—not devotion but duty.

The Church itself, on the Sacramental side, does a work for men, instead of making offerings to men, and making, through her functions, free communications of grace to men. The offering in the Mass is an offering to God by the priest, instead of an offering to men from God. Its Sacramental character is thus in reality lost, and it becomes itself sacrificial—a something which is done to God, and not something which God does to us—a work and not a worship—Judaism and not Christianity—a denial that Jesus Christ *has* come in the flesh as an offering, and a ceremonial by which He is to be brought.—Christ's life is not now to be offered to God; that has been done; it is now to be offered to the people. As

* "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists considered: By Bishop Lavington. New Edition, London, 1820." A book of 805 pages, including "Notes, Introduction, and Appendix, by the Rev. R. Polwhell," which, tho' free of the fire which characterized the times of earnest controversy between the Church of England and Methodism at the rise of this last, is full of valuable matter to a charitable student of the theological interests and principle involved.

Christ is not now, so Cultus is not, a worker out of salvation, but a source bestowing and communicating it.

It cannot be denied that, in the Roman Church, the idea of doing is unduly prominent. Works precede faith and forgiveness. There is, as in Judaism, the law unto grace, instead of, as in Christianity, grace unto the law. It is, do that you may live, instead of live that you may do. It does not imbed its works in the bosom of grace, that they may be its natural product. Its faith is reach, instead of rely—it is get, instead of receive—it is rise to, instead of repose on. Duty is to precede privilege, instead of privilege duty. In short, this Cultus forgets that the law came by Moses, but grace and truth by Jesus Christ—and that the law is to continue in Christianity, not as fulfilling, but only as fulfilled in Him. True Cultus must place works where they are placed in the Heidelberg Catechism: not in the First Part, to please and propitiate the Father: not in the Second Part, to help the Son: but in the Third Part, as the fruits of grace, expressing the gratitude of a soul already saved by Christ, and as expressing a true sacrificial service, in the power of the Holy Ghost, and in the glorious evolution, perfection, and beauty of all His graces and fruits in the saint.

What has now been said of the defects of the Cultus of the Roman Church, prior to the Reformation, may also in substance be said of the Greek Church. Here the exercise of the prophetic functions is the exception, not the rule. The priests were ignorant. Cyrill, as quoted by Alt, says in 1274, that “a priest must be able to read and write well!” Also Hugo 1141; “Our priests know nothing any more of the divine law, nor will they learn it, but they are idle.” The Troubadour songs of the times abound in the most direct and severe censure of their ignorance.

The worship of the Greek Church resembles a magnificent symbolico-liturgical drama, conducted by the ecclesiastics and the choir, of which the people are mere spectators. The contents of this Cultus are pictures of the work of salvation from the beginning of the world and the fall, down to the union of

the incarnate Saviour with believers in the Sacrament. The sacrificial scarcely comes to view, and the Kingly, as in the Roman Church, is prominent.

In regard to the existence of some defects in the Pre-Reformation Cultus, the leaders in the Reformation were mutually agreed. Neither did they differ substantially, in reference to the three functions that must be active in Cultus, Prophetic, Priestly, and Kingly. Nor yet did they differ as to the necessity of the two sides of Cultus, the Sacramental and Sacrificial. The principal difference which manifests itself at the beginning of the Reformation is the relation of these to each other, and their relative prominence and importance. The questions between them were such as these: What is the proper order of these functions? What are their relations to each other; and what are their relative proportions and importance? In what relation do the Sacramental and Sacrificial stand to each other, and what prominence is to be given to each side? These questions bring before us fully the points of difficulty and difference between the two sides of the Reformation in regard to Cultus.

These differences, with some of their grounds and reasons, can best be shown by a brief exhibition of the prominent principal elements and characteristics of the Cultus of each confession, with a comparison of one with the other.

Luther's first idea was not so much a reformation in Cultus, as a reformation in doctrine. He seems not fully, perhaps scarcely at all, to have considered and felt the deep and necessary connection of these two. When at length he clearly saw that the advance he had made in the reformation of doctrine demanded also, as its necessary completion, a similar work in the sphere of Cultus, his first idea was a reformation of the Mass. The subject began early to press heavily upon him. In 1523 already he published a small tract "Concerning the Order of Divine Worship in the Church." He lays down his fundamental principle thus: "The Worship which now everywhere exists (the Catholic in the middle ages) has an excellent Christian origin, just like the office of preaching the Word.

But just as the office of preaching has been destroyed through the Spiritual Tyrants, so has divine worship been destroyed through the Hypocrites. Now as we do not abrogate the office of preaching, but desire to bring it again into its proper place, so it is not our design to abolish divine worship, but only to restore it to its proper spirit and position."* This being his starting point he retained at first the name and form of the Mass, rejecting only what he did not find directly *against* the Scriptures. Hence his "*Formula Missæ*," published 1523 follows the order of the Roman Mass in all its length, containing 14 sections. The Latin language is retained; the Sacramental service is sung, the officiating minister turns to the altar from the people in the consecratives services, as well as in reading the collects, the communicants kneel, burning candles and incense is left optional, the wafer is retained, and the elements are to be held up and displayed before the people.

Three years later Luther published a "*German Mass*," which is not so slavishly dependent upon the old Roman Mass. Yet he says in the Preface, that he does not design by this German Mass to set aside the previous Latin one. "Just as we have used it hitherto, it shall still be free to us to celebrate it in that form if we wish or see reasons for so doing; for I by no means desire that the Latin language shall pass out of use in divine service." The "*German Mass*" is to be introduced on "account of the simplicity of the laity."

Thus the early ideas of Luther were of course highly sacramental. To this his high ideas of the nature of the Lord's Supper had a tendency to hold him. There was, however, at the same time a tendency in his mind of an opposite character. His ideas of the importance of the word, and his doctrine of justification by faith, in the form in which it was pressed upon him by his own experience, stood in conflict with the old Cultus which he wished to retain. Hence he deeply felt, even as early as 1526, when he wrote the Preface to his "*German Mass*," the necessity of a Cultus more free from

* Luther's Werke, Walchsche Ausgabe, X, 262 ff. quoted by Kliefoth.

the old order, and far more sacrificial in its character. Indeed he here went to most fanatical extremes in his speculations upon what he regarded as a pure evangelical Cultus: "That mode of worship which would be agreeable to the true evangelical order, ought not to be its celebration in a public place among all sorts of people; but those who desire to be Christians indeed and in earnest, and who are anxious to confess the Gospel in word and deed, should present themselves by name, assemble somewhere alone in a house to pray, to read, to baptize, to receive the Sacrament and to exercise themselves in other Christian works. In this order of worship, those who did not conduct themselves in a Christian manner could be known, punished, improved, expelled or put under ban, according to the rule given by Christ in Matthew xviii. Here also general alms could be assessed upon all, which should be willingly given and distributed to the poor according to the example of St. Paul, 2 Cor. ix. Here many and great songs would not be necessary. Here Baptism and the Lord's Supper could be celebrated in a brief, simple, and appropriate manner, and all could be arranged with reference to Word, Prayer, and Love. In short, if we had the right kind of persons, who desired to be Christians in good earnest, this order and manner could soon be brought about. But I cannot now, nor do I design as yet to set in order and establish such a congregation or assembly. For I have not yet suitable persons for it, nor do I see many who seem to be reaching earnestly forward toward such a point. Should, however, the time come when I must do it, and when circumstances shall impel me forward to it, that with a good conscience I can no longer omit it, then I will do what I can towards it, and do the best I am able." In the meantime, he goes on farther to say, the present order shall remain until the people are prepared for a change.

Under the influence of such views, the Lutheran Cultus had, of course, to undergo gradual changes and modifications. Reasons for modification were constantly presenting themselves, and pressing for change. The services were too long; the people became weary, and left before the services were ended.

The Lord's Supper, which was celebrated at each service, had sometimes few, or no communicants. So far did this evil go, that in 1581 Margrave George of Brandenburg proposed to Luther to restore the Mass again in full, so that when no communicants appeared, the minister might himself celebrate the communion. Luther opposed it. Still many and strong reasons existed for ever new changes in the service. Hence there were eliminations, alterations, transpositions, omissions which it would require a volume to trace and exhibit.

As long as the Lutheran Cultus rested prevailingly on the form of the Mass it possessed harmony and unity; but when this mass-idea, which formed its centre and heart, was torn out, by the progress of the reformation in Luther's mind, the whole was at sea as floating fragments. The various parts and forms of the old service which were preserved, would not cohere, as the centre which had previously bound them was torn away, and these parts had only a true consistent meaning as they stood in a true relation to their original centre.

Thus the principle from which Luther had set out in the formation of Cultus, was found to be untenable, and was gradually and silently abandoned. Change pressed upon change, as new incoherences and inconsistencies manifested themselves. "Hence it is no wonder," says Dr. Alt, "that where the established Lutheran liturgy was not perseveringly adhered to, perhaps out of dislike to the Reformed, alterations were made in the most arbitrary manner just as caprice dictated. 'Why,' it was asked, 'the reading of the Gospels at the altar, when they are again read before the sermon on the pulpit'—the reading of the Gospel lesson was put away. 'Why the reading of the Epistle, when there is no sermon preached from it?'—the Epistle was put away. 'Why on every Sabbath the Gloria, which harmonizes so badly with the Kyrie which immediately precedes it? and 'why the Kyrie itself, when no confession of sin precedes it, but follows at the close of the Sermon in the Confession?'—both were set aside. 'Why also the confession after the sermon when no communion follows?' This too remained, to a great extent, away, and the Church

service was reduced to the following points : Morning Hymn, Altar Prayer, Principal Hymn, Gospel, Sermon, Church Prayer, Lord's Prayer, Benediction, and Closing Hymn. Thus had the Lutheran Church arrived at the very same standpoint on which Calvin had at first placed the Reformed Church service."

This accounts for the unsteady and fluctuating character of the Lutheran Cultus during the early part of the Reformation. Luther's article of "a standing or falling Church," formed *one* central principle for a Cultus; the old Mass-Cultus, with his idea of the Lord's Supper, formed *another*; between these two centres, and around them, floated the various liturgical elements in a kind of doubtful poise and "durance vile" without power to unite both, to unite with both, or to unite with either. Thus the apparently very plausible idea of making the new Cultus a *reformed continuation* of the old, as entertained on the Lutheran side of the Reformation, proved itself in the end impossible of realization, crippled and embarrassed the movement, and hung upon the whole interest as a huge disadvantage.

We have said that Luther did not at first apprehend the wide range which the reformation would take. His aim at first was only, as Alt has well said, to call forth into power the doctrine of Justification by faith in the free grace of Christ; for this he became a reformer, and his controversy with the Roman Church was only a contending for this doctrine: "He would even have been willing to have tolerated the Pope himself if he had tolerated his doctrine of Faith." The Reformed side of the Reformation, however, at once contemplated a wider range. With Luther it was the Bible and the doctrine of justification by faith; with the Reformed it was the Bible as the norm of a general Reformation. To Luther's first view the building seemed to need but one important timber to strengthen the whole; to the Reformed it appeared at once, when they walked through it with the lamp of God's word, and examined one timber after the other that the whole edifice was dangerous to dwell in and regarded *only the four-*

dations as good and safe!—the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, as the chief corner stone. They sought for primitive foundations. There was perhaps in one view an undue degree of violence in their idea and attempt to make the spirit of the first century reproduce itself, and live with its original life in the sixteenth. Yet was the movement radical in the *true* sense. It was not revolution, nor yet was it purely reformation—a *re*-forming—but reformation in the spirit and sense of evolution and development. It was a “disengaging from its coverings or folds, of that which lay before wrapped up and concealed under them, a bringing to birth of that which lay in embryo, creating nothing new, and certainly, inventing nothing contrary to, or destructive of, the original germ which it professed to develop.” The centralities and fundamentals of the previous historical Christianity were piously preserved; the Scripture was allowed to speak in incarnate words as these were traced in their living continuity, and as they received record, in those great and fundamental results which the history of the Church exhibited. They sought the first centuries *through* the intervening ones. Their ordination, their faith, their sacraments, and the chief of the subordinate elements of their Cultus they received *through and from the Church of all ages*. Without having time to particularize, it is enough to remark, that the fact that the Heidelberg Catechism clusters around the Apostles Creed as its centre and substance, is to be regarded as but the culmination of the previous feeling in regard to this point.

Thus the Reformed side of the Reformation as well as the Lutheran, sought the completion of that which was before; but the Reformed not so much in form as in substance and power. The Reformed life did not burden itself so much with the old forms—for to its deeper life they would have been, as they in time actually proved themselves to the Lutheran life, mere shells, floating fragments that would not adhere except to the old whole—but rose upon the old foundations with creative power. Here is a depth of wisdom: “No man also seweth a

piece of new cloth on an old garment : else the new piece that filled it up, taketh away from the old, and the rent is made worse. And no man putteth new wine into old bottles: else the new wine burst the bottles, and the wine is spilled, and the bottles will be marred : but new wine must be put into new bottles."

From this brief exhibition of the fundamental principles of the two sides of the Reformation, we are able very readily to sum up the main points of difference in the Cultus of the two confessions.

1. The Lutheran Cultus rested more outwardly upon the old Cultus ; the Reformed, less outwardly, but more inwardly, and consequently with greater freedom. The Reformed saw at once more widespread corruptions in the old Cultus—regarded these as dead limbs upon a tree which are better away, and had confidence that the parent church-trunk had power to put forth for itself new growth, bloom, and fruit, if the light and warmth of the truth were made to dawn upon it. They believed that when the three functions of Cultus, Prophet, Priest and King, should be restored to their harmony, proportion, and activity, a true Cultus would by that fact be constituted. It needed but the voice of the Prophet, so long silent, to call forth life into palsied limbs, deaf ears, blind eyes, and a leprous body. So it was. The Reformed Church, as the name itself indicates, aimed at the *resuscitation*, and *reformation* of the Holy Catholic Church of the previous ages in the life and light of the living word ;—the Lutheran, as also the name imports, was more an attempt to clothe the spirit of one man, and the life awakened and moulded by his influence, in the already existing forms, casting aside only what would not cohere. The two facts, that the one side of the Reformation took the name of a man, and the other side the name of a Historical movement is widely significant. History will never learn to say steadily, either Luther's church of Christ, or Christ's church of Luther.

2. As the Lutheran Cultus rested with greater outward de-

pendence than the Reformed upon the old Cultus, it gave also more outward prominence to the Sacramental.

The Reformed Church has been charged with undervaluing the Sacramental in its Cultus, or at least virtually ignoring it in the prominence and power of the Sacrificial. This may have been done by some of its leading minds, as Zwingli and Calvin. It is, however, the honor of the Reformed Church, that none of her representative minds ever reigned in her Genius. As, in doctrine, neither the mind of Calvin nor Zwingli, reigns in her principal Symbol, the Heidelberg Catechism, not even the mind of its Authors, but a glorious catholic spirit: so it is in its Cultus. Neither the type of worship in Zurich or Geneva ever became general. The order of worship in the provincial churches at last merged into, and acknowledged more or less the moulding power of the Palatinate, in the bosom of which the Heidelberg Catechism took up and embodied, and then represented and still farther moulded a Cultus which was at once the cause and the product of its own life and teachings. No one will certainly charge this symbol with want of honor in the Sacramental, when it is but remembered, that the Creed, the Sacraments, and the Keys are *in the Second Part*, and are thus made the means of our "deliverance"—not Saviours, it is true, but saving—Sacramental.

There is good evidence, and it will at once clearly appear to any one studying the history of the times, that the extravagances of the Roman Cultus, and the outwardly burthensome, and withal incoherent and contradictory elements of the early Lutheran Cultus, had the effect of moving the Reformed towards the other extremes. The fundamentals, however, of a truly sacramental and churchly Cultus still reigned in the heart and mind of the Reformed Church; and these appeared in due time fully developed—to which even the influence of the Lutheran side itself silently contributed—in its Liturgies, especially in that of the Palatinate.

One reason why the Sacramental did not at first, or indeed at any time, *appear* so prominent in the Reformed Church, is the prominence which it gave to the Sacrificial, which was, in

the Roman Church ignored, and in the Lutheran was only brought out as the necessary result of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, but which there stood in such singular disharmony with consubstantiation and the slavish mechanical adherence to the forms of the old Mass-Cultus. Much that was said which seems to undervalue the Sacramental side of Cultus, was said in controversy with extremes, and must be so interpreted. If this mode of explaining strong language is not kept in view, it would be easy to make even Luther undervalue the Sacraments in favor of the Word; as, for instance, when he says: "If God's word is not preached, it is better that there be neither singing, reading, nor assembling together." How unjust, however, would it be to represent Luther's estimation of Sacraments in the light of such strong expressions. As it would be impossible to understand any individual fully by viewing his acts in any one position, so we cannot judge the Reformers correctly from what they may have said under certain circumstances, and in certain positions, where there was much to bring out only a partial and onesided aspect of their mind and spirit.

The Lutheran Cultus separated too much the Holy Ghost from the Sacramental—did not do justice to the great fact, that He is *in* the worshipper, as well as in the Sacraments and ordinances. The Reformed held the Sacramental more in the power of the Holy Ghost, by virtue of which the Sacramental and Sacrificial, instead of acting *upon* each other, were active *together* as one living whole. The Lutheran views the difference between these two, the Reformed looks at their union. The prominence which the Reformed gave to the Holy Ghost as active in the worshipper, while it did not make the Sacramental less real, caused its prominence somewhat to disappear, as do the limbs and trunk of a tree when it is covered over with foliage.

The Reformed Cultus held also the Sacramental more in the power of the Mystical Union. This connected the saints with Christ's divine-human life, at least germinally, in order and time, *before* the Sacraments—making Baptism the birth of life

already at hand by the mystical union, and the Lord's Supper, the feeding of life also already so at hand. As Christ became incarnate, and thus united himself with humanity before he instituted the Sacraments; so still the same order is to be observed—by the Mystical Union we are united to Christ, by the Sacraments our life in him is evolved, and completed. The Lutherans, who were averse to this doctrine of the mystical union, made our union with Christ to rest rather through the Sacraments upon Christ, making our union with him wholly subsequent to the Sacraments. Hence they bound the sacramental power more to the outward form—to the word of the minister in the consecration—to the elements—to the magical force of the promise and the institution. The Lutheran held a gross sacramental presence in and through the Sacraments; the Reformed a real mystical presence not so much *in* the Sacraments, as *by* them—perhaps we may say, they regarded them as the indispensable *condition*, not *cause* of the mystical union. Their Sacramental in Cultus was the life of the new humanity brought into the world by the incarnation, signed and sealed to us by the Sacraments, and unfolded in us by the Holy Ghost, whose power is active from Christ, from the Sacraments, and in and from us.

The Reformed also, on this ground, held to the idea of the universal priesthood of saints; thus making the Sacramental complete itself in the Sacrificial act of the worshipper. He for whom the Sacramental has offerings is himself priest! In short, we may add, the Lutheran Cultus too much regarded the Sacramental as something already finished for the worshipper; the Reformed looked upon it as something completing itself in the Sacrificial in the worshipper.

It cannot be denied that there is much ground for the view of Cultus in the Reformed Church which gives prominence to the Sacrificial. Let some considerations be briefly presented, without illustrating them at length. God *has* done, we must now do. The kingdom of God *is at hand*, and this is to be at once the warrant and the life of our own activities in its bosom. The divine acts and movings of grace, as they come to us in

the Sacramental of Cultus, are not to be a mummary *before us*, but the exercise and exhibition of a power *in us* and through us. In the receiver, not the giver, the greatest, or at least the most ostensible, activity will show itself. The altar, which is the centre of Cultus, is for offerings—the activities are in those who offer. Effects are always more ostensible than the cause, though the cause is first, and stands highest in dignity. The worshipper both receives and gives back to God, and many and divers activities are involved in both. Moreover, Christ, and the Spirit, and the functions of prophet, priest, and king, are in us, and through us they do their work. Let these principles be well considered ; let the range which they take in their details be thought of, and it will not be regarded a ground for either censure or regret that the Reformed Cultus hangs so strongly to the Sacrificial side.

8. The Lutheran Cultus is more heavy and complex ; the Reformed more simple.

By way of connection with what has just been said of another difference, we may remark that the fact of the simple character of the Reformed Cultus is no proof that no Sacramental character was attributed to it. Rather the contrary : for the fact of their strong opposition to additions show that they regarded them as the products of the human, and therefore as destitute of Sacramental power. Because they believed the functions of Cultus to be Sacramental they desired them to be kept pure. As they valued highly, and regarded with reverence, the divinely gracious acts, so much the more was their horror for that which, even in the best sense, must be regarded as mummary.

The history of Cultus will show that the trouble has always been that liturgies became too long, and rites too burdensome and complex. This is seen in the Roman, and was felt as a grievous evil in the early Lutheran Cultus. Two causes wrought toward this evil. One was the principle that the resources of Cultus are not finished and at hand, but must be reproduced at each service. The other the error agreeably to which much was put into the Liturgy, and brought forward in the service,

which more properly belongs to the private exercises of Christians, either in personal private devotion, or in social Christian exercises in smaller and more familiar circles of worship. This trouble the Reformed Cultus avoided, by simplifying their Cultus, and encouraging private and social worship.

We greatly err, if we, after the Lutheran objection, regard the simplicity of the Reformed Cultus as a poverty and weakness. Professor Ebrard has well remarked on this point: "That which is simple is not necessarily poor. There is a majestic simplicity. The Dome of Lausanne, for instance, with its unadorned architectural beauty, produces a far more elevating impression than would a church of the same style, every column of which should be hung round with flags, figures, lamps, and every variety of splendid ornament for the gratification of the senses." Only that which is in itself uninviting and weak need resort to ornament and appendages. As unadorned beauty is the brightest beauty, so unadorned power is most efficacious. As the simplicity which characterized our Saviour's life and acts, affects us more directly, and commands our reverence more potently, than could have been done by any amount of appendage for effect; so a Cultus which proposes to perpetuate his power and grace in the world, will come nearer to us, and affect our spiritual life with more direct power, when it is constituted after this simple type, than can be done by any amount of well-meant liturgical ornament and appendage, the effect of which is lost upon the senses, leaving the life of grace unreach- ed beneath them.

It may well be considered whether the tendency to depart from simplicity in Cultus is not owing to forgetfulness of the great truth that the kingdom of God is to be received as a little child! The child-like spirit must also make itself known in child-like manifestation. The holiest men are the most child-like. The "beauty of holiness," like all beauty, is simple beauty. When we are most devotional we are most simple. The Reformed Church seems to have favored a Cultus that resembles John; and we hope it will ever say by its Cultus to those who are nurtured in its bosom, in the words of that child

like and beloved disciple: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols!"

Here we must reluctantly stop for the present, on account of the length which our article has already reached. Our design goes farther. We must yet exhibit the divergences from the fundamental principles of the true Christian Cultus as laid down in this article, in the various sections of the post-Reformation Cultus, outside of the two Reformation Confessions. Then, by way of making the whole profitable to the German Reformed Church with reference to its present Liturgical movement, we must give a more detailed historical exhibition of the Reformed worship in the different provincial Churches, with a critical examination of its different parts, followed by such suggestions as may grow out of the whole bearing upon our present Liturgical wants.

Lancaster, Pa.

H. H.

ART. VI.—AMERICA.

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Two discourses by DR. PHILIP SCHAFF, Professor of Theology at Mercersburg, Pa., delivered before the Evangelical Union at Berlin, March 20, 1854.

[First Discourse.]

NOT without embarrassment, and with an earnest desire for your kind indulgence, do I appear before you in this metropolis of German science and of the highest intellectual culture, to speak upon a theme that is truly worthy of a much longer and more thorough preparation than was possible for me to make during the few days since my arrival, amidst the distraction and excitement incident upon a visiting tour in my beloved German father-land, and in seeing again so many dear friends

after a separation of ten years. Should I not be able to do justice to an assembly such as I have the honor of appearing before, to the objects embraced in this discourse, the discussion of which has been assigned me, yet I have at least this no small advantage, that I may speak, not only from books, but from real life; not as a distant observer, but from immediate observation and personal experience, of a country, which, by the leading of Divine Providence, has become a second beloved home, without on this account weakening in the least my love and attachment to my bodily and intellectual home—Switzerland and Germany.

America!—As I utter the word I feel that it will leave none of my hearers indifferent; that in each one who is not confined to the narrow circle of his own personal being, and of his native land, but, as becomes a person of cultivation, has an interest in the destiny of mankind, in the future history of the world and the Church, it will awaken deep sympathies or antipathies, joyous hopes or depressing fears; in fine, a wonderful commingling of lively and gloomy thoughts and misgivings. And truly is this the case more and more; the nearer Europe and America are drawn each year, by the means of intercourse of modern times, that sport with time and space, the stronger and more decidedly they act and re-act upon each other. For as the Eastern Hemisphere sends her superfluous thousands and millions in swelling streams over the Atlantic, so on the other hand the Western Hemisphere continually gains in conscious influence, be it for good or bad, upon the Old World. Especially is this true of the great North American Confederacy, which we have here especially in view, the free citizens of which call themselves in an emphatic sense simply Americans, and are everywhere so known, in the confident anticipation, that they are destined to be the lords of the New World. Already have the United States, not only by their manufactures and commerce, but by the beginning of an independent literature and the power of public opinion, especially by the example of her political and religious institutions, become an undeniable power in modern history, which

makes itself more felt from year to year in the further development of Europe. They have indeed already begun to contribute their part in the civilization and christianization of Africa by the hopeful negro-republic Liberia, and to the regeneration of Asia by Evangelical Missions in the Orient, and treaties of commerce with the East Indies, China and Japan. With this general interest is associated also the personal participation on the part of large numbers from all parts of Europe, on account of their sons and daughters, their brothers and sisters, acquaintances and friends, who have exchanged the old world for the new, and have thus formed many individual bonds of attachment between the two.

But where shall I begin, and where shall I end? The older one becomes, the more does he feel how difficult and hazardous it is to pass universal judgment upon whole lands and nations. For every nation, in which there is vital power, is a microcosm in which are mirrored the different tendencies and shadings of our whole race; an advance in wisdom and experience is also an advance in the foresight and modesty of our judgment. This is true in a very special sense in reference to the subject before me, which has been made subject to the most contradictory judgments, whenever this or that subordinate point may have become the leading measure. I desire you especially to reflect, that a complete representation of the condition and circumstances of America requires at the same time a correct picture of all Europe, which sends over its good and bad forces from all its countries. In the short time allotted to me, you will naturally expect but an imperfect sketch; in this I will confine myself to such matters of moment, that I may remove, or at least soften, certain widespread, and to me in my short visit multiplied contradictory judgments. Permit me to speak 1) Of the size and growth; 2) The political; 3) Social; 4) Cultivation and Learning; 5) Churchly and Religious Circumstances of the United States of North America, with especial reference to the Germans.

1. SIZE AND GROWTH.

If there is one fact in modern history which makes an epoch, it is the discovery, or rather the re-discovery of America by Columbus. It, with the invention of printing found out about a half century before, opened an unbounded prospect for the future. But both had their full meaning only in the great spiritual fact of the Reformation, which they as heralds' preceded, just as at the present day the immense discoveries in steam-power and rail-roads open up a new epoch in the history of the world and the Church; seem to be unconsciously preparing for the general fraternization of the nations by the bands of civilization and of the everlasting Gospel. The States of Central and South America settled by Roman Catholics from Spain and Portugal, have either remained stationary or gone backwards. But that part of North America taken possession of by German Protestantism, has developed itself with unexampled rapidity, and will become one of the greatest and most powerful nations of the earth, if it thus goes forward yet for fifty years, and is indeed that already as to its fundamental outlines.

The United States, as is known, date their self-subsisting national existence to the declaration of independence of 1776, and are therefore not yet an hundred years old. At that time there were thirteen, now there are already thirty one well organized States, besides territory, which is uninhabited, or at least thinly inhabited, out of which can be easily formed a dozen new States, each as large as a German Kingdom. The whole area of the United States, since the new acquisitions of Texas, California and New Mexico, includes now not less than three millions of English square miles, is also nearly as large as the whole continent of Europe, whilst in variety of soil, climate and products it exceeds every other division of countries of like compass upon the globe. In a similar ratio has the population increased. Towards the close of the last century the Union scarcely numbered three millions; there are now already twenty-five millions of population, the increase of which will be naturally much promoted by its general pros-

perity and by early marriages. But to these are associated yearly many hundred thousands of emigrants from all parts of the old world, especially from England, Ireland and Germany, and lately has also an emigration set in even from an opposite direction, namely from distant China, that, invited by the gold digging of California, it sends from its bosom of 360 millions an increasing quota over the Pacific Ocean to the mart of St. Francisco, and to the banks of the Sacramento.

We have here before us one of the most remarkable and significant facts of modern times. One is fully justified in calling this stream of emigration, which goes forth cheerfully in a friendly manner, without the sword and the shedding of blood, a *wandering of nations*. It has no warlike tendency as the advance of the German tribes to the threshold of the middle ages; it is not the work of a religious enthusiasm, as the crusades; but for the most part the consequence of private want, and, at least in the case of Ireland, popular want, and a striving after more freedom of movement, and after a bettering of their outward and inward condition. With the German there is superadded that "*Heimweh nach dem All*," that cosmopolitan attraction, which can just as well be called his spiritual strength, as his political weakness. But above all ought we recognise in this grand emigration movement from East to West and the contrary, the march of history itself and the hand of an all wise Providence, who conducts all for the best which here, as for two hundred years ago in Europe, breaks up new paths, opens new and unbounded prospects for the further development of humanity and the Kingdom of God.

The basis of American population is represented in the emigrants from England and Scotland. In later times the emigration from Ireland to America has become stronger than that of all European countries put together, so that a formal exodus, yea, a threatened dying out of the Celtic race and of Romanism in Ireland has already been spoken of. But now, the German has overtaken the Irish emigration, and will doubtless far exceed it in the future. At the port of New York

alone for the last few years there have arrived annually 100,000 Germans ; and, as I am told by well informed persons, in this year, owing partly to the usual causes, partly to the threatening storm of a general European war,—which may God in mercy prevent—it may reach a half million, and mainly to America.

Let them go in God's name, and grant, that at least your prayers and your blessings may accompany them ; Americans will welcome them all ; the worthy ones certainly, but even the bad ones they will not cast off, in the hope, that in the new world they may also become new persons, and not verify the old adage : *Cœlum non animum mutant, trans mare qui currunt.* They will all, and many millions more, find room and employment enough in the measureless, yet uncultivated districts, abounding in the most fruitful soils ; in the yet inexhaustible coal and iron mines, of which Pennsylvania alone is said to possess more than the whole continent of Europe ; in the numberless canals, steamships and rail-roads ; in the building of villages and towns, which start forth as the creations of a dream, so that the imagination can scarcely find names any more, but old ones must be recalled almost to confusion ; in the most flourishing trade and industry of all kinds, and in the bosom of a nation, full of the keenest enterprising spirits, and of untiring activity. The Atlantic coast, which is the most densely populated part, and as yet the theatre of North American history, and already counts towns of a half million inhabitants, is nevertheless, compared with European countries, sparsely peopled. The Western coast on the Pacific Ocean, Oregon and California, is scarcely yet opened up to the prospect of the world, and has room for whole Kingdoms. The Mississippi valley, that is, the boundless rich river district between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains, which constitutes the proper body of the United States, and which numbers as yet only four million of inhabitants, is alone capable of conveniently nourishing a hundred million of people.

We must, however, remind emigrants of one thing ; prepare yourselves for all kinds of privations, and rely not upon chance

and circumstances, but upon God and an untiring industry and perseverance. Let him who would enjoy a quiet life rather remain at home. The American looks not upon enjoyment, but upon labor; not upon comfortable rest, but upon laborious restlessness as a proper life-problem of man upon the earth, and this is for him of unspeakable weight, and has the best practical influence upon the whole moral life of the nation. The merchant of New York becomes offended, if stopped upon the street for the purpose of asking a question, as by this means he will be made to lose a few moments of his precious time. The same zeal, the same economy of time must the Preacher, the Missionary, the Colporteur and the Tract and Bible Societies use for a higher purpose. But the business man, who is somewhat piously disposed, looks upon the acquisition of money, simply as a means of doing good, as he is accustomed to express himself; and although one may not unjustly impute to the American covetousness and avarice, yet, on the other hand, they deserve the praise of an extensive liberality towards every possible benevolent enterprise, a liberality, which has not its like, except in the unexampled offerings of the Free Church of Scotland in the zeal of its first love.

As great as is the want of German preachers, especially in the western States of the Union, yet I would advise no one to emigrate who is not prepared to perform true missionary labor in the self-denying spirit of Christian love and meekness, and cheerfully to bear all kinds of hardships and adversities, yea, to labor and toil in the sweat of his brow for an unknown but great future; to offer himself up for a coming generation: that is the only enjoyment which I can promise a German preacher and a German scholar in America. He, whom this difficult but worthy undertaking invites, will truly find there a boundless field for activity.

In the face of this brief statement of the greatness and expansion of the United States, whose growth has positively been unexampled in all past history, of her inexhaustible resources for agriculture, trade and commerce of all kinds, for

culture and science, and all the peaceful arts, and in the face of this European emigration to the land of the West, can only stupidity itself remain indifferent, and pedantry deny to it a future.

Already upon the globe America presents itself as the central country. "*The people of the United States, these Americans per eminentiam, have the control over the whole continent, and over two oceans, the one arm stretched out towards Europe, and the other towards Asia, and they possess ambition and energy enough to profit by the advantage of their position and circumstances.*" If a higher hand does not presently bring the wheel of history to a stand, they will have an immense problem to solve in the probable, though not certain event of a separation into four republics, a Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western, and no friend of humanity and of the Kingdom of God can look upon the further development of this land of freedom, and of the future, with other than feelings of the deepest interest.

2. THE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

In their political organization, the United States truly present a picture of a new world. In Europe, all State regulations rest more or less upon the feudal circumstances of the Middle Ages, as these again upon the patriarchal condition of Asia. The farther West, the more does the impulse towards individual and national freedom and independence make itself felt. Mostly is this the case with the Germanic stock, and farther again among these with the Anglo Saxons, who, favored by their insular separation, and under the influence of Christianity and Protestantism have carried out the farthest of all the nations of the earth, the principle of self-government and self-restraint, as the basis of national strength and greatness, and have presented the grand spectacle of an organized union of freedom and deep-rooted loyalty; of manly independence and attachment to antiquity, the old institutions; a well organized, not artificially drawn upon paper, constitutional monarchy of thoroughly natural growth and historical being,

has engrafted the impulse for constitutional freedom in Canada, Australia, East Indies, and in all her colonies, and has made them land and sea-bearing powers for the seeds of the Gospel and Christian culture.

In North America, except in the slavery of the southern States of the Union, the last remains of the feudal features of the Middle Ages are falling away. There is no king; no nobleman, no privileged class; no aristocracy, except the three-fold aristocracy unavoidable in a republic, that of character, talent and wealth; no orders and titles, except those of profession resting upon self-acquisition; no land-ownership confined to families; no standing army; no State Church, but instead, a general civil and religious freedom and equality, an unrestrained freedom of speech and of the press; the rule of the sovereign people; election by majority for nearly all officers; eligibility to the most influential positions; even the presidential chair accessible to the poorest and the lowest among those whose personal fitness and qualification entitle them to it; and yet in the midst of all this apparent excess of freedom, a general regard for law and order; a deep reverence for Christianity; a conservative spirit; a well ordered government; a perfect security for person and property, and great self-reliance towards those without, as in the Mexican war, where fiery patriotism and national pride supplied the wants of a standing army in a few weeks; introduced bands of volunteer's into the heart of the enemy's country; achieved one victory after another over the terrified Spaniard, and planted the flag of the Union upon the halls of Montezuma.

This may seem very strange and wonderful to those who are bound by a particular political theory, and who apply the same measure of judgment to all lands and conditions of men, and who do not apprehend history as a living manifoldness, but as a dead sameness; and that to each nation is given its particular problem to solve. But this is nevertheless a fact, and with deeds and actual facts we have to do. Although a Swiss by birth, and an American by adoption, I have lived too long in monarchies, not to apprehend, at least to some ex-

tent, their historical necessity and their high prerogatives. I have throughout no sympathy whatever with that pedantic and fanatical republicanism of so many Americans, who see salvation for Europe alone in the universal spread of republican institutions, and are therefore disposed to welcome—without looking at the matter more closely, for else they would judge far otherwise—even the worst kind of revolutions, born of the spirit of darkness. But, however unhistorical, foolish, yea even ridiculous an attempt to plant American institutions at once upon European soil might seem, yet on the other hand I can think of but one condition as wise and suitable for the United States, that of a republic. It has all traditions and sympathies in its favor; it is connected with all previous history, and with the present questions of the country; under this it has become great and strong; under this it feels itself fortunate and contented. One could scarcely tell where a King for America should come from. Certainly not from Europe, for the country is defended upon the East and West by the oceans against every successful invasion, as it is impregnable upon the North and South by its internal strength. A Monarch could only arise as a military Despot and Usurper, like Napoleon, from the blood of a civil war, and from such an one, it is to be hoped, that Christianity and civilization will defend us.

Although the American confederacy rests mainly upon a ground altogether different from the circumstances of European nations, and in so far presents something entirely new in the history of the world, yet it has come into being by no means in an abrupt and unmediated manner, but stands in the closest historical relation to England. *The American revolution of 1776, out of which grew the great confederacy of free States, is in principle, character and tendency entirely different from the continental European revolution of 1789, and it is of the greatest importance, in order to understand properly, and to appreciate that country, and the prevailing conception of freedom there, always to keep this great difference before our eyes. It was no revolution at all in the sense of a sedition, and an*

overturning of all the social circumstances, but simply a very powerful and historically necessary emancipation of the Colonies, which had now become of age, from the unnecessary and troublesome guardianship of the Mother country. Language, customs, religion, all the laws and regulations remained ostensibly the same, and were only formally, and so far altered, as the new condition of things rendered necessary. The English Common law, and the whole Court proceedings remain, and prevail now even as before. In the place of a hereditary Monarch there is a President, elected indeed by the people every four years, but with proportionally as much, and in some respects more power and influence, than is possessed by the Queen of England; in the place of Parliament there is a Congress with its two Houses, the Senate, which answers to the House of Lords, and in general represents the conservative principle, and the House of Representatives, which is a parallel to the English House of Commons, and whose prevailing tendency is yet more radical and progressive. The fathers and heads of the American revolution, with the exception of Tom Paine, the English Voltaire, who however soon lost all his influence, and was discarded by the entire decent part of American society, were any thing else than radical reformers and wild revolutionists, as the leaders of the French and German revolutions; but were men of sound practical tact, of a temperate, conservative and constitutionally liberal spirit, of the most praiseworthy moral, and in part also peculiarly religious character. For from the first settlement down, especially among the Puritan New Englanders, great reverence for God, and pious customs have prevailed, which guarded, lest the national exaltation should assume a radical character, and lose itself in wild extravagances. *George Washington*, the noblest embodiment of the American revolution, or rather of the secession from England, the Father of his country, "the first in war, the first in peace, and the first in the hearts of his countrymen," who, from Maine to Florida, and from New York to Oregon, honor him as a sort of a national God, was a thoroughly disinterested patriot, a mild, noble-minded, plain

and modest man, of an unimpeachable and altogether harmoniously formed character; a communicant member of the Episcopal Church, an upright reverencer of the word and commands of God, and daily in his study in prayer upon his knees before his Bible held his family devotions. His successors upon the President's chair down to Pierce have been regular attendants upon the worship of God's house, which generally in the United States belongs to a healthy tone, and in a moral and religious aspect has nothing to fear in comparison with any European dynasty. The greatest American statesmen and orators have on different occasions thrown the weight of their voice in the scale of virtue and piety, and have repeatedly declared with emphasis, that Christianity forms the basis of their republic, and that the extinction of the Church would at the same time draw along with it the destruction of all freedom and the ruin of the country. Seldom is religion scoffed at in Congress, and then it is usually thrown back with indignation, but frequently an open acknowledgment of the fundamental truths of revelation is heard. Each session of the Senate and House of Representatives is opened with prayer, whilst a motion to this effect in the Frankfort Parliament would be thrown back with scorn. No wonder that there the word is verified: Where God does not build the house, they labor in vain that build it. The celebrated *Henry Clay* acknowledged upon his death-bed, that he had tasted of the glories of earth and found them only vanity, and sought salvation and peace alone in Christ crucified. His great rival, *Daniel Webster*, the American Demosthenes, died in prayer for the pardon of his sins, and ordered to be placed upon his grave-stone: "I believe, help Lord, my unbelief." Such testimonies from such mouths have in America the weight of a powerful sermon, and become a holy legacy for the entire nation.

Herein there is also manifest the known fact, that the heroes of modern European freedom, or rather of licentiousness, the failure of whose revolution of 1848 has alas! swept so many over here, find themselves powerfully deceived in America, very soon in beer-houses and in godless newspapers, begin to scoff at and

ridicule the intolerable tedium of the Sunday, the pharisaical church attendance and priestcraft, and whatever else they are pleased to term the pious customs of the Americans, feel themselves quite uncomfortable, and would gladly return again to stir up a revolution here, which they find impossible there. The most of these radicals, who have kept up such a noise in France, Italy and Germany for the last few years, have there sunken down to mere ciphers, or at best have become mere citizens, who must acquire a livelihood and establish a character by the labor of their hands before they can lay claim to any influence or significance. The only celebrated revolutionist who actually attracted great attention, was *Kossuth*, who in his half year's stay in America as the "guest of the nation," made some hundred English and a few German speeches, and who, by the very remarkable power of his eloquence, and that in a strange language, and his rare gift of agitation, drew upon himself the admiration of thousands. But the history of his meteoric campaign of eloquence through the Union is told in few words: He rose like a rocket, and fell down like a stick. When he came to New York the second time, where a few months before he was received with unreasonable enthusiasm, no person concerned himself about him; unnoticed, and even under the assumed name of Alexander Smith he went back to England, and sought the quiet of a private residence in one of the suburbs of London. The best proof of the entire failure of his mission lies just in this, that the American government as before, now holds fast to, and will continue to hold to the wise policy of neutrality and peace, which has hitherto been observed, and which was so earnestly enjoined by Washington and by the dying Henry Clay, over against interference with European powers, and which *Kossuth*, by the most brilliant extravagance of his persuasive rhetoric endeavored to turn away in favor of European revolutions, especially in favor of a general uprising of the Hungarian people against the house of Hapsburg, which was prophesied as near at hand; although just at this time in the Russo-Turkish question, there is the best opportunity presented for

such an alteration in the outward policy, so as to make American influence felt in the councils of the great powers of Europe. The lesson may justly be learned from Washington, to stand upon a friendly footing with all European powers; to offer a free asylum to her superfluous and persecuted population; to work upon the old world, not by the rough power of weapons, and an uncalled for interference, but by the quiet, yet much deeper and worthier moral power of example.

There is to be found generally a difference in principle between the English American and the European radical conception of the condition of freedom. To the American, freedom is anything else than something purely negative and formal, an arbitrary pleasure and licentiousness of the flesh, where each one obeys his natural impulses, as the revolutionists wish, but a rational and moral self-control, inseparably connected with law, order and authority. True national freedom with him rests upon a moral basis, upon the self-possession and self-government of each citizen. Only he is fit for, and worthy of this distinguished good, who holds the reins of his own passions, who is master over his sensual nature, who, not from outward force, but from inward impulse, and therefore willingly and cheerfully obeys rational laws, whilst the liberalism of the vulgar reformation, or rather of radicalism, which undermines the authority of law, and sets itself in a hostile attitude to Christianity, necessarily sets aside every bond of social life, and ends in anarchy, and which then turns over very easily into the very worst and most dangerous form of despotism.

These healthy features of freedom, in connection with the earnest moral and religious character of the nation, constitute the basis of the North American republic, and can alone secure its permanence. True, there exist there, without question, very unhealthy and dangerous radical tendencies, and in the event of a political election all wild passions, lies, slanders and unrighteousness of all kinds are let loose, so that a large part of the best citizens with disgust and aversion for the movement of unprincipled demagogues, either draw back from

taking any active part in politics, or at most, exercise the right of citizenship by simply depositing their vote. Yet, in the main, there reigns undeniably among the people a healthy conservative spirit, which always makes itself felt again in favor of right and order, and it is an imposing spectacle, when, immediately after the election of a President or Governor, a general quietness and calm succeeds upon the raging storm of party strife, and the vanquished party patiently submits to the result, and never dreams of making its real or imagined rights felt in the way of force. The dissatisfaction, which indeed finds itself at home there as well as elsewhere, never charges upon the fundamental principles of the country, upon the constitution, but always directly upon the ruling party, and seeks only in constitutional and lawful ways to find relief from its complaints. In so far one may well judge, that the American confederacy, with all its wavering and the insecurity of its condition in details, such as is connected with the newness of the country, yet, upon the whole, rests upon a more firm basis, and is more secure from a powerful revolution than any other country on the European Continent.

A very characteristic proof for our judgment, that American freedom differs in principle from radicalism and licentiousness, and rests throughout upon the basis of self-control and self-restraint, and is evidently moral, lies certainly in the great *temperance movement*, especially in the so-called Maine liquor law, which entirely forbids, not directly the drinking, for that would be an encroachment upon personal freedom, but the buying and selling of all intoxicating drinks, including also *wine* and *beer*, except for medicinal, or sacramental purposes. This law a few years ago was at first introduced into one of the New England States, the predominantly puritanic State of Maine, and since by popular vote into several others, and even in the large States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio efforts are now being put forth with great zeal in the way of public speaking, in the distribution of tracts, and by other means of agitation, to persuade the people to elect such delegates to the Legislature as are in favor of the temperance

cause, in order to remove the frightful evil from the roots, and to clear away even the temptation to the vice of drunkenness. I was myself, just before the election last fall, witness of the zeal and earnestness with which the agents of the temperance cause, both lay and clergy, canvassed the counties of Pennsylvania, spreading out their tents under the open heavens, commencing their meetings with the solemn service of singing and prayer, setting forth in a comprehensive manner the temporal and eternal consequences of intemperance, and with irresistible arguments showing to the people the duty of exercising their right of franchise openly and in an advantageous manner, in the consciousness of the high responsibility which they owe to God and man. It must be confessed, that this Maine liquor law, *viewed in itself*, manifestly goes too far, and transcends the limits of the Holy Scriptures, where it is a fact, that Christ himself turned water into wine; that wine was drunk according to a general custom, and in the Holy Supper has been consecrated as the symbolical bearer of his atoning blood. It must be remembered, however, that, with the exception of a few insignificant beginnings, the United States do not produce their own wine, and that by far the most that is bought under that name is more or less adulterated, and is as pernicious as whiskey itself. Whatever we may think of the Maine law—and we desire here neither to defend nor condemn it—we much admire the moral energy and self-denial of a free people, who would rather deny themselves an allowed pleasure in order to remove out of the way a temptation, which leads thousands of weak persons to the ruin of both body and soul. I will allow myself to address the modest question to those who see nothing in America but radicalism and the wildest extravagance: In what European State has the Government the heart to carry through such a prohibition of the buying and selling of all intoxicating drinks, and in what one would the people submit themselves to such a selfdenial?

Time will, however, not allow me to enter into a closer analysis of the American Constitution; and to go into the circumstances of the Central Government at Washington, to di-

rect and control the separate States ; the composition of Congress and the Legislatures ; the difference between the two parties, into which the whole country is divided, the Whigs and the Democrats ; the nature of the popular vote ; of the administration of justice ; juridical and congressional eloquence, &c. But upon one point I must add at least a few words, namely, upon *Slavery*, which prevails indeed only in the Southern States, yet, in consequence of their connection with the northern States as a political corporation, it becomes a national affair ; and lately, especially by the unexampled spread of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," substantially a tolerably true representation of life in the slave States, has also awakened the attention of Europe in a high degree.

Slavery is without question the greatest political and social difficulty in the Union, which gives occasion to continued agitation in Congress, and throws the apple of discord from year to year into the Church itself, and in 1850 brought us to the brink of a formal dissolution of the Union.

The leaders of the two great political parties, Clay and Webster on the side of the Whigs, Cass and Buchanan on the side of the Democrats, at that time employed all the power of their eloquence and statesmanship to carry through the so-called Compromise Measures, and thereby save the Union. But the agitation respecting it continues yet in both Church and State, and broke out again last winter in stormy debates in Congress upon the Nebraska bill, and will only come to a quietus with the removal of the evil itself. That there should exist in the United States over three millions of negro slaves, who can be bought and sold as dead merchandize, stands certainly in palpable contradiction to their fundamental maxim, that all men are free and equal, or as one might better express it, are created for freedom. But how and in what manner this evil, which was not created by them, but inherited, which has rooted itself into the very heart of the country, and become interwoven with all the material interests of the South, is to be gotten rid of, is one of the most difficult questions that has ever been presented to the skill of the Statesman for solution.

There are, generally speaking, upon this subject, three parties in the Union. 1.) The *Abolitionist* of the North, especially of New England, who regards slavery as sinful *per se*, and urges its immediate abolition, which is again separated into two quite distinct branches, the one proceeding upon scriptural grounds, the other, in the most radical excess, upon other grounds, such as the emancipation of women, and losing itself in open infidelity, therefore does far more injury than good to the cause. 2.) The *Secessionists* of the South, particularly of South Carolina, who, embittered by the overbearing attacks of the Abolitionists, threaten Congress with a separation from the confederacy, and the formation of separate southern republics. Many of these defend Slavery as a necessary social offset to the democracy of the north, as a conservative element, with an appeal to the insurmountable difference between the African and Caucasian race; to the miserable condition of the emancipated negro, and even to the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and to the Epistle of Paul to Philemon. 3.) The *Union party*, by far the most influential, composed of Whigs and Democrats together, who hold up the Union at all hazards from patriotic and material considerations, and prefer to give slavery over to the legislation of its own States, and leave them decide their own fate. The most of its advocates believe that slavery will gradually die out of itself, and that an immediate emancipation, without a previous education on the part of the slave, would rather operate for their injury than for their advantage. Die out, indeed it will, in the course of time, as it has already done in the Northern States, which would perhaps already have taken place in Maryland and Kentucky, had not the Abolitionists in their overbearing judgment of the slaveholder called forth a re-action. But so much appears clear to me from the standpoint of religion and of humanity, that it is the duty of the State and the Church, in a quiet way, and without prejudice to the rights of the slaveholder, to prepare for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, by presenting this as the most reasonable demand of freedom, and by the enactment of laws,

which may hold forth the prospect of the freedom of the rising generation at a certain age of life.

But in the event of a general abolition of Slavery, the great difficulty still remains, whether the African race upon the whole can stand beside the Caucasian in the full enjoyment of equal rights, mingle with them and wholly fulfill their destiny. As is known, there exists in the free States an insurmountable barrier between the whites and emancipated negroes, and even the most zealous Abolitionist with all his loud talk about absolute equality of all men, would scarcely at any price allow himself to unite his fortune for life with a negro woman. I doubt whether an Engländer or a German would do it. The condition of the free negro in America is upon the whole a pitiable one, and not seldom worse than that of their enslaved brethren at the South, at least in cases where piously disposed masters—and of these, thank God, there are not a few—so carefully attend to, and kindly treat them, that often they are quite unwilling to accept of proffered freedom. It therefore seems to me, that the same urgent duty rests upon the Northern States, by wise laws to better the social condition of the free negroes, and to raise them to the true dignity of human beings, as it rests upon the Southern States to promote the gradual emancipation of the slaves.

As yet I see but one bright spot in the dark tragical picture of slavery, that is the American *Colonization Society*, with its established negro-republic in Liberia upon the western coast of Africa. In this Colony whose progress has hitherto been fortunate beyond all expectation, and which has some of its warmest and most liberal patrons among the slaveholders themselves in the Southern States, there is made at least a beginning of a thorough bettering of the condition of the negro, and the foundation laid at the same time for the general christianization and civilization of the native wild negro tribes, in a land whose climate the Caucasian race could as little endure, as the negro could hitherto, whilst in contact with the whites, raise himself to an equal social signification and dignity. And it would seem in this case, that God designs anew to reveal his

wonderful wisdom, by which he knows how to bring good even out of evil, in that He designs by means of the christianized and civilized negro to kindle the light of the everlasting Gospel in the heart of that consecrated terra incognita, and so to turn the fearful curse of American slavery, that heavy guilt of European and American Christendom—for it was introduced into the new world under Spanish, French, Danish and English influence—into an inestimable blessing for the heathen and barbarous people of Africa.

8. NATIONAL CHARACTER AND SOCIAL CONDITION.

The United States presents, in the next place, a wonderful mixture of nations from every quarter of the heavens, and a journey through it is in a certain sense a journey through the world, and in so far one of the most interesting and instructive that can be made. For there Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Germans from all districts, Swiss, Hollanders, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, Magyars, with their well known national prejudices and weaknesses have peaceably settled down together in an equality of social and political rights. To these European nationalities must be added also the red aborigines of the country, who retire continually deeper into the forests and prairies of the west, and, in spite of every attempt to christianize and civilize them, approach, by the means of internal wars, epidemics and poisonous liquors, continually nearer to their tragical fate of entire extinction; further, the swarthy sons of Africa rejoicing in the childlike serenity of their existence, and even in the condition of freedom, bowing instinctively before the superiority of the whites; finally, also the emigrant from the celestial empire, with his oblong-drawn eyes, his complacency of mind, his mechanical culture, his industry and love of money, drawn thither by the yellow gold of California.

We have also in America an ethnographical panorama, which one may see pass before his eyes even in a walk of a few hours upon Broadway, New York, Chesnut street, Philadelphia, or upon the markets of San Francisco. But not only

nationalities of the old world, but sectional peculiarities, manners and customs, which have outlived themselves in their primitive situations, are propagated yet in part with the most remarkable tenacity. In Virginia, you meet with the English gentlemen of the age of Elizabeth and the later Stuarts; in Philadelphia, with the Quaker from the days of George Fox and William Penn; in East Pennsylvania, with the Palatine and the Suabian from the beginning of the last century; in New England, with the Puritan from the times of Cromwell and Baxter; on the banks of the Hudson and in New Jersey, with the genuine Hollanders; in South Carolina, with the Huguenots and the French noblemen of the seventeenth century, or at least very characteristic remains of them, which in Europe have already become much more defaced. From this it may appear, with what cautiousness and limitation the descriptions of so many European travellers must be taken, who take up a particular phase and make it the measure of their judgment for the whole. By this treatment one may trace out their contradictory statements.

But what is most remarkable, over this bundle of diversities there prevails yet a higher unity, and that in this mixture of people there are seen already the fundamental outlines of a peculiarly *American national* character. Those persons err very much who see in the United States merely the faint echo of European nationalities, and allow themselves to deny to that country a self-existent, historical future. Whoever with open eyes steps upon the soil of the new world will soon come in contact with the impulse of a powerful, fresh and thoroughly national life, which immediately takes up all foreign elements and assimilates them into its own organism. The digestive faculty of the American is truly wonderful. How many thousands and millions of Europeans has his stomach already taken up, and yet he has only become the more firm and healthy.

The main trunk of American nationality is undoubtedly English, but certainly furnished with a peculiar modification, and a great facility of working up foreign elements. One

must journey to England, Scotland and North America, in order to obtain a clear idea of the Anglo-Saxon race. If we only form the acquaintance of an Englishman abroad, we meet with him in the most unfavorable position. He is upon the Continent like a fish out of water; usually has his known spleen, i. e., a spur in his head, and presents to the observer, with his stiff awkwardness and his tenacious adherence to his peculiar, insular ideas and manners, even down to his favorite beefsteak and plumpudding, a ridiculous side, so that one is led to wonder, how this whimsical John Bull could attain the world-dominion. Something of the same sort, but in a more limited degree, is true of the American. But just what seems to be their weakness abroad—I say seems, for with all their stiffness and singularity, one cannot help at other times looking upon them with esteem and admiration—that is their strength at home. The Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-American of all modern people have the strongest national character, and the one best adapted for world-dominion, which is throughout not indeed despotic, but renders its subjects free citizens. For it is liberal and conservative at the same time. With him—and that is the secret of his national greatness and significance—the impulse for freedom is inseparably connected with a law and order-abiding spirit, and both these rest upon a moral basis. For conscience, and a sense of duty are deeply impressed upon him, and I doubt whether the ethical influence of Christianity and Protestantism has made a deeper and more general impression on any other nation than upon the Anglo-Saxon. It is characteristic that the very word *glory*, which presents itself in almost every paragraph of Napoleon's proclamation, is not to be found in Wellington's dispatches, but in its place always the word *duty*. *Glory* is the motto of the French, *duty* that of the English. Napoleon kindled ambition in his soldiers at the battle of the Pyramids by proclaiming: "Centuries look down upon you?" Nelson at Trafalgar appealed to the sense of duty in his seamen by simply reminding them that "England expects every man to do his duty to-day." This spiritual energy and solidity the Anglo-Saxons

have in common with the Germans, inasmuch as they are both branches of the same Germanic stock. But whilst with the latter they turn upon the inward, and make themselves felt in the sphere of thought and of theory, so with the former, they are directed more to the outward, and take a turn upon the will and the action. The German is the deepest spirit ; the Englishman the strongest character. That one can take up and comprehend all in himself ; this one shape and organize all from within him. That one has a wonderful facility of transferring and finding himself in all, and on this account so often gives himself up and loses himself in foreign nationalities ; this one is stiff and unyielding, (but makes every thing subserve him.) The German is the most cordial and good natured person in the world, and gives free vent to his warm, hearty feelings and sentiments ; the Englishman and the American has also good humor, but it throbs under a marble cover, he has perfected himself in power, and is therefore best fitted to rule over others. True, he lays no obstruction in the way of the foreigner, but leaves him to perform within the healthy restraints of law, and yet he exercises an immense power and influence over him, so that in the end he cannot withstand him.

The American has the same talent for organization ; the same self-control ; the same energy and business tact as the Englishman ; his spirit of enterprize is even greater, and not seldom degenerates into downright foolhardiness, and the most light minded contempt for human life, as appears in a frightful manner in the many conflagrations and accidents on steamboats and rail-roads. I grant that the Englishman has more solidity than the American, but then the latter is much younger. But on this account the latter has more vivacity, elasticity and power for development. The former is so much cut off by his insular position ; the latter moves upon a large continent and between too great oceans. The former has not yet been able, in immediate contact, to assimilate the celtic Irishman, and to relieve him of his oppressive load ; the latter soon thoroughly impresses the emigrants from foreign nations with the common feeling of an American.

Although the fundamental outlines of American national character discover themselves already pretty clearly, and declare themselves predominantly Anglo-Saxon, yet it is only in its formation period, and the more this character unfolds itself, the more will the un-English elements, favored by an increasing emigration from all lands of the European continent, make themselves felt, and exert a modifying influence upon it. In New York, where the Hollander, and in Louisiana, the Frenchman first settled down, they do not allow themselves to be entirely lost. And least is this the case possibly with the Germans, the number of which, including their descendants, amounts already to upwards of four millions. Already have the middle and Western States, where the Germans have mostly settled down, a marked difference from the New England and Southern States. They stand midst between the two in a geographical, as well as in a national and social view. Pennsylvania, for instance, the so-called Key-stone State, which holds together the colossal structure of the Union, is neither pure English, nor pure German, but Anglo-German, and will continue to become even more so. Even where the German language is swallowed up by the English, the German spirit and temper make themselves felt in a new dress, and from the ashes of the old German Adam, not unfrequently the American gentleman springs forth, who unites in beautiful harmony the features of the German and the Englishman. Without any question the German has a great problem to solve in the new world, altho' he may not yet have come to the consciousness of it. But he will not develop himself fully and with due proportion, if he stiffly and obstinately cut himself off from the Anglo-American, and in this way persist in building up a State in a State; much more ought he by virtue of his inborn cosmopolitanism, and universality, lay hold of energetically and master the Anglo-American life, appropriate its advantages to himself, and thoroughly permeate it by the breath of his own life and spirit, and thus Germanize it as much as possible. In this way there will be thrown open to him a large and fruitful sphere of activity, whereas by separating himself, he will at

the same time rob himself of all influence upon the central stream of American life. Has the German the task, the compass of ideas and the heart's-blood for the preparation of modern civil and ecclesiastical history, then he has it in an especial manner, for America. There the partialities and weaknesses, in short the whole long cue of the German Michel—also the reversed cue, which seems to have been made according to the fashion of 1848—may pass away, whilst his features only, the depth of his spirit and temper remain, and by appropriation the undeniable energy, and practical tact of the Anglo-Saxon become enriched. Besides the German and English can mix much easier than other nations. They are both evidently Germanic or Teutonic; a certain simplicity, honesty and respect for character are common to both; a deep-rooted reverence for woman; love for husbandry and domestic life: above all a moral earnestness and religious disposition; and religious life with them has shaped itself similarly, inasmuch as they are the chief bearers of the ideas and institutions of evangelical Protestantism, in the hands of which is placed the theoretical and practical mission of the world. Their destinies there, where they are providentially thrown into immediate contact with one another, and meet in all circumstances of social life, can certainly not be to hate and to fight, but to reverence, love and learn from each other, and thus mutually to perfect each other.

J. H. A.

(To be continued..)

ART. VII.—SHORT NOTICES.

THE SEPULCHRES OF OUR DEPARTED. *By Rev. F. R. Anspach, A. M., Hagerstown, Md. Philadelphia; Lindsay & Blakiston. 1854.*

WE hail the above work, from the pen of the Rev. F. R. Anspach, with peculiar pleasure. It is a free-will offering to the age in which we live, which cannot fail to place it under deep and lasting obligations to the author. The book breathes a life and freshness which make it stand out in bold, yet humble and beautiful contrast with the great majority of works written in the present age. It is original, sound and earnest. Its theme—"The Sepulchres of our Departed"—is most interesting and popular, which, connected with its lucid and graphic style, will not fail, as far as it may extend, to enlist the attention of all who live and know that they must die. In addition to the *intrinsic* interest of the theme, the author, by the peculiar constitution of his mind and heart, throws around it an attraction which will give it a willing and pleasant occupancy in every heart. Although the work is divided into twenty chapters, each one seemingly independent and complete in itself, yet, as we travel on through its pages, we are made to feel as well as perceive, that one *animus* reigns throughout, and gives the whole a beautiful artistic consistency. The various notices which have been taken of it by the press generally are of the most flattering character. Let the introduction of a few suffice here. The "Pittsburg Christian Advocate," speaking of its varied excellencies, says: "It is a charming volume, blending the beautiful sentiments of nature with the realizations of Christian truth. One rises from its perusal, conscious of a feeling like that derived from 'memory of joys past,' pleasant but mournful to the soul. It cannot fail to prove acceptable to the reading public generally; and its circulation will tend to correct a lamentable indifference too often felt and manifested towards the 'Sepulchres of our Departed.'" The same high appreciation is evinced by the remarks contained in the "Evening Mirror": "A volume of nearly 500 pages will not be deemed too large, when so touchingly, beautifully and instinctively written as is this, on a subject in

which almost every person has a sacred interest. In twenty chapters the author treats of the associations, the lessons, the influences, the inspirations of the Sepulchre; and he has placed under great obligations the multitudes for whom the book has a sad and yet happy adaptation. We cannot too confidently recommend this volume to every thoughtful, and especially to every bereaved reader." The "Puritan Recorder" thus speaks of it: "It is peculiarly rich in consolatory thought, and is altogether a fervent, evangelical, and deeply interesting production." In the "Easton Argus" we find the following: "This work embodies a leading thought of uncommon power and beauty. Every page indicates close observation and deep thought. There are thrilling passages in the work, eloquent appeals, and tender admonitions, all which at once speak to the heart and are adapted to purify and chasten it. The sound taste, devout feeling, and pleasing and new views which characterize the work, give it a high value; it enlarges the bounds of the reader's thoughts and elevates his heart to God." The "Presbyterian" says of it: "A fine tone pervades the volume; and it abounds in just sentiments ornately expressed." The "German Reformed Messenger" says: "His style is clear and vigorous, well adapted to engage the reader's feelings as well as to convince his judgment. Sometimes it rises into pathos and stirring eloquence; the eloquence of truth and conviction." The "New York Observer," among other things, says: "Around the grave the author has grouped those thoughts which rouse the mind to a noble contemplation of the purposes of God, the destiny of the soul, the ends to be answered by afflictions, and kindred topics, so that the several chapters will be perused with profit, not by the bereaved only, but by all who believe that there is a better land beyond the tomb." But we refrain from further quotations of the notices of the work which have appeared so abundantly in every direction. These will suffice to show the reader the general estimation in which the book is held by those who are competent to judge, and at the same time convey some general idea of the character of the book itself.

The work carries upon its pages conclusive evidence of a strong, vigorous, healthy mind in its author—a mind well cultivated and at home in the various departments of learning. In reading the book we at once feel that we are perusing the production of a scholar. Whilst the matter is of the most varied character, and collected from the most varied sources, it is

never exhibited under a confused form, or in an improper place. The facility with which it is collected is the measure of the power by which it is re-produced, and neither seems more perfect than the judgment by which it is applied. The strength of perfect ease and calmness underlies every sentence; and such is the greatness of spirit, the piety of heart, and the sombre yet pleasing melancholy instampt upon its pages, that we feel bound to it as by an invisible power. This is no doubt partly the effect of a sad thought, coupled with a beloved object, amid the sacredness of sepulchral gloom; but chiefly is it to be attributed to the skill of the author in adapting the one to the other in such a way as to render the sadness pleasing and spiritually improving.

The *theology* of the work, so far as its practical character allows this to come to any clear theoretic expression, is in good keeping with the origin and early history of the Church in the midst of which the author stands. It exhibits no sympathy with the puritanic element which of later years has come to occupy such a conspicuous position in that Church in this country. This is regarded throughout as altogether a foreign element, and destructive of those real comforts which the graves of the saints are adapted to inspire. Though the imagination of the author is vivid, and, in many instances is allowed to give deep coloring to his views, yet, underneath the flower which beautifies, may always be found the most substantial realities. Christianity is ever regarded, both in its principle and effects, as a real divine-human life, emanating from the person of Christ, and made to pervade his people in a real way, mind, soul and body, preparing them thus, in a way equally real, for life, death, and the resurrection. The body is regarded as participating in full, in the redemption life in Christ. As sin has corrupted it substantially, so has the righteousness of Christ, through the power of faith, given it a positive relation to the sanctified humanity of his Person. The body is, therefore, sacred, not on the ground of its having been the tenant merely of a pious spirit, or because of the affectionate ties which bound it to its kindred, but because it has participated in the redemption of the Gospel just as really and truly as the spirit itself. Whilst, therefore, we lay the body in the grave, we are taught to do it in the confident belief, that it contains the gem of a new spiritual life, which, in the resurrection, without losing anything essential to it as a real human body, will develop an incorruptible and glorious body, like

that of Christ itself. This view is directly the opposite of that of the Puritan faith, which can find no room for the body, in the redemption of Christ, in any real way. As soon as life is extinct, all reverence for it is withdrawn, or if any demonstrations of this character are constrained by the deeper-consciousness of relatives, it is set down at once as weak and idolatrous. The body is carelessly thrown under ground, and either forgotten entirely, or else held in remembrance only as that body which God, by the bare exertion of his almighty power, will change and raise up in the resurrection. Its sacredness, *per se*, is thus entirely destroyed, except in so far as kindred affection may serve to give it this character. Every thing like real solemn service at the grave is looked upon as vain mummery, and often even as solemn mockery. All vital relation between it and the Church living is at once broken up and destroyed. Whilst the communion of *spirits* may continue, that of *saints* has ceased at death. The grave-yard is no vital part of the Church of Jesus Christ; and hence may either be entirely neglected, or given into the hands of worldly corporations whose *business* it may be made to attend to it and keep it in some decent repair. Reverence, piety or true Christian affection, as such, are laid under no obligation in this direction, whatever, except in so far as outward appearances, in the light of worldly refinement and civilization, may make their exercise necessary in this practical way.

Now is not all this plainly the development of an inward infidelity in reference to the reality and completeness of the redemption of Christ? Is it not arraying one section of the Church against the other? Does it not make the cemetery, with its silent but potent voices, contradict flatly those of the pulpit, proclaiming faith in the resurrection of the body?

Against this practically unbelieving spirit, the above work is calculated to do good service. Its tendency is to draw back this wandering thought and make it cluster around the tombs of the departed, and to induce and cultivate such a practical habit of piety as shall make our grave-yards and cemeteries earnest evidences of our faith when we say: "We believe in the resurrection of the body."

This practical tendency of this work, in connection still farther with its consolatory character to the bereaved, should insure for it a very wide circulation. Every minister of the Gospel who has a desire to propagate practical views of real Christianity relative to the most solemn point in life, that of dying,

should not only procure this work for themselves, but give it a warm recommendation to all, over whose spiritual interest they have been placed. The effect would not only be to enrich and beautify the resting-place of the departed; to throw around it a holy element, inviting the bereaved to retirement and meditation; but it would aid in cultivating, also, that true, humble, chastened piety, which is so beautiful in life, so calm in death, and which, from the tomb, speaks with an eloquence which wins the heart for God.

We are happy to see that the demand for this work is already bringing out the second edition: and we are free to say, that, if its circulation shall in any proper measure correspond with its literary, theological and pious merits, it will not only soon reach its second edition, but its fifth and sixth. G.

THE WORLD IN THE MIDDLE AGES: *An Historical Geography, with an account of the Origin and Development, the Institutions and Literature, the Manners and Customs of the nations in Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, from the close of the fourth to the middle of the fifteenth century.* By Adolphus Louis Kæppen, Professor of History and German Literature in Franklin and Marshall College, Pa. Accompanied by complete Historical and Geographical Indexes, and six colored maps from the Historical Atlas of Charles Spruner, LL. D., Captain of Engineers in the Kingdom of Bavaria. 2 vols. pp. 851. Folio edition embracing the maps pp. 282. Appleton & Co., New York. Little Britain, London. 1854.

THE Middle Ages, sometimes called the Dark Ages, have, until recently, been regarded as a *terra incognita*, a dreary and sterile territory, unworthy of anything like serious study or active exploration. Other departments of history have been cultivated with the most intense zeal, whilst that interesting interval of time, which divides the ancient from the modern world, has been set aside as it were by common consent, as incapable of presenting a proper arena for the display of historical skill, or of affording anything interesting or edifying to the common reader. It is true, Gibbon has thrown the light of his genius over that period, but it is much more the fading splendor of the Roman Empire, than the dawn of modern civilization, that occupies the foreground in his luminous pages. The skeptical and irreligious spirit, moreover, which

he delights to exhibit whenever an opportunity presents itself, has deterred many persons from reading his able and learned work. Hallam is unreasonably dry, and he has doubtless helped to confirm the impression, that the subject of which he treats, is as dry as his style. More recently Guizot by his brilliant, yet philosophical History of Civilization, has awakened in this country and England a new interest in mediæval history, more so perhaps than any other writer. He was himself interested in what he wrote, and therefore succeeded in awakening a similar interest in the mind of his reader. By tracing modern European Institutions back to their origin in the Middle Ages, and by treating his subject in a truly liberal spirit, he made it appear how intimately we, of the nineteenth century, stand related to our ancestors, who lived before the Reformation, and thus did something to restore the current of natural sympathy, which the superficiality of our times had almost destroyed. No one who is willing to divest himself of prejudice, can read him without having his horizon of sympathy considerably enlarged. Corresponding, but more important influences at work in the Theological world, however, have done much more than the labors of single individuals in bringing us to a proper appreciation of the "World in the Middle Ages." Religious men in various directions have made the inquiry, whether the Christianity of the present day cannot be reconciled and harmonized with the Christianity of the past. In Germany more than elsewhere, Protestantism has sought to set aside the narrow limits in which its history has been confined, and to connect its life more and more with the Church of former days. The Middle Ages, the maternal soil of the Reformation and of modern civilization, has of course begun to be regarded in a new light, and its literary and theological treasures are again brought into market. The history of the Church in that period has been carefully studied, and the Christianity then prevalent, if not of such a character as would pass current in our day, has been proved to be Christianity of some kind, and entitled to our charity at least, if not to our respect. A religious interest was thus awakened in a portion of history, from which it had been thought it ought to be excluded. This may naturally be expected to be permanent in its character, and to show itself in the literature of the day.

The work of Prof. Kœppen has of course nothing theological in its character or tendency. It is a purely objective representation of the external features of the world during the

formative period of the great European Commonwealth. It was written, so far as we can see, with nothing more than a literary and historical interest in view. It is possible that his attention, unconsciously to himself, has been turned to that period of history by the new direction which historical studies are taking, just as it is possible, that his book may now subserve other and more important interests than those which are merely literary.

We consider the *Historical Geography* a valuable accession to our Literature. It meets a desideratum, which has been long felt. It is a book that has been manifestly called for, which, however, cannot be said of many new publications. As far as our knowledge extends, we know of no book in our own language, that fills precisely its place. Every one who studies the history of the Middle Ages, must have felt the want of some work of this kind, to serve as a guide in ascertaining geographical localities. This has been no doubt the case with the general student, but with no one more so, than the student of Church History. We would regard the work before us as a most valuable traveller's guide in the study of Neander's History of the Church.

It embraces a period of a thousand years, during which time the Geography of Europe was constantly changing. Owing to the unsettled state of the times, and the irruption of the hordes from the North and the East, the landmarks of different countries and territories were either buried beneath the inundations or conveyed to some distant point. The Europe of the fourth was very different from the Europe of the eighth or tenth century. Political divisions in the same territorial districts differed as much in a few centuries, as if they pertained to different countries entirely. Prof. K., therefore, very properly divides his Geography into several periods, and in this way gives his readers an opportunity of viewing the fluctuating aspect of European Society from so many different points of observation. With the six elegant maps bound up with the folio edition, we would say that the book is a most beautiful moving panorama, in which Europe from the fourth to the fourteenth century is made to pass before the eye. The first period embraces the political Geography of the Roman Empire after its final division into the Eastern and Western in the year 895. It exhibits the geographical position of the different Barbarian nations immediately before their migrations. The second gives a view of Europe and the adjacent

parts of Asia and Africa at the beginning of the sixth century, before the accession of Justinian, A. D. 527. It defines the settlements of the northern barbarians in the various provinces of the Western empire. The third contains the geography of Europe towards the close of the sixth century, after the conquest of Europe by the Avars, and of Italy by the Lombards, forming the termination of the second period of the great migrations from the North and the East. The fourth describes Europe, Western and Central Asia, and Northern Africa, at the beginning of the ninth century during the reign of Charlemagne, and the highest development of the Saracenic Empire under the Abbasid Caliphs of Bagdad and the Ommiyad Emirs of Cordova. The fifth contains the Geography of all the States in Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, at the death of the Emperor Otho the Great, about the year 973. The sixth is the Geography of the Old World during the times of the Crusades, from the close of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The seventh period embraces the Geography of Europe and Asia towards the close of the fourteenth century, at the time of the feudal wars between the English and French crowns, and the progress of the Ottoman Turks, and the widest extent of the Mongol Empire of Tamerlane. The eighth and last period, is the Political Geography of Europe and Western Asia towards the close of the fifteenth century, after the destruction of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, and the re-organization of the German Empire by Maximilian, the extinction of the Moorish Kingdom of Granada, and the discovery of America in 1492.

The six historical maps delineate in the most beautiful manner these eight general periods. The first and second Periods are each represented in their proper maps. The third Period embraces the second and third maps. The fourth, fifth and sixth Periods have each their own maps, whilst for the last two Periods, one general map was thought sufficient.

The name of Geography attached to the book might create the impression that it contains nothing but the dry details of Geography and Chronology. The readers of this Review, however, who have read the articles of Prof. Kœppen as they appeared from time to time, will not think so. What in the hands of many writers would degenerate into uninteresting details are clothed with life and interest in the book before us. The style is sprightly, and the coloring that is ever

and anon laid upon an apparently uninteresting detail, will be found to be truly graphic and life-like.

We heartily recommend the book to our readers. It will be found to be especially valuable as a book of reference in their historical readings. As a text book in Schools and Colleges, it will fill up an important vacuum.

The maps which are bound up with the folio-edition, are published separately to accompany the two small volumes, and a general abridgment of the whole, which is still to appear.

T. A.

THE BIRDS OF THE BIBLE, by the Rev. H. Harbaugh, author of "*The Heavenly Recognition*," "*The Heavenly Home*," &c., &c., elegantly illustrated. Philadelphia. Lindsay & Blackiston. 1854. 4to. 800pp.

READER, art thou entertaining, this season, some serious thoughts of making, to her whom thou wottest of, a very handsome present? We do not wish to be too inquisitive. We ask not the lady's name. Thy particular intentions cannot be kept too secret. If told about they might reach her own ears, and that would be a mishap indeed. In the eyes of a fair receiver the value of a present is much enhanced by having it come into her hands with a sudden surprise, having cast before it no premonitory shadows. We ask not then whether she be of thine own household; thy mother, for instance, or sister, or wife, or darling child; or whether, if these latter two be wanting, she be some fair acquaintance in the neighboring street whom thou lovest to visit these cool autumnal evenings; or peradventure thou art a lonesome man, like myself, whose loved ones are far away, yet thou wishest still to send them some handsome token of thy regard more valuable than letters.—Keep all this to thyself. We wish not to intrude into the sanctity of thy kind intentions. It is altogether about the selection of the article that we are concerned at present, and on this subject we would fain hold with thee a short parley.

Take thy time. Look well around thee before thou settlest on thy choice. It is yet two full months till Christmas. In an affair of such great moment it is not well for thee to be over hasty. Show thy good taste. For gold or silver ware or Parisian statuettes or some choice articles of furniture hast thou a fancy? All right enough. These are worthy and lasting. Still, in these things I confess I am no connoisseur, and

with respect to their selection I feel unqualified to give advice. Study, if thou canst, the taste and wants of her thou wishest to please, and select accordingly.

May be, however, thy predilections are for literature and thou meditatest some day soon to venture into some bookstore and from its shelves or counter select and carry off a handsome volume. In this department we feel more at home. Shall we throw thee out then, before thou goest, a few hints and cautions ?

In the first place, be not carried away with every new novel thou seest, however handsomely gotten up it may be, and popular, and bepraised by the critics. It has not yet stood the test of time. Rather take some choice old poet or later writer's book whose reputation is established. Where now are your *Queechies*, your *Uncle Tom's Cabins*, and your *Wide Wide Worlds*, which, a few years since, were pronounced standard works ? They have all passed away, like the fashions, to give place for others, which will, no doubt, soon be displaced in their turns. Above all, I would have thee eschew all *Annuals*, however handsomely gotten up. As their name imports, they are intended to please but for a season ; and I would have thee purchase something substantial and lasting. This the maiden or lady of whom thou art thinking deserveth at thine hands. On their title pages these brief annuals bear conspicuously their Roman figures, and when out of date they are always out of place. As their year expires, like an old almanac, they must be thrown aside to make room for others more fresh and new. Some choice one, perhaps, by its fair owner, may be retained abroad in her parlor for a year or two beyond its time ; but, in the end, she will quietly remove it from her centre-table. Dates are ugly things ; and what fair lady would wish it to be known that she had been in the habit of receiving presents even from yourself so many years ago ?

Thou wouldst not then recommend, methinks I hear some one conclude from my remarks, as a Christmas present, the work whose title stands at the head of this article : *THE BIRDS OF THE BIBLE*, by the Rev. H. Harbaugh, author of "*The Heavenly Recognition*," "*The Heavenly Home*," &c., &c., elegantly illustrated. Gentle reader, thou shouldst not so conclude. A copy of the work lies before me on my table which has been the suggester of these remarks. A solid book it is, after the old English fashion, substantially bound in richly embossed dove-colored Turkey Morocco, and about it there is an odor of

antiquity which tells that it will last. The things about which it treats are taken from the best and most ancient classic in the world. But while they are thus rendered sacred and venerable, they are by no means antiquated or obsolete, but belong also to living nature as seen by us still in the fields and forests, or about our barns and houses. The author, therefore, has drawn his descriptions and anecdotes and incidents not only from old tomes, but from modern authors and observation; and over the whole has he thrown besides the witchery of his own happy style and fancy. As he remarks himself in his preface, he has endeavored not so much to give descriptions of dead birds as to make pictures of living ones; and in this endeavor he has certainly well succeeded. His book is animated not only with the finest plumage, but also with the richest warblings, and resembles more a grove than a cabinet. I take it up and it falls open before me at the picture of the swan:

“The tall-built Swann faire type of pride confest,”

and I am surprised how skillfully and well the painter has succeeded in setting forth all the graces of that bird as seen in nature and described by the poets. How he rides along in all the majesty of ease, while he swells his lifted chest and flings backward his bridled neck between his “luxuriant wings of whitest garniture” and “glorying looks around the silent tides!” As advances his “downy prow,” how he rumples before him the surface into circling waves (excuse my poeticals) which are already felt by the broad, floating green leaves of that water-lily, and soon his breast will be bearing down its snowy petals. How much the picture is improved by being thus faithfully and naturally colored!

But, reader, I have no time to be showing you all the illustrations. You must look at them for yourself at your leisure. Superb as these are, however, it is not on them that the merits of the work entirely rest. It is replete also with choice passages from the old poets and some that are excellent though new. I never thought so many fine things had been written about the birds. Rare descriptions it contains from the best authors from Chaucer down to our own Poe. If the stars are the poetry of heaven, undoubtedly the birds are the poetry of the atmosphere. What a choice fragment of old English poetry is that from the *Bibliotheca Biblica*, descriptive of the birds of the Bible forbidden to be eaten! How soothing and consoling that poem on the dove, by Mary Townsend, suggested by the Raven of

Edgar Poe, which is also inserted in the volume and to which this forms a happy contrast or counterpart ; his being the embodiment of dark despair, but hers that of consolation and heavenly hope. How tender and pleasing too that ode to the cuckoo, commencing :

Hail, beauteous stranger of the grove !

These apart from the many appropriate passages from the ancient and modern classics introduced, which of course, are very fine.

The readers of the Guardian may suppose themselves posted up in these matters, having read the descriptions as they first came out in that periodical, but let me tell them that the hasty sketches there inserted have all been re-modelled and re-written, and so much additional material added that they could hardly tell them to be the same.

The book we pronounce then a fine specimen of what might properly be called the *Perennials* : one that will not waste its sweetness in a single year, but continue to bloom for many ; one that will not soon be superseded or impaired, but, like a good old painting, keep its place and be rather improved by age ; one that will rest comfortably beside even the Bible or any other good book and not feel out of place ; one that will delight not only youth and beauty and childhood with his laughing eyes, but be read with pleasure also by manhood, and lighten with a mellow smile even the cheek of hoary eld as he pores over it earnestly through his sober glasses.

W. M. N.

